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Nazism
in Africa

Chinese
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Struggle
Between
Two Lines

1969





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COVER PICTURE

*A vase with a theme based on Chairman Mao's poem
'Ode to the Plum Blossom'.*

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EASTERN DIARY

In dealing with the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao said in his Political Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in April:

We must act on Chairman Mao's instruction and fulfil these tasks in every single factory, every single school, every single commune and every single unit in a deep-going, meticulous, down-to-earth and appropriate way.

This is probably the most far-reaching, deep-going and fascinating revolution the world has ever seen, taking apart everything, systems as well as ideas, so as to take a close scrutiny of them, then putting them together again after having discarded the old and outmoded and introducing new and useful elements. What is even more fascinating is the fact that taking an active part in this process are not just a few experts or authorities, but millions and millions of people whose lives will be radically affected by the changes they themselves are introducing.

People of course do not come to a realisation of what is correct, what is good for them, easily. They have to thoroughly criticise the old before the new evolves. And what is new will have to be tested, perfected, or in some cases even discarded.

In the Chinese press, notably the *People's Daily*, there have been sections set aside for publishing reports of discussions and articles aimed at exchange of experiences on the progress of the various struggle-criticism-transformation tasks, especially those concerning the revolution in education. The importance the editors attach to such discussions can be seen from the fact that sections carrying them are often given full-page treatment, or

even spread wide on the front page.

*

The section entitled 'Discussion on Turning the Public Primary Schools over to Production Brigades', for example, has run into more than fifty issues in the *People's Daily* and has in fact gone much beyond the scope indicated in the title. One of its recent issues was devoted to the compiling of textbooks for 9-year primary-secondary schools. It carried on this subject a report by the textbook compiling team of Tsingtao Municipality, another on a forum called by the primary and secondary schools textbook compiling team of Liaoning Province, an article by a member of the workers Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda team stationed at Kungchiang Middle School, one of the biggest of its kind in Shanghai, and two short notes by two Red Guards on the importance of extra-curriculum and supplementary reading matter.

The better part of the substance in the section concerns the compiling of Chinese language textbooks.

The Tsingtao report emphasizes that the new textbooks should closely follow the principles of giving prominence to proletarian politics and combining theory with practice. The students, it says, should not be stuffed with too many subjects but should be given a good grounding in the subjects they are taught. It is pointed out that the worst defect of the old textbooks was that by giving first importance to general knowledge they were divorced from proletarian politics. The most important feature of the new textbooks is that in them politics comes first. This, however, can be taken to mean only

that politics should be put in command of all culture and general knowledge, but should by no means supersede them.

In recalling the team's past experience in compiling language textbooks, the report describes how at first politics became their sole concern and they were oblivious of all considerations for language teaching. So in the draft language textbooks all basic points in proletarian politics and ideology were given prominence as they should be. But the arrangement of lessons revealed a lack of correspondence to the different degrees of intelligence of students in the different grades and a monotony in style. Students complained that some of the political essays in the textbooks were incomprehensible to them and workers, peasants and soldiers came up with the opinion that the textbooks read like those giving political lessons to adults rather than being designed to give language lessons to students.

So the textbooks were re-drafted in the light of the opinions coming from the masses.

All the basic concepts comprising Mao Tsetung Thought are represented in the language textbook for each grade, but are illustrated by different texts, which progress with the grades from the easier to the more difficult. At the same time the students are given an appropriate knowledge of grammar and adequate practice in sentence formation and composition. When these new textbooks were tried out in different schools, all agreed that they corresponded to Chairman Mao's educational policy, combining clear-cut political content with adequate language lessons.

At the forum in Liaoning, the question whether secondary school students should be taught some classical Chinese was brought up by at least one of the participants. He quoted Chairman Mao as having said:

A splendid old culture was created during the long period of Chinese feudal society. To study the development of this old culture, to

reject its feudal dross and assimilate its democratic essence is a necessary condition for developing our new national culture and increasing our national self-confidence.

And then he went on: 'It is useful for secondary school students to acquire some necessary knowledge of classical Chinese literature.' Some classical expressions have become a part of modern usage, he pointed out, and they are very powerful when used in certain contexts, as they have been used in important articles published in the three leading contemporary Chinese journals.

However, he believed that when including classical works they should be selected with great care. Those which eulogize the old to disparage the new and those which exalt feudalism should be excluded. In his opinion, classical literature should take up about one tenth of the contents of a textbook.

The article by the member of the propaganda team at Kungchiang Middle School lists the following three points to be noted in compiling language textbooks for the school:

(1) *Chairman Mao's five requirements in the training and upbringing of worthy successors to the revolutionary cause should run through the compilation of the textbooks. To strengthen the ideological education of the students, the textbooks should incorporate the following features: (a) In every set of lessons, Chairman Mao's works should take the leading position and be put in command of all the other material; (b) There should not only be articles of mass criticism of bourgeois and revisionist ideologies in every textbook, but also articles spreading such ideologies, or noxious weeds, so that the students could raise their own faculty of criticism by practice and learn to distinguish what is revolutionary and what is counter-revolutionary; (c) In each textbook there should be a few units of 'living teaching material', such as 'recalling the bitterness of the past and reviewing the sweetness of today', 'the January revolutionary storm in Shanghai', etc., to be taught by workers, peasants and soldiers.*

(2) *The selection of material is to be based on the two criteria set down by Chairman Mao. In the old language textbooks the artistic criterium took definite precedence over the political. In the compilation of the present textbooks, while political criterium is always given first consideration, all possible attention is given to the artistic perfection of the material chosen. Everything is done to include in each textbook great variety in subject matter, form and style. The textbooks for the junior secondary grades, for example, consist mostly of prose, fiction, poetry, revolutionary stories and newspaper reports and features apart from a few political essays. A few classical works and translations of foreign works are also included in adherence to the principle of 'making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China.'*

(3) *Giving proper attention to combining theory with practice, there are lessons in every textbook on grammar and composition. They are given in close relation to the texts in the textbook. Exercises are also attached to each lesson and it is also hoped that teachers and students will set problems for exercises in accordance with their practical necessity.*

In calling attention to the importance of extra-curriculum reading matter, the two Red Guards appealed for the publication of new reading matter and the republication of some of the old. In reprinting the old, while works of a decadent nature should be banned, others should be provided and the students taught to read them with a critical approach.

*

How to combine theory with practice is another problem which concerned the Tsingtao team, especially when they came to write a textbook for basic industrial knowledge.

Apparently as a reaction to the tendency of divorcing theory from practice in the old textbooks, the first draft of the textbook consisted only of isolated chapters about different types of machinery such as cranes, pumps, lathes and diesel

engines. The theories and principles behind the structure of these machines were only given in the most general terms. Thus the students would only be taught how these machines worked but not why.

Workers given the draft to read said that it provided only desultory knowledge of industrial production, but not the fundamentals of industrial knowledge. 'Without mastering the rudimentary theories governing mechanics,' they asked, 'how are the students to understand the principles underlining more complicated machinery?'

To overcome this pragmatic tendency, the textbook was re-written to incorporate theoretical knowledge concerning mechanics. It begins with descriptions of different types of machines commonly seen, and taking them as illustrations fundamental theories governing machinery are described. Then these theories are applied to other forms of machinery to explain their structure, function and operation. In this way the students are able to gain in a systematic way the fundamental theoretical knowledge concerning machinery and a good grounding in machines commonly used in industrial production.

For secondary school mathematics it was decided that algebra, geometry and trigonometry should be taught as an organic whole rather than separate subjects, thus achieving a unity of form and number. A few chapters were inserted in their proper sequence to reveal the inner relations between form and number. For senior grades special emphasis is laid on theory and on raising the students' ability to solve practical problems.

Similar problems in combining theory with practice seem to have been encountered by text compilers in Liaoning Province.

At the Liaoning forum, one of the participants said:

Old textbooks for subjects like physics and chemistry were mainly copied from their counterparts in capitalist or revisionist coun-

tries. They are seriously divorced from the practice in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and so have to be thoroughly revised.

But how to relate theory with practice in struggle? For us, this was a problem to be carefully studied. When writing a textbook for 'Basic Knowledge in Industry', we had at the beginning one-sidedly stressed practical knowledge in industrial production, in the hope that the students would be able to immediately apply all that they had learned. With this in mind, we included in the textbook all that there was to learn, from machinery to the theories governing its structure, and from technological process in production to the characteristics and uses of all important products and new achievements in technological innovation. The completed textbook fully

embraced practical knowledge in industrial production. But the subjects it treated were too desultory and too specialised for the teachers to teach and the students to grasp. This made us understand that to combine theory with practice did not mean that we should compile in a textbook indiscriminately a great amount of concrete knowledge in industrial production. What we should do was select a few typical instances in industrial production to illustrate the related basic theoretical knowledge. Theory must be combined with practice, but practice cannot be substituted for theory. The question is how to closely combine the two. Some of the basic theoretical knowledge cannot be skipped. Once learnt in school, it can be more thoroughly grasped and applied in practice when the students later take part in productive labour.

Lee Tsung-ying

New Medical Method Based on Traditional Chinese Medicine

The medical personnel of a field hospital of the People's Liberation Army units in Shensi Province of North-west China in their practice of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers have devised an effective, simple method of diagnosing and treating common ailments in the countryside, based on theories of traditional Chinese medicine.

The new method consists of an adaptation of the *chinglo* method of diagnosis and treatment.

The *chinglo* diagnostic method is based on the traditional Chinese medical theory of the meridians—passages or channels along which blood and vital energy circulate—and the related acupuncture points, and aspects of Western medicine.

Diagnosis is made through examination by inspection and palpation of points of the passages or channels of the meridians on the human body and making diagnosis on the basis of the reactions at these points.

Therapeutic measures include the injection of effective Chinese medicine and Western drugs at acupuncture points on the meridians where abnormal reaction occurs.

With deep proletarian class feelings for the poor and lower-middle peasants, the medical workers first experimented on their own bodies, at the risk of their lives. The new method was finally worked out after more than two years of effort.

In the course of treating the poor and lower-middle peasants, the medical personnel of the field hospital noted over 160 ailments. The *chinglo* method produced good results in dealing with most of them. It is particularly effective in treating such common and recurrent ailments in the countryside as backache, headache, aching legs, asthma, stomach disorders, the common cold and arthritis.

In treating certain difficult diseases such as deaf-muteness and the after-effects of infantile paralysis, it is effective in over 90 per cent of the cases.

Since this kind of treatment requires a limited amount of medicine, and widely uses preparations made of medicinal herbs, the cost is not great. Medical expenses are greatly reduced for the peasants.

Hsinhua, Sian, 12 July

Highlights of the Historical Struggle between the Two Lines in the Communist Party of China

Gerald Tannebaum

One of the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is that contradiction is universal and is thereby absolute, that contradiction ' . . . is present in the development of all things and permeates every process from beginning to end.' (*On Contradiction*, August 1937.) Since this basic law operates in 'all things', it also holds for the existence and development of political parties because they too embody contradictions. Unity can and must be achieved at given times, but it is temporary, whereas struggle to maintain unity on an ever higher level is absolute. Upon the resolution of one contradiction, another inevitably arises. It is the struggle between the various aspects of contradictions within the party that determines its development, whether it rises to meet the test of each historical period, or falls victim to subjectivism, poor analysis and faulty moves, leading to loss of popular confidence and finally to demise.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are certainly no exception to this rule. Contradictions within them are in fact struggle between the different viewpoints of the party members, who irrespective of class origin are immersed in a class society and

subject to its influence. We must recognise that so long as classes exist, class struggle is an objective reality. Within a proletarian party the ideas of the ascending class are always in conflict with those of the descending class. The ideas representing the future development of society will grow and blossom while battling the ideas representative of the past and the old ruling classes. The clash between the old and new forces and their ideology is never-ending; nothing remains static and immutable. Chairman Mao Tsetung has written: 'History tells us that correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle.' (*Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*, December 1936.)

The Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ranks have the potential for being the most cohesive in the history of the world, because of the ideological common ground they share, embracing the vital interests of hundreds of millions of people. But we have seen that the experience of the Marxist-Leninist movement has been a succession of titanic struggles over interpretation of the principles, the

formulation of the correct political line and the adoption of the appropriate tactics. The movement has been torn asunder more than once, only to reconstitute its ranks on an ever-broader basis, establish a new unity on a higher ideological plane, and go on to greater and greater victories. This entails the struggle between the classes in society and their political lines outside and within the party, making it possible to face and solve each contradiction as it reaches its critical point.

The Communist Party of China has undergone a similar sequence of events. From its formation to the present, it has risen from a mere 57 members 48 years ago to the multi-millioned bastion of proletarian revolution in the world today, by undergoing one serious tempering after the other. The CPC has been able to do this because from its inception there was the presence of Chairman Mao who integrated Marxist-Leninist principles with the concrete conditions in China, thereby giving birth to a great new body of proletarian revolutionary thought. He has further developed Marxism-Leninism, with the result that his thought provides the foremost political guidance in the era of the collapse of the old imperialist-capitalist world and the rise of the new proletarian-socialist one. And primary in the evolvment of this revolutionary beacon light is his maxim: 'Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the old and new in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggle to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end.' (*On Contradiction.*)

Mentally armed for the appearance of both proletarian and non-proletarian lines as every issue arose, Chairman Mao at each crucial juncture of the revolution fought against both Right and 'Left' opportunism, exposing the wrong path,

marking the correct one, and has led the Chinese people to an unbroken succession of victories. Grasping the struggle between the two lines within the Party as the key to progress for or setbacks to the revolution, Chairman Mao has likewise been able to determine in the long process of inner-Party strife the point at which a particular contradiction became intensified to the stage where it crossed the line and turned from a contradiction among the people into one between the people and the enemy. He put it thus: 'At first, with regard to certain issues, such contradictions may not manifest themselves as antagonistic. But with the development of class struggle, they may grow and become antagonistic.' (*On Contradiction.*) By carefully differentiating between the two kinds of contradictions, Chairman Mao was able to give the CPC the proper orientation, enabling it to handle correctly inner-Party struggle and ensuring the greatest unity on the basis of a political line founded on objective reality. It was this factor which engendered within the CPC the resources to overcome tremendous odds and seemingly insurmountable obstacles at each turn of the new-democratic and the subsequent socialist revolutions.

The history of the CPC is in truth the history of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, their two lines and two roads (socialism versus capitalism), and not one of a 'palace' manoeuvring between individuals for power, as the Western press attempts to project. It is the history of the struggle between adhering to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the violation of this line, the struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois one, the struggle between the correct ideas and erroneous ones in every field of life and work.

What Kind of Party?

Even prior to the founding of the CPC

in 1921, this conflict among Chinese revolutionaries had already surfaced, especially after the 1917 October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Chairman Mao said: 'The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism.' (*On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, June 30, 1949.) At last the Chinese people had the scientifically based social truth, the proletarian viewpoint with which to combat the enslaving ideologies of feudalism and the Western bourgeoisie. The central question then arose: 'Whose example do we follow?' From the very beginning there was a split into a proletarian line and a bourgeois line, even among those who refused to bend their knees to feudal and imperialist domination and were determined to free China and build it anew. But a correct answer to the above question was urgent in order to accomplish this far from easy task, and in groping for the solution two definite lines made themselves heard. Among his initial public writings, in the *Hsiang Kiang Review**, in an article published in 1919, Mao Tsetung expressed his conviction that organisation of the masses should proceed along the lines of the Russian example. This approach had proved itself; it had wrought great social changes in the old Russia that resembled the old China in many ways. The Bolsheviks' liberating ideas and actions had been the motive power behind the May 4th Movement (1919), which rendered the first revolutionary shock to the old order. The Chinese people had been awakened! But those supporting the opposite line wished to imitate the bourgeois democratic trappings of the West, at the very moment when the imperialist powers, all Western with the exception of Japan, were the prime cause of modern China's backwardness and the poverty and ignorance of her people! Chen Tu-hsiu, who was to become the first Secretary-General of the CPC, was one of the main advocates of the blind worship of things Western. Sun Yat-sen travelled this same hap-

less road, until, in the last years of his life, with the help of the CPC he recognised that the imperialists had come to China to exploit the people, not to liberate them. He too arrived at the conclusion: We must learn from the Russian example!

The clash between the two lines in this period came over what attitude to adopt toward the masses, and on what basis to erect the revolutionary party. Mao Tsetung persisted in the view that the masses were decisive and once united were a force that could not be suppressed, that revolutionary strength rested in them, and the people aroused could and would bring new glories to China. Chen Tu-hsiu for his part looked upon the masses as so much 'loose sand' without a particle of cohesiveness. His faith was placed in Wilson, one of the most imperialist- and chauvinist-minded presidents of the United States, and in the heads of other imperialist governments who mouthed words like 'freedom' and 'democracy'. Such divergent beliefs among the Chinese revolutionaries naturally led to diametrically opposite solutions for the liberation of the country. Chen Tu-hsiu was enthralled with the bourgeois parliamentary system and dreamt of various reformist methods of transferring power, then held by a bevy of warlords representing contending imperialist powers and the feudal and big bourgeois classes, to the hands of an intellectual élite to exercise on behalf of the labouring masses. This completely idealist conception of social development was challenged by the budding Marxist-Leninist thinking of the youthful Mao Tsetung. He argued that the fate of the Chinese people and their revolution should be rooted in historical materialism, otherwise it would be impossible to implement, protect and complete the revolu-

* A weekly magazine of the 'United Students Association', which Mao Tsetung played a leading role in founding in Changsha, Hunan. Mao was editor of this journal, the initial issue of which appeared in July 1919.

tion. He called for a Marxist type of uprising, and castigated parliamentarianism as a protective device for the bourgeoisie which bound the proletariat hand and foot with its 'laws'. He ridiculed the idea that the bourgeoisie could be 'converted' to socialism, as Chen contended, because this violated their class psychology, which was to gain more capital at the expense of the working people. He reasoned that the only way out was to knock down imperialism, the warlords and the old society, and to accomplish this task a revolutionary party composed of the proletariat and other labouring masses was necessary. Such a party had the responsibility of educating the people as to the inevitability of a superior social system, socialism, and to lead them in great struggles to win the new society. He believed this was the only practical road for the emancipation of the Chinese people, and was the single concept of *revolution* that was within the realm of realisation. He stood for the formation of a communist party, which would be the headquarters of the revolution, composed of the vanguard of the proletariat, with a strong organisation and a strict discipline. This party would fight selflessly for the liberation of the whole country.

Three decades later Chairman Mao was to summarise his thinking in these words: 'If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs.' (*Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!*—November 1948.)

What is the Nature of the Revolution and Which Class Must Lead It?

Once the CPC made its appearance on

the political scene, there arose the question of what role it should play in fulfilling the national-democratic revolution. This became a bone of contention because the Kuomintang, led by Sun Yat-sen, was the main political and military force in the field on the side of this revolution. Sun had successfully led the 1911 Revolution which smashed the 2,000-year rule of feudalism, but had lost power over the bourgeois republic he had set up when the northern warlords and imperialists combined forces to shove him aside. His great failing was that he had not developed a mass base among the workers and peasants. Although he did not give up the struggle, he was making little or no progress; he relied on support from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes and militarily played one warlord off against the other, appealing to their non-existent 'patriotism'. It was only after the founding of the CPC that the communists established contact with Sun, and gradually he came to see the importance of the October Revolution in the planning and execution of the Chinese people's struggles. Thereafter, he welcomed help from Lenin and the Soviet Union and entered into a united front with the CPC. It was only then that the KMT became an effective force and there grew the possibility of success in the revolution.

But this situation gave rise to the double question: 'What kind of revolution is being fought?' and 'Who should play the leading role?'

Not deviating from his subjective analysis of the character of the Chinese revolution, Chen Tu-hsiu in his articles and speeches refrained from mentioning leadership by the proletariat, the seizure of power and settling the question of land to the peasants. Rather he maintained that since it was a bourgeois-democratic revolution, it should be led by the bourgeoisie, that the proletariat could at most only lend a helping hand! His slogan was: All work through the Kuomin-

tang. He visualised that after the bourgeois republic was set up, then a second revolution would be necessary. He saw his bourgeois republic as a 'revolutionary, democratic, mass' political power, but in his next breath exulted that then capitalism could freely develop in China. In other words, he was proposing to organise the working class and peasantry to throw off one set of oppressors, only to immediately saddle them with another!

What is of significance and interest to the contemporary political scene in China is that Chen Tu-hsiu was supported by none other than Liu Shao-chi. In 1923 Liu wrote that the idea of the proletariat seizing power was a consideration so distant in the future, that there was no need at present to give it much time and thought! These so-called proletarian revolutionaries, while professing to espouse the cause of the working class, lost no chance to vilify it by harping on and exaggerating some of its weaknesses, these being difficulties which could be overcome, while paying scant or no attention to developing the strong points and revolutionariness of the workers. Chen uttered the nonsense that the strength of the bourgeoisie was more concentrated than that of the peasants, and more substantial than that of the proletariat; the working class was not an independent revolutionary force in the national revolution; the 'infantile' proletariat could only assist the bourgeoisie, and through the revolution gain a bit of 'freedom' and thereby enhance its capacity; etc. All such trash was the theoretical basis for Chen's counter-revolutionary programme which he inflicted on the CPC. Simultaneously, he constantly expressed his admiration and preference for the leadership of the bourgeoisie, falsely attributing to it revolutionary qualities far beyond its capability as an exploiting class.

While it was true that China was then undergoing a bourgeois-democratic revolution, to limit the horizon of the work-

ing masses and view the potential of the revolution solely from this aspect, withdrawing it from the context of the prevailing world situation, was the height of bourgeois idealism. In this era, no longer was the bourgeoisie the leading revolutionary class, seeking to break the fetters of feudalism. Capitalism had grown into monopoly capitalism and imperialism, and the bourgeoisie were dominating and exploiting most of the world. Any national bourgeoisie in a colonial or semi-colonial country which cherished illusions that it could throw off imperialism and its compradors and set up an independent regime under its hegemony soon had this dream brutally smashed by imperialist intrigue and military invasion. In China, Sun Yat-sen had gone through this very experience, which caused him to opt for unity with the Left. By this time an advanced model had been established—the first proletarian state, standing on its two feet and holding its own in a hostile world. This was a mighty gravitational pull on all revolutionaries which testified that in the modern era the bourgeois-democratic revolution could and *had* to be led by the proletariat. It was the one class with the will, the organisational means and the theory to thoroughly change the basis of society. Revolutions cannot skip stages in their development, but those stages can and do overlap, depending on *which* class is leading the struggle. With China a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country in the era of the proletarian revolution, to achieve complete destruction of exploitation, it was the proletariat that had to take the lead in winning first the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and at the same time prepare the conditions to carry the struggle forward into the next stage, that of the socialist revolution.

In March 1926, Mao Tsetung wrote his famous article: 'Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society', in which he denoted the various economic groupings, defined their political outlook and degree

of reliability in the revolution. Using this measuring rod, he drew the line between the friends and foes of the revolution: 'The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat and petty-bourgeoisie. As for the vacillating middle bourgeoisie, their right-wing may become our enemy and their left-wing may become our friend—but we must be constantly on our guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks.' The foes he named as '... all those in league with imperialism—the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big landlord class and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them.'

Inside the CPC this article was extremely important in fighting against Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism—lavishing too much attention on the bourgeoisie—and Chang Kuo-tao's 'Left' opportunism—'closed-doorism', restricting the revolutionary ranks to the proletariat, refusing to recognise the possibilities and necessity for a united front policy. Chang even objected to cooperating with Sun Yat-sen's KMT! And both Chen and Chang forgot the strategical and tactical importance and revolutionary character of the Chinese peasants. It was Mao's article that made it clear where China's proletariat would find its principal ally in the revolution and thus solved the burning question of the worker-peasant alliance, confirming a basic Leninist pre-requisite for victory over the combined might of imperialism and native reaction. In contrast, Chen Tu-hsiu held out barren prospects for the liberation of the peasants. His view was that they would have to wait for the development of industry and the capitalisation of farming before they could benefit from the social revolution. He was never to put forward the question of land reform for liberating the peasantry! Mao Tsetung in his March 1927 stirring work: 'Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan'

countered the opportunists with the formulation that because of the character of China's society the question of the peasants was the heart of the question of the revolution! He said: 'Without the poor peasants there would be no revolution. To deny their role is to deny the revolution. To attack them is to attack the revolution. They have never been wrong on the general direction of the revolution.'

Despite the clarity of Mao's presentation, Chen Tu-hsiu allied himself with reactionary opinion inside and outside the Party and refused to heed the warning that his bourgeois line in leading the CPC was jeopardising the whole revolution. Just when the Northern Expedition was at the height of its success, Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution at Shanghai, and he was soon followed by Wang Ching-wei at Wuhan, precipitating the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of communists, workers and intellectuals. This massacre occurred because Chen Tu-hsiu, (and as now revealed) abetted by Liu Shao-chi, who had secretly sold out the revolution, actually disarmed the workers and peasants instead of mobilising them to rise up and save the revolution, hoping by this to gain favour in Chiang's eyes. These two traitors committed further crimes. They issued orders that the peasants, then being led by Mao Tsetung in a massive revolutionary upsurge throughout south central China, rein in their attacks against the landlords and evil gentry. The proletariat was thus isolated from its main ally and left without weapons, paving the way for Chiang to wage counter-revolution on a nation-wide scale. It was a bitter and costly lesson Mao Tsetung and all true revolutionaries would never forget, nor allow the CPC and the Chinese people to forget!

Where to Locate the Base of the Revolution?

Though reeling under the blows dealt it by Chen Tu-hsiu's treachery and

Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolution, the CPC was far from finished. As Chairman Mao put it in one of his best known statements: 'But the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people were neither cowed nor conquered nor exterminated. They picked themselves up, wiped off the blood, buried their fallen comrades and went into battle again.' (*On Coalition Government*, April 24, 1945.) However, 'battle' included not only military warfare but further ideological struggle as well. Now the strategy and tactics of the revolution had to be moulded in the midst of combat. On August 7, 1927, the Central Committee (CC) had deposed Chen Tu-hsiu as secretary-general after thoroughly discrediting his Right opportunist line, this under the influence of Mao Tsetung's firm advocacy of seizing power through armed struggle. The meeting also decided to carry out land reform by mobilising the peasants for armed insurrection and to meet the KMT counter-revolution by all-out resistance. This opened a new period in the Chinese revolution. But the Party's forces were scattered, with the CC remaining in Shanghai, while military units began gathering in the Ching-kang Mountains where Mao Tsetung had established Red political power. It was inevitable that under these circumstances there should be two concepts of how to rekindle the flame of revolution in China. The fact is that one of these lines, that followed by the CC under the leadership of Chu Chiu-pai, and later under Li Lisan and Wang Ming, with assistance from Liu Shao-chi, would have extinguished what possibilities did exist. It was a form of 'Left' opportunism, a dogmatic approach at odds with the concrete conditions in China which emphasised arousing the workers to engage in uprisings in the cities according to the classical approach, with the 'hope' of stimulating supporting 'spontaneous' uprisings of the peasants. But the cities were the very places where the KMT and the reaction-

aries had the backing and armed might of the imperialists and were in the strongest position to suppress at will any mass movement of revolutionaries and workers. Mao Tsetung in a letter dated January 5, 1930, and later entitled, 'A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire', characterised the above 'Left' measures as 'revolutionary impetuosity' which subjectively overestimated the hemmed-in proletarian forces of the revolution and under-estimated those of the counter-revolution. This strategy could only result in 'adventurism' which would and did prove very costly to the revolution.

Mao counterposed his own programme for reviving the revolutionary spirit and mobilising the strength of the vast masses of Chinese people. He went to the remote interior to set up his base among the poorest and most oppressed of the peasantry. Precisely because they were the backbone of the revolution, Mao began to educate and arouse them to the revolutionary solution of their exploitation and oppression. In addition, the locale he selected conformed with the concept of the 'weakest link', and was the very area where the social fabric of old China was in a state of decay, and where the KMT and the imperialists had the least strength and almost no control. It resembled a boiling pot of conflicting interests among numerous petty warlords, thereby allowing the greatest manoeuvrability militarily, yet with enough economic subsistence so that Red political power could exist in pockets completely surrounded by reactionary political power. Mao in the above-mentioned letter pointed out: '... in semi-colonial China the establishment and expansion of the Red Army, the guerilla forces and the Red areas is the highest form of peasant struggle under the leadership of the proletariat, the inevitable outcome of the growth of the semi-colonial peasant struggle, and undoubtedly the most important factor in accelerating the revolutionary high tide throughout the country.' Mao Tsetung's plan and sum-

marisation of his actual practice were detailed in his article, 'Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist In China?' (October 5, 1930), and in his report, 'The Struggle in the Ching kang Mountains' (November 25, 1928).

What Should the Military Line Be?

After the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927, the ideological fight to determine the political strategy and tactics for the revolution also had its repercussions in the military field. Since the Chinese revolution was primarily a struggle between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution, from its first days, and especially after Mao Tsetung regrouped the remnants of the Chinese people's armed forces in the Ching kang Mountains, the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Army accumulated much valuable experience both politically and militarily. Mao summarised this experience and carried out repeated ideological struggles on army-building and military strategy and tactics, creating a Marxist-Leninist type army, a people's army almost without parallel in history. The reputation it has built up over the decades has its roots in the Ching kang Mountains period and the many directives drawn up by Mao Tsetung.

One of the prime documents outlining principles to unify the military line, was the resolution Mao wrote for the Kutien Meeting of the Fourth Red Army Party delegates in December 1929, 'On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party'. Here he demolished the old concept of armies being concerned 'purely with military matters'. He pointed out it was wrong to oppose military matters to politics, because the former must have a political objective and '... military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks.' He repudiated the fallacious formula, 'If you are good militarily, naturally you are good politically; if you are not good militarily, you cannot be

any good politically.' Proletarian politics, he underscored, must never be subordinated to military affairs, and consistently Mao's first rule on this point is that the Party leads the gun, and never the reverse. He insisted that the Chinese Red Army be looked upon and operate as '... an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution', and along with fighting, it was assigned the work of politically educating the masses, organising and arming them, helping them establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organisations. He said: 'Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.'

The opposing view in the early 1930's was the 'Left' opportunist line of Li Li-san and that of Wang Ming. In addition to their military 'adventurism', which brought severe losses to the Red Army, their political line was 'Let Army Headquarters handle outside matters'. As Mao pointed out, this high-handed approach was a departure from the concept of proletarian leadership of the revolution and would alienate the army from the masses of people, eventually causing the Red Army to disintegrate into the warlordism of the KMT armies! Under Mao's vigorous leadership and his patient explanations to the military cadres, such disaster to the Chinese revolution was ultimately averted by the victory of his correct military line throughout the armed forces.

Affected also were the tactics of the Red Army. The 'Left' opportunism of Li Li-san and Wang Ming was manifested in continued over-estimation of the strength of the revolutionary armies and an under-estimation of that of the KMT-imperialist coalition entrenched behind its fortifications and the walls of the major cities. They regarded the rural revolutionary bases as mere centres for amassing military strength with which to launch attacks on the enemy's strongholds. Such was their solution for ending the continuous 'encirclement and suppression'

campaigns of Chiang Kai-shek, then mounting in fury, in number of soldiers and the quantity of equipment used, with the objective of destroying the Chinese Red Army and the areas of Red political power. They did not understand the protracted nature of the military conflict and did not perceive the law governing it—the repetition over a long period of parrying ‘encirclement and suppression’ until the balance of forces could be changed, so that the enemy could then be defeated. However, Mao Tsetung had discovered and grasped this law, and from it he derived a completely different role for the rural revolutionary bases. He saw in them hope for the Chinese revolution as a whole. China, semi-colonial and semi-feudal, required that first emphasis be placed on mobilising those who were the most oppressed and represented the majority of the population, although other forms of struggle were also to be utilised to their fullest capacity. This perforce placed the rural areas and the peasantry, especially the poor peasants, to the fore, and from this premise the political and military tactics had to be drawn. Mao viewed the rural bases not as something to be milched and then discarded, but just the reverse; they were to be nurtured and enlarged, then used to surround the enemy immobilised inside the cities and gradually isolating these one by one, wear them down until they could be overcome by a dashing blow of revolutionary power. If treated in this light the revolution would continuously receive physical and spiritual sustenance from the huge reservoir of man-power and labour-power in these bases. Therefore, his military tactics for confronting the enemy were an extension of his political tactics. His standing order was that the masses should be awakened and mobilised on an ever-broadening scale, because if they are made politically aware, then ‘. . . no enemy, however powerful, can cope with us.’ His second rule was that the revolutionary forces must maintain intimate contact

with the masses. Gaining their support, being like fish in the sea, the revolutionary forces could mainly operate in the rural areas and conduct guerilla warfare. These were summed up in the now world-famous formulation:

Divide our forces to arouse the masses; concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy.

The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.

To extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around.

Arouse the largest number of the masses in the shortest possible time and by the best possible methods.

(A Single Spark Can Start A Prairie Fire.)

It was with such theory and the successful practice of people’s war that Mao demonstrated the absolute superiority of his political and military lines, and it was because of them that the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Red Army were finally victorious. It was due to the ‘Left’ opportunist line that the army and revolutionary bases were so weakened that they could not defeat Chiang Kai-shek’s 5th ‘encirclement and suppression’ campaign. This temporary setback forced the CPC to embark on the historic Long March to North China. At mid-march, in January 1935, an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC took place in Tsunyi, Kweichow Province in Southwest China, at which the ‘Left’ line was thoroughly exposed and denounced. Mao Tsetung was elected Chairman of the CPC, and thereafter his Marxist-Leninist line dominated in forwarding the revolution. This made possible the unification of the Party and the Red Army, enabling the successful completion of the Long March and the establishment of new revolutionary bases, with Yen-an in Shensi Province as a global-acclaimed centre. These bases served as radiating points for the entire Chinese nation in the resistance against Japanese imperialist aggression,

which had begun in 1931 but would be intensified in 1937.

However, no sooner was the 'Left' line soundly trounced when Chang Kuo-tao tried to oppose Chairman Mao's correct policies with a Right opportunist line, characterised by an over-estimation of the enemy's might and an under-estimation of that of the revolutionary forces. Chang incorrectly adjudged the Long March as a great defeat. Opposing the further advance of the Red Army into North China, he advocated a retreat into the sparsely settled national minority areas on the Szechuan-Sikang border. This would have cut the revolutionary vanguard off from its very well of strength—the great mass of the Chinese people. Politically it would have inflicted a heavy blow on the revolution, just when, upon the victorious completion of the Long March, the magnificent heroism of the Red Army was needed to stir a national upsurge of resistance to the Japanese invaders and KMT capitulation to aggression. Chang actually misled a section of the Red Army into this political and military dead end, and further, he openly opposed Chairman Mao's leadership by traitorously setting up a bogus 'central committee' and disrupting the unity and discipline of the Party and army. As a result, the revolution sustained heavy losses, but with his typical patience towards comrades, Chairman Mao and the CC conducted education among the officers and soldiers under Chang until they could accept the correct political and military lines. This they did to a man—with the notable exception of Chang himself, who turned traitor by escaping from the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region in the spring of 1938 and joined the KMT secret police!

The repeated, back and forth sharp struggle over the political and military lines, the numerous errors and crimes that were perpetrated by the Right and 'Left' opportunists, naturally all took their toll from the Party, the revolution and the military campaigns. But it was only

through the Marxist-Leninist analysis of these struggles that the correct lines were forged, and in the end the Party and the Red Army became steeled and gained strength. The detailing of this amazing and complicated process of combining theory and practice of people's war in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country is contained in a work written by Chairman Mao entitled: 'Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War', a series of lectures he gave starting from December 1936. Along with other similar writings, it has since become one of the classic 'musts' for revolutionaries the world over, opening up for them the laws of development in combining political and military strategy and tactics based on the total mobilisation of the masses of people. Because these conclusions which Chairman Mao drew from actual experience can be applied in appropriate ways to almost any revolutionary situation, the immensity of his contribution in developing Marxism-Leninism stands out all the more.

Why a National United Front Against Japan and Who Should Lead It?

By 1937, the Red Army had solidly established its headquarters in Yen-an. From there it exerted the political leadership of the proletariat and its party in organising and educating the Chinese people to meet the gravest challenge to their survival as a nation from Japanese aggression and the capitulationist policy of the KMT. They announced as their objectives: peace, democracy, armed resistance to aggression and setting up a 'unified democratic republic', as the conditions for merging the KMT- and the CPC-led areas into one government. The Party had shown its good faith in its programme by negotiating the Sian Incident (1936), by which the CPC effected the freeing of Chiang Kai-shek from arrest by Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng, two of his leading generals in North-west China, in return for Chiang's agreement to a grand

alliance of resistance against Japan. This was the second instance of KMT-CPC cooperation, but this time the differing factor was that the CPC was Mao Tse-tung-led and had a maturity grown out of vast experience in political and military struggle with the enemy and with the struggle between the two lines inside the Party.

The CPC set itself the task of organising a national united front in a Political Bureau resolution which was agreed upon on December 25, 1935, in a northern Shensi village. This front was seen as the burning desire of the people who had been awakened by the brutality of the Japanese invasion, and who were aroused in their millions by the common wish for China's complete liberation. Backed by this popular groundswell, the Party set as its goal '... to unite not only all the possible basic forces but also the potential allies likely to resist Japan ...' Those who had labour power were encouraged to give it, those with guns and money to make contributions, and so forth, '... leaving no patriotic Chinese outside the anti-Japanese front.'

The class alignment within this broadest possible united front was as follows: The Chinese working class and peasantry remained the basic motive power of the revolution and thereby of the front itself. Their most reliable allies were the masses of petty-bourgeoisie and the revolutionary intellectuals. The resolution read: 'A solid alliance of the workers, the peasants and the petty-bourgeoisie is the basic force for defeating Japanese imperialism and the traitors and collaborators.' But the way was left open for a section of the national bourgeoisie and even the warlords to join or at least remain neutral. Thus, though these elements might dislike the idea of Red political power and its carrying out of an agrarian revolution, still by their participation or even partial entry, the united front was seen as increasing the total strength of the revolution in the same proportion that the strength of the

counter-revolution was reduced.

Under Chairman Mao's leadership, the CPC embarked on this political course fully aware that it entailed both unity and struggle, and that there would be struggle against the enemy without, and between the proletarian and bourgeois lines within the Party. In his report, 'The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Period of the Resistance to Japan', delivered on May 3, 1937, Chairman Mao dealt with these conflicts. He outlined how the proletariat should give political leadership to all the revolutionary classes in the country. First, to put forth the principal political slogans that conform to the demands of the historical period and with each of its stages. The example he gives is that the Party called for 'an anti-Japanese national united front' and for 'a unified democratic republic'. But knowing the treachery of Chiang Kai-shek and the reactionary nature of the KMT, the Party concurrently put forth the slogans 'end the civil war', 'win democracy' and 'carry out armed resistance'. Thus was unity combined with struggle on a national scale. Second, Chairman Mao called on all communists to set the example in materialising the above goals, '... be the most far-sighted, the most self-sacrificing, the most resolute and the least prejudiced in sizing up situations, and ... rely on the majority of the masses and win their support.' Third, the CPC should work to establish proper relations with its allies, while 'never relinquishing its defined political objectives'. And fourth, it should expand its ranks and maintain its ideological unity and strict discipline.

On the last point, it was not until the present Cultural Revolution that it was disclosed Liu Shao-chi misused this directive to violate Chairman Mao's instructions for building the Party. In the article, 'Introducing *The Communist*', issued on October 4, 1939, the Chairman wrote: 'During the expansion of the Party's organisation, a good many careerists and enemy saboteurs did succeed in sneaking

in despite the fact that the CC stressed the slogan: "Expand the Party boldly, but do not let a single undesirable in". However, it was just in this period when Liu was working in North China that he made it possible for a large group of traitors, those like himself who had already gone over to the enemy, to enter or re-enter the Party. He was to make use of them for his own counter-revolutionary purposes for over 30 years! This group represented only a small proportion of those admitted to the Party in that period, but nonetheless they were a dangerous, hidden minority.

At the time, this situation was not known or clear, and therefore the inner-Party struggles arose around attitudes and actions in relation to the united front. The first of these battles was against the 'closed-doorism' which was a mark of the 'Left' opportunism of Wang Ming and Po Ku from 1931 to 1935. This line insisted that the entire struggle against Japan should be fought by the CPC single-handedly. Such an idea was taken to task by Chairman Mao in his report, 'On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism', December 27, 1935. He pointed out the absurdity of the insistence on absolute purity for the revolutionary forces, the effect of which would be to preclude a united front with the national bourgeoisie, the rich peasants and revolutionary intellectuals, and play right into the hands of the pro-Japanese clique within the KMT. Mao showed that only by opening up the possibilities of unity with the broadest grouping could there be effective strength mustered to meet the onslaught of a formidable enemy. He emphasised that the CPC must play the leading role in the united front, but that the war and the revolution would be of a protracted nature and any 'closed-doorism' and undue haste, which had brought the people's cause such huge losses after 1927, would bring further losses at a most perilous time. Chairman Mao remarked that revolution and war never

follow a straight path, that the alignment of forces constantly changes with the shifting situation, and that what China needed most at the moment was to mass millions upon millions of people and '... move a mighty revolutionary army into action.' In the end, he demonstrated that the united front was a Marxist-Leninist policy, whereas 'closed-doorism' worked for the imperialist enemy.

After the Lukouchiao Incident (known abroad as the Marco Polo Bridge Incident) in July 1937, which was provoked by the Japanese imperialists and signalled the beginning of their large-scale invasion of North China south of the Great Wall, the main danger inside the Party with regard to the united front was Right opportunism, that is, capitulation of 'front' leadership to the KMT. Faced directly with attack by the aggressors and large losses of territory, Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT could not but begin to display some degree of resistance, and this evoked paeans of praise from Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi. They called this butcher of the people 'the great banner' around which the Chinese masses should rally, and advocated that the united front meant that the struggle against Japan should be realised through the KMT as leader, with the CPC in a supporting role. Chairman Mao immediately took up the cudgels against this surrender of the CPC's independence and initiative, placing the weight of the question at its political epicentre: In the national united front will the proletariat lead or the bourgeoisie, the CPC or the KMT? Drawing examples from past history and analysing the class characteristics of the CPC and the KMT at that moment, he stated: 'We must sharply pose the question of who is to lead and resolutely combat capitulationism. . . .' (*The Situation and Tasks in the Anti-Japanese War After the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan*, November 12, 1937.) Just a few months earlier in his report, 'The Tasks of the CPC in the Period of Resistance

to Japan', Chairman Mao had taken up the essence of this question. He had placed the united front and resistance to Japan in the context of the Chinese revolution, that is, the present struggle should under no circumstances be fought at the sacrifice of the long-term goals of the proletariat and its Party and of the entire Chinese people. At some particular juncture compromise and concession would have to be made in the interest of mobilising the broadest political forces, but never would the ideal of socialism and communism be forfeited. Meanwhile, it had to be recognised that this goal would be attained only by first going through the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, that it was adventurism to attempt to eliminate or leap over any intermediate stage to socialism. He wrote: 'The CPC has its own political and economic programme. Its maximum programme is socialism and communism, which is different from the Three People's Principles. Even its programme for the period of the democratic revolution is more thorough-going than that of any other party in China. But the CPC's programme for the democratic revolution and the programme of the Three People's Principles as proclaimed by the Kuo-mintang's First National Congress are basically not in conflict. Therefore, far from rejecting the Three People's Principles, we are ready staunchly to put them into practice; moreover, we ask the Kuo-mintang to implement them together with us, and we call upon the whole nation to put them into effect.' From this it can be seen that Chairman Mao looked upon the whole struggle as one in which the CPC was giving the only effective leadership, and it was utter nonsense to talk as Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi did, that Chiang and the KMT were the 'highest leadership', when never for a moment did the latter set aside their die-hard anti-CPC, anti-people policies. 'In the present circumstances, without the political leadership of the proletariat and

its Party it is impossible to establish an anti-Japanese national united front, to attain the objectives of peace, democracy and armed resistance and to defend the motherland, and impossible to set up a unified democratic republic.' Chairman Mao thus delineated the only possible road to victory over imperialist aggression and the fascist dictatorship at home.

The policy of independence and unity within the united front, that is, neither allowing the Party to be put into an impasse, nor doing anything to disrupt the national united front, was to have far-reaching consequences. By standing unequivocally for proletarian leadership of the front, Chairman Mao prevented Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi and others from reverting to Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationism to the KMT. The CPC carried out a vigorous programme that expressed its belief in the masses rather than in the empty talk of Chiang Kai-shek. The result was the continuous expansion of the CPC-led Liberated Areas and the people's armed forces, both in the Areas and in the enemy-occupied regions. The leadership of the resistance to Japan was kept without deviation in the hands of the CPC, providing the basic condition for the development of the progressive forces within the country, for winning over the middle forces and isolating the die-hards. Chairman Mao pointed out later: 'Not only did this ensure our Party's ability to defeat Japanese imperialism in the period of its aggression, but also, in the period after the Japanese surrender when Chiang Kai-shek launched his counter-revolutionary war, it ensured our Party's ability to switch smoothly and without loss to the course of opposing Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary war with a people's revolutionary war and to win great victories in a short time.' (*The Present Situation and Our Tasks*, December 1947.)

Why a People's War? Whence its Power? What's its Immediate Goals?

Many problems cropped up in the interpretation and execution of the concept of a protracted war against Japanese aggression. Outside the Party the Marxist-Leninist line of organising and mobilising the masses for 'the long haul' had to combat those who were defeatist and overwhelmed by the idea of 'years' of warfare, who felt China could not sustain such a strain politically, economically and emotionally. Still others believed victory would come easily and without exerting great effort. Both views were subjective. The pessimists ignored or belittled the fact that the revolutionary force had great potential but was still in a state of growth and was only temporarily inferior. The 'optimists' did not start from the reality of the formidableness of the invaders, nor did they take into account the current, relative weakness of the resistance forces due to the KMT policy of fighting the civil war instead of defending the motherland, and of capitulating to the enemy. But gradually the masses began to grasp the meaning of the slogan formulated and propagated by Chairman Mao and the CPC: 'Our 400 million people have been making a concerted effort since the Lukuochiao Incident and final victory will belong to China!' Understanding also came about through the airing of the struggle inside the Party between the two lines in the question of how to fight the war, and from what political basis.

As described above, Chairman Mao had made obvious the absolute necessity of the broadest possible national united front, which would include various classes and political groupings. But of these, he always stressed, the most important were the masses—the workers, peasants and soldiers. In his monumental work, 'On Protracted War' (May 1938), he called attention to the fact that the reason the Japanese imperialists dared to take advantage of China was because the

Chinese masses were as yet unorganised. Then he prophesied: 'When this defect is remedied, then the Japanese aggressor, like a mad bull crashing into a ring of flames, will be surrounded by hundreds of millions of our people standing upright, the mere sound of their voices will strike terror into him, and he will be burned to death.' It was only by such a massive activation that China's inferiority in arms and other things could be counter-balanced and all difficulties in waging war overcome. 'To win victory, we must persevere in the War of Resistance, in the united front and in the protracted war. But all these are inseparable from the mobilisation of the common people,' Chairman Mao emphasised.

Concurrently, Wang Ming was proposing a policy in disparagement and contempt of the masses, one completely counter to the above. He could not estimate the KMT highly enough, designating it the largest political party in the country and hence the 'obvious leader' of the people in war. He proclaimed that all communists held the friendliest of feelings and the greatest hopes for the KMT! This shocking statement was made after the KMT had immersed its hands in the blood of millions of progressive people. Time after time it would act in the most despicable way, not to mention its worldwide reputation for the corruption that wracked its ranks from the very top to the bottom. Likewise flagrant was Liu Shao-chi's statement a few years later, by way of continuing Wang Ming's line, that in China and the world the KMT held a legal position as the leading authority and the head of a mighty army! As of then, such blustering apparently was considered a matter of ideological confusion on the part of Wang and Liu, but later events demonstrated beyond doubt that they were inveterate reactionaries, intent on sowing confusion, because in truth they rejected Chairman Mao's line, the only correct line. Objec-

tively, they promoted Chiang Kai-shek and KMT hegemony in China!

Directly related to this struggle was the question of what type of political power would ensue from the total mobilisation called for by Chairman Mao. Within the Party intense debate took place. Wang Ming, projecting his usual line, wanted a coalition government composed of the KMT and the CPC—but on the premise that Red political power should give way to KMT power! He actually prescribed the abolition of the governments set up by the CPC in the Liberated Areas! And as late as 1942, and thereafter, Liu Shao-chi was echoing this political monstrosity when he attributed undue credit to Chiang Kai-shek for the united efforts of the people in opposing the Japanese invaders. He 'forecast' that after the war the strength of the KMT would be 'invincible' and therefore it was only 'logical' that Chiang should be recognised as the leader of the New China! This could only be spoken by a true renegade. Liu's conception of a regenerated China was one in which the big bourgeoisie, the landlords and the imperialists would dominate, and China would remain impoverished and at the mercy of the imperialist powers.

Chairman Mao rebutted this traitorous programme with a Marxist-Leninist one, in conformity with the development of history. In his detailed outline for the future entitled 'On New Democracy' (January 1940) he stated: 'The first step or stage in our revolution is definitely not, and cannot be, the establishment of a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie, but will result in the establishment of a new-democratic society under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes of China headed by the Chinese proletariat. The revolution will then be carried forward to the second stage, in which a socialist society will be established in China.' This perspective which Chairman Mao gave the Chinese people would take them forward, not

allow them to stagnate and become the prey of exploiters within China and from around the world.

Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi were voicing not only their own personal sentiments; they were the covert spokesmen for the KMT within the Party. And it was precisely the time when the KMT anti-CPC die-hards were doing all in their power to prevent the setting up and expansion of the CPC organs of anti-Japanese democratic power in North and Central China and in other regions. China was in the throes of an open struggle between the KMT attempting to thwart the spread of people's power, and the masses fighting under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the CPC to extend their influence and rule as widely as conditions permitted. This struggle gained the concern of the whole country. In the inner-Party directive written by Chairman Mao and issued on March 6, 1940, he spelled out the CPC's objective: 'The political power we are establishing during the Anti-Japanese War is of a united front character. It is the political power of all those who support both resistance and democracy, it is joint democratic dictatorship of several revolutionary classes over the traitors and reactionaries. It differs from the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie as well as from the worker-peasant democratic dictatorship of the Agrarian Revolution (1927-37).' (*On the Question of Political Power in the Anti-Japanese Base Areas.*) It was a form of people's power that derived its organisation and content from the historical and the then prevailing conditions of China.

It was on such political foundation that Chairman Mao planned his strategy and tactics of people's war against the Japanese aggressors and the attacks of the KMT on the Liberated Areas. Verified by practice, these principles have become another of his great contributions to Marxism-Leninism, one with universal application. Based on the political awareness of an

armed population, these principles relate mobile guerilla warfare to positional warfare, and define under what conditions one form should take precedence over the other, how guerilla warfare should first support positional warfare until it can be gradually transformed into regular warfare. These laws of people's war served the Chinese people well, enabling them to inflict crippling losses on the Japanese aggressors and the KMT reactionary troops, promoting the development of the Liberated Areas so that by the end of the Anti-Japanese Aggression War they had a population of over 90 millions, a regular army of one million men and a people's militia numbering over 2.2 million. It was on this great strength that the revolutionary forces in China relied when the American imperialists propped up Chiang Kai-shek and liberally supplied him with the money and the materiel for his last counter-revolutionary effort, starting in 1946. A mere three years were needed to settle this question.

How to Purify the Party?

In the period from 1942 to 1945, there were still many important political struggles which erupted in society and particularly inside the Party. The Wang Ming line had caused almost catastrophic losses to the CPC and the Red Army. Equally important, Wang Ming's ideology, his way of thinking and analysis, had not been cleared out of the minds of many Party members, including some in positions of leadership. Therefore, if the revolution was to progress, if all the difficulties it was still to encounter were to be surmounted, if nation-wide victory was to be achieved, this stumbling block had to be cleared from the path. To do this job, Chairman Mao unfolded one of his boldest creations—a mass movement to rectify people's incorrect ideas, to enable them to elevate their understanding of Marxism-Leninism and give the whole Party the impetus by which the members

could reach new heights in the study and use of his revolutionary proletarian thought.

The theoretical basis for the initial rectification movement was laid down in a series of speeches made by Chairman Mao. These were: 'Reform Our Study' (May 1941), 'Rectify the Party's Style of Work' (February 1, 1942), 'Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing' (February 8, 1942), and the famous 'Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art' (May 1942). Although not mentioning Wang Ming by name, the content of these speeches had as their target the petty-bourgeois ideology he had dragged into the Party. To counter this sinister influence, Chairman Mao laid down a Marxist-Leninist programme, and the comparison between this proletarian line and Wang Ming's non-proletarian one was the starting point for an unprecedented campaign of criticism and self-criticism that lasted almost three years. This engendered a totally new atmosphere inside the Party, solidly putting it on a Marxist-Leninist foundation. The earth-shaking victories of the Chinese revolution gained their impetus during the rectification movement, with the end result that the most populous country in the world joined the side of socialism, in a stronger position to fight world-wide imperialism and all exploitation and oppression.

Chairman Mao concentrated on three points in devastating Wang Ming's ideology and implanting a Marxist-Leninist method of analysis and conduct of Party affairs. These were: subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing. He reminded the Party members that: 'Marxism is a science, and a science means honesty, solid knowledge; there is no room for playing tricks.' He elucidated that every communist had to start from an absorption of *facts*, an accurate observation of all things which exist objectively; to discover the *truth* about

them, to learn and understand their internal relations, the laws governing them, in order to avoid dogmatism and empiricism, both of which are subjectivism, but originating from opposite poles. He warned that Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma but a guide to action. Therefore, subjectivism had to be fought in order to rectify the style of formulating Party policy, to anchor it firmly in Marxism-Leninism and objective reality; sectarianism had to be fought in order to rectify the Party's internal and external relations, to get rid of subjectivism in organisational matters and ' . . . proceed from the principle that the Party's interests are above personal and sectional interests, so that the Party can attain complete solidarity and unity . . . ' This approach had to be applied to external relations as well, to unite with all who could be united in order to forward the interests of the Chinese people and the people of the world as a whole. Stereotyped Party writing had to be fought so that communications between the Party and its members and the rest of the population, not to mention the people of the world, could be the most effective, by proceeding from a systematic and thorough analysis of phenomena to find where the contradiction and its solution lay. The Chairman especially called upon the propagandists to develop a 'mass style', to learn from the masses in order to explain things to them in their own language.

In rousing all the Party to wage combat against subjectivism in every sphere, Chairman Mao urged propagation of materialism and dialectics. He likewise said: 'Communists must also go into the whys and wherefores of everything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded; on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness.' Liu Shao-chi, who took up the crusade for subjectivism once his mentor, Wang Ming, had been defeated, assiduously opposed this instruction. In

his poisonous weed, *How To Be A Good Communist* (also referred to as 'Self-cultivation'), published in 1939, he staked out the road he wanted Party members to follow: that of introspection, divorce from the masses and acting like 'docile tools'. In this book he omitted any reference to seizing state power by armed force, setting up a dictatorship of the proletariat, and even the waging of the war against the Japanese imperialists! He had a purpose in this: he himself had betrayed the Party, and through the years had brought into its ranks an entire network of his own kind and placed these class enemies in many important Party and state posts, commanding them to be his 'docile tools' in carrying out a counter-revolutionary programme. Through his gang he sought to influence the whole Party and thus alter the course of the Chinese revolution, to deliver it into the hands of the Chinese people's worst enemies—imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek. Allowing such persons' admittance into the Party was in violation of the policy laid down by Chairman Mao and accepted by the Party congresses and organs. Chairman Mao had made it explicit: 'As for renegades, except for those who have committed heinous crimes, they should be given a chance to turn over a new leaf provided they discontinue their anti-communist activities; and if they come back and wish to rejoin the revolution they may be accepted, but must not be re-admitted into the Party.' (*On Policy*, December 25, 1940.) But Liu constantly circumvented this directive, and even tried to make his actions legal by getting his plot adopted as policy at Party congresses. Although he never won official approval of his counter-revolutionary proposals, he continued to commit illegal acts against the Party for several decades and protected his network in one rectification movement after the other! Thus, while the rectification movement in 1942, and those that followed, were major successes which gave the world a new stand-

ard for and an effective method of truing up the activities of a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party, making Mao Tsetung Thought supreme in Party policies, this cancer which yet remained would fester and grow until excised during the biggest and most thorough rectification movement of them all—the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. As for the 1942-45 rectification, it provided the ideological and organisational basis for the victorious conclusion of the Anti-Japanese Aggression War and the successful transition to the Liberation War, which would free the whole country.

Whither China?

After the defeat of Japanese imperialism, a situation arose in the country which brought on new ideological struggles. In the realm of domestic politics the question was: Will China go forward to build a new-democratic society led by the proletariat, or will it remain the old China, semi-feudal, semi-colonial and under the leadership of the landlords and big bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek? He was shouting about 'building the country', but his conception of 'building' was to invite further penetration by the imperialists, and especially the American imperialists, and the further intensification of the exploitation of the labouring masses. The Chinese people had to make their choice between the Marxist-Leninist programme as set forth by Chairman Mao and the CPC and Chiang's out-and-out reactionary line.

Making this choice was complicated by the fact that the nation was weary from war, and a tremendous job faced the people of rebuilding the war devastation. There was some market for 'building the country', but the crux of the question was: 'What kind of country?' Here was Chiang Kai-shek trying to grab all the fruits of the victory in the War of Resistance for himself, although he had sat with arms fold-

ed during most of the war years and had no 'merits' to speak of. At the same time, he had conserved his forces and the wartime aid from the United States, just waiting for this moment to throw them into a civil war, because he had never given up the plan to destroy the CPC and the Liberated Areas. As far as he was concerned, the war against Japan was a mere vehicle for the expansion of his 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns. Faced with such reality, the CPC strove valiantly to prevent the all-out renewal of civil war and to hold earnest discussions with the KMT in an effort to solve China's political problems via consultation—but with the proviso that the CPC stood on equal footing with the KMT, since the major portion of the fighting against Japan had been borne by the people's armed forces. Therefore, there could be no question of one party ordering the other about, as Chiang intended. The CPC had to formulate a correct line properly evaluating the designs of the American imperialists and the KMT reactionaries, to meet Chiang's open threats and his actual military attacks which were continuing even while he and Mao Tsetung were holding talks in Chungking in August and September of 1945.

Two lines made their appearance inside the Party over the problem of how to lead the struggle—whether by negotiations or with arms—so that the victory over Japan would be preserved and a truly new China built. Chairman Mao's proletarian line was: Mount every effort to mobilise and arm the masses ideologically and militarily under the leadership of the CPC, and to maintain the highest vigilance even though the political discussions were continuing. After all, the CPC and the Chinese people had experienced 18 years of the culpability and cruelty of Chiang Kai-shek and his clique; consequently, it was impossible to be so naive as to put full faith in a document to which Chiang had affixed his signature, and reluctantly at that. Nego-

tiations were undertaken to test in public whether the KMT would agree to a principled peace and genuine democracy. If these could be attained by talking rather than fighting, all to the good; if not, then the KMT would be exposed thoroughly as the obstacle to national unity and the reconstruction of the country. The political initiative would remain with the CPC. Meantime, the Party's policy was to fight to protect every inch of the people's territory in the Liberated Areas, and not one gun or bullet would be turned over to the KMT. Concessions could be made here or there in terms of territory or in military affairs in order to facilitate agreements, *but basically the interests of the people could not be imperilled*. The reason: while the KMT was compelled by public opinion inside the country and throughout the world to sit down and talk, yet at the same time it was fielding 800,000 troops to attack every one of the Liberated Areas or preparing to do so. The only safe course, one that displayed a deep sense of responsibility to the people, was to give 'tit for tat': negotiation when necessary, fight when necessary. This was the hard road, of course, but it was the only one that would safeguard the revolution. Chairman Mao looked at it this way: 'We must recognise difficulties, analyse and combat them. There are no straight roads in the world; we must be prepared to follow a road which twists and turns and not try to get things on the cheap.' And, 'By uniting with the entire people in a common effort, we can certainly overcome all difficulties and win victory.' (*On the Chungking Negotiations*, October 17, 1945.)

In contraposition was the bourgeois line whose chief representative was Liu Shao-chi. Just two months after Chairman Mao had presented his position, Liu made a speech and set out a policy of his own, in which he attempted to reverse the very premise and therefore the conclusions Chairman Mao had arrived at. Liu insisted that China had already entered the

period of peace and democracy, that thereafter the main form of struggle would be non-violent, a mass struggle coupled with parliamentary opposition. He even went so far as to say that struggle should be conducted within a legal framework—this at a time when Chiang Kai-shek persisted in maintaining that the CPC was 'illegal'. Only as a cultural organisation would Chiang allow it to take part in the 'political consultative conference'! Liu also spread the dangerous illusion that there was a possibility of avoiding civil war despite the very obvious reality known to every person in China that such had not ceased for one minute in the several decades since 1927. Liu sought to promote faith in Chiang's phoney promises of democratic practices to disarm the people politically, to encourage the masses to place full and unconditional reliance on political solutions. One has to ask: How could a so-called communist talk about democracy while making it void of class content? In other words, democracy for whom, for which class? Liu further cast all kinds of false hopes, appealing to people's selfish interests by alluding that it was now possible the CPC would become one of the ruling parties and send people to take part in Chiang's KMT government and ministries! He seemed unable to contain himself at the thought of serving Chiang, the landlords and the big bourgeoisie. How different was Chairman Mao's reaction to such a suggestion: 'It is no easy job to be an official bound hand and foot, we won't do it. If we become officials, our hands and feet must be unfettered, we must be free to act, that is, a coalition government must be set up on a democratic basis.' (*The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan*, August 13, 1945.)

However, the apex of capitulation was yet to be reached. Liu was ready to surrender the very staff of life for the Chinese revolution—the People's Liberation Army! Thirty years previously he had

been responsible for disarming the workers in Wuhan and making them fair game for the KMT's counter-revolution. Now in the same vein he was openly advocating that the PLA must accede to the KMT demands that it be 'reorganised' and 'nationalised', including the elimination of its whole political system, the source of its superiority. This advocacy was made without specifying any guarantees politically and organisationally to assure the safety of the revolutionary bases and forces. It was pure sell-out, but fortunately Chairman Mao's policy prevailed. He retorted: 'We act after his (Chiang Kai-shek—GT) fashion. He always tries to impose war on the people, one sword in his left hand and another in his right. We take up swords, too, following his example.' (Ibid.) The revolution was thus saved a shattering set-back at a critical moment in Chinese and world history; Chairman Mao's ideology ensured victory for the Chinese people and placed China firmly on the road to becoming a new-democratic and then a socialist country.

Liu also catered to incorrect ideas among some sections of society, especially among the bourgeois intellectuals. At a time when the prestige of the CPC was at its height, he pandered to the fantasies some people held about the KMT being able to reform itself with the help of a 'disinterested', 'impartial' American government, which would bring peace and democracy to China through 'mediation' between the KMT and the CPC. These people did not understand the true nature of bourgeois democracy, that it is democracy for the bourgeoisie to do whatever they like in the pursuit of super-profits out of the exploitation of the vast majority of the population. Liu gave ideological support to these elements, expressing his 'faith' in the international bourgeoisie, prating that it also desired peace, and now approved of China becoming democratised—in the American style! He also lauded the huge military and monetary aid the

US government was rendering Chiang, claiming it was being given to 'China', without hinting that the US and Chiang intended to use it to destroy the PLA and the Liberated Areas, in total disregard to the losses to be borne by the Chinese people. Liu lied about this so-called aid, claiming it would result in economic construction!

Chairman Mao had an opposite view of the situation: 'I doubt very much that the policy of the US government is one of "mediation"'. Judging by the large amount of aid the United States is giving Chiang Kai-shek to enable him to wage a civil war on an unprecedented scale, the policy of the US government is to use the so-called mediation as a smoke-screen for strengthening Chiang Kai-shek in every way and suppressing the democratic forces in China through Chiang Kai-shek's policy of slaughter so as to reduce China virtually to a US colony.' (*The Truth About US 'Mediation' and the Future of the Civil War in China*, September 29, 1946.) So much for the impartiality in international politics and the showcase 'mediation mission' of General George C. Marshall in 1945-46, which as an 'aside' had equipped two million of Chiang's troops, directly transporting 540,000 of them to the fronts in US air and naval facilities! After Chiang launched his over-all attack in July 1946, Marshall and Stuart, the China-born US ambassador to the KMT, issued a joint statement admitting that 'mediation' had failed, thus giving Chiang a free hand to unleash war on the Chinese people in the name of counter-revolution. Such was the future in which Liu Shao-chi would have had the Chinese people place their hopes!

The struggle between the two lines also involved a basic internal matter, land reform, which was decisive to the future of the country. First, it had to be carried out properly and thoroughly in order to destroy the feudal economic structure. 'Properly and thoroughly' meant keeping

the target within the limited range of those economic relations upon which the power of feudalism rested, with strictly no encroachment either upon the national bourgeoisie or upon the industrial and commercial enterprises run by the landlords and rich peasants; and precisely to classify the various categories of peasants, with the objective to unite about 90 per cent of the population in the villages, that is, unite all the rural working people to establish a united front against the feudal system. Second, land reform was necessary to consolidate the Liberated Areas, to mobilise the masses of peasantry politically, to support the Liberation War, and thus provide a solid foundation for the nation-wide victory. Since the Chinese revolution was basically a question of the peasantry, land reform was the method of obtaining their liberation. At the same time, it created the conditions for the first steps into the future, to collective effort on the land—the mutual aid teams and later the lower form of cooperatives.

Chairman Mao in various documents laid down the general line for the land reform: ' . . . rely on the poor peasants, unite with the middle peasants, abolish the system of feudal exploitation step by step and in a discriminating way, and develop agricultural production.' (*Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area*, April 1, 1948.) He stressed that it was essential to unite with the middle peasants, that the poor peasants and farm labourers must form a solid united front with the middle peasants because their numbers were not small—20 per cent of the rural population. If this was not done, the poor peasants and farm labourers would find themselves isolated and the land reform would fail.

As was his constant technique of leadership, Chairman Mao was showing how to unite the greatest number against the smallest target, thereby assuring victory. But Liu Shao-chi adopted an ultra-'Left' policy, simplistically declaring: Obey the

masses. If they demand the distribution of the middle peasants' land, then do so; if they don't, then forget it. He went on to lump the middle peasants into one category with the landlords and rich peasants, proclaiming that they were all against land reform. He thereby unreasonably enlarged the targets of the struggle. In every likelihood, it was this serious deviation that Chairman Mao had in mind when he said: ' . . . on the question of dealing with the demands of the masses, it (a conference of secretaries of perfectural Party committees—GT) failed to make a sober analysis and raised the sweeping slogan, "Do everything as the masses want it done!" With respect to the latter point, which is a question of the Party's relationship with the masses, the Party must lead the masses to carry out all their correct ideas in the light of the circumstances and educate them to correct any wrong ideas they may entertain.' (*Ibid.*) To illustrate his point, Chairman Mao brought up the experience of one county which had carried out well the CC's directives on land reform. There the activists from among the non-Party masses were invited to participate in the Party branch meetings where criticism and self-criticism were utilised, and through this method impurities in the class composition of the branch were discovered and persons so identified were removed from the Party organisations. Through such a style of work the land reform was highly effective and errors were righted in a timely way, enabling the Party to forge closer links with the masses.

It was with this momentum that the new-democratic revolution was carried forward to a successful conclusion. But even in the midst of this triumphant march, the two lines were struggling against each other right down to the bitter end. As late as December 1948, Liu Shao-chi was ridiculously clamouring that the revolution was developing too quickly, that it was difficult to keep pace with it, and too many problems were created!

He wanted to slow it down under the pretext of the need for better 'preparations'. In that very same month, Chairman Mao took another view. He did not dwell on the speed of the revolution, but on the more vital question of whether the Chinese people were going to pursue it to completion or abandon it half way. He indicated the path to take: 'If the revolution is to be carried through to the end, we must use the revolutionary method to wipe out all the forces of reaction resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely; we must unswervingly persist in overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; and we must overthrow the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang on a country-wide scale and set up a republic that is a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat and with the worker-peasant alliance as its main body.' (*Carry the Revolution Through to the End*, December 30, 1948.) The Chinese people moved ahead in precisely this direction and less than a year later the People's Republic of China was established. A

bright, new day dawned for the Chinese and world revolutions.

This momentous victory had been won because it was based on three key principles:

'A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people';

'An army under the leadership of such a Party';

'A united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party'.

(*On The People's Democratic Dictatorship*, June 30, 1949.)

And it was through adhering to the above three 'old reliables' that China would maintain its advance, opposing along the way further opportunist deviations in the Party, both Right and 'Left', and creating new experiences while carrying out the socialist revolution and construction, and continuing the revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(Continued in the next issue)

Internationalism or Cosmopolitanism?

In his Political Report, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao pointed out: 'We have always held that the internal affairs of each country should be settled by its own people. The relations between all countries and between all parties, big or small, must be built on the principles of equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. To safeguard these Marxist-Leninist principles, the Communist Party of China has waged a long struggle against the sinister great-power chauvinism of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. This is a fact known to all.' The Soviet revisionists have been riding roughshod over other countries in its 'community', violating their sovereignty at will, intervening in their internal affairs and destroying recognised elementary principles of state sovereignty lock, stock, and barrel. Yet they even talk profusely of 'proletarian internationalism'! What audacity! To put it bluntly, the 'internationalism' of the Soviet revisionists is nothing but imperialist cosmopolitanism and big-power chauvinism which is aimed at conquering and enslaving other nations and establishing world hegemony. The fallacy of 'limited sovereignty' advertised by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is exactly the same as that of arch imperialism, the United States, and is copied from it. The chieftain of US imperialism, Dulles, now deceased, was one of the most active propagandists of 'limited sovereignty'.

Chi Hsiang-yang, of the Hsiyuying Production Brigade in Hsiaoan District, Tientsin, writes in *Red Flag*, May 1969

The Rebirth of a Chinese University

Barbara Mututantri

In August and September, 1967, Shanghai's Tungchi University sent more than 100 people in groups to factories and building sites to go into the question of reforming education through a combination of classroom work and labour on the building site itself. This was then a break-through to what is now fully accepted and (all-over) practised method of study, i.e. part-study, part-physical-labour or practical experience.

Tungchi University finally formed what they called the May 7th Commune, in which education and production could be successfully combined. This achievement had tremendous repercussions in colleges and universities all over China. Tungchi University's May 7th Commune consisted of a unit for the study of theory, a unit for the study of design, and a practical class on a construction site. This was an early milestone on the road to integration between education and production. Even the teaching staff were required to participate regularly in work on the construction site, and workers from the site made their debut as lecturers in the halls of the university.

The rebels began by exposing the old educational system and criticising the lecturers who were attempting to poison the minds of the students by teaching them to design far-fetched and exotic buildings quite unsuited to China's present needs or plans for a Communist future; and also teaching the students to

admire only foreign architecture and ideas, thus filling their heads with bourgeois ideology. The determined few, who wanted to form the May 7th Commune, had an uphill task from the beginning. They were often discouraged, but Chairman Mao's words of May 7th, 1966, which had inspired them a year earlier, reminded them over and over again that what they stood for was correct. And they discovered for themselves that you cannot create anything good and new until you have completely torn down, exposed and done away with the bad and the backward.

Their preliminary educational programme was at first strongly resisted by the bourgeois lecturers and authorities of the university, who attempted to strangle it at birth. But the May 7th Commune members finally won their battle; were recognised by the Revolutionary Committee of Shanghai, and praised by Mao Tsetung himself.

In November 1968 I visited Tungchi University and had a talk with three students and a construction site worker—all original members of the May 7th Commune, who rescued the university from its revisionist mud-hole, and who gave a high-spirited account of the zig-zag course they had to travel in their battle to abolish the barrier between university students and the men who labour with their hands; and whose joint achievements have helped to create a completely

new system of education in China. The first account is a synthesis of what was given to me by the students; the second was by a carpenter.

The First Account—by students

This is the Architectural and Engineering college of Tungchi University. It was set up in 1907 by the Germans. It was a part of the cultural invasion of China by many foreign powers at that time. They gave it a very nice name—'Mutual Aid'—but actually it was like the butcher who hung a sheep's head over his stall and sold dog meat to the public.

Our university had been in existence for 42 years at the time of Liberation in 1949. It began with a medical college. Later an architectural and engineering college was added.

Our path has not been different from any other university in China: we had a revisionist educational line here, too, organised by Liu Shao-chi and our college was under the control of bourgeois intellectuals and people planted by the KMT. Most of them came from one-time rich families; some of them used to be landlords or capitalists themselves. Some were still getting shares from the businesses they once owned—right up to the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. Many of the lecturers were once high-ranking officers under Chiang Kai-shek, and many are Chinese who returned to our country after long years of study in foreign countries, filled with Western ideology after eating bread and butter!

There is a professor here who actually used to cover his nose with his handkerchief whenever he came near to students from worker or peasant families and had to bend down over them to explain something. He wasn't hostile towards those students, but his ideas were in a complete rut. Only a few professors here were out and out reactionary; most of them had just got some bourgeois ideas. The com-

monest fault of the bourgeois intellectuals is that their theories have nothing to do with practical knowledge. For instance, in the Public Works' Department, a professor there had written a book on the water supply of the city. It is a very thick book, all about pumping water into the cities from the surrounding countryside. Since it is such a big book, it ought to contain a great deal of knowledge. Early on in the Cultural Revolution, we brought a pump into the lecture room and asked him to operate it, but he didn't have any idea how to work it. Then we took him to a pumping station, where the pump had gone wrong; and he held the design in his hands and was looking from the design to the machine, but he couldn't even diagnose where the fault lay. Then he suddenly remembered a very urgent appointment and hurried away from the pumping station! Now he agrees with us that he can talk a lot, but can do very little. We examined his book and found it was reams of words just copied from foreign books and had nothing to do with the problems connected with China's water-supply system; to which we badly need immediate answers.

There are a great many professors like this one in our colleges and universities. We used to think they were very learned and important. The most serious thing is that many of them crept into the Party, because Liu Shao-chi thought it was better to take high-ranking intellectuals into the Party rather than people from the working class. Ours is a socialist country, but these intellectual Party members had no socialist ideas in their heads. In 1956, ten professors here were taken into the Party. Ten was the total number of new Party members from our university for that year, and not one of them was from a working class family. (Four were capitalists at the time of Liberation; two were landlords; three of them had been KMT members, and the other one had been a Japanese stooge during the Anti-Japanese War.)

After becoming Party members, they put on a cloak of sympathy with the socialist and communist cause while they gradually organised the educational programme along the lines of their true convictions. Of course our university could not be a socialist one under such conditions, and it wasn't. I want to give a few examples to show the kind of thing that was happening and which made the Cultural Revolution necessary and a change in the educational system essential to suit the needs of a socialist country. Our students were given many wrong ideas. Up to the time of the Cultural Revolution, very few working class students managed to get into this university: the entrance examination was stiff, and one needed very high marks in order to graduate. In addition to the written exam., we had to submit a drawing. Most of the students from worker or peasant families had to rush home every evening to help their families, and they didn't have much time or equipment or space in their homes to practise draughtsmanship. In 1962, still only ten per cent of the students here were from working class homes. The professors called them 'dull' and did everything they could to drive them away from the university. There was one class which consisted of workers who were recruited from construction sites. From that class of thirty experienced builders and mechanics, only two got through the examination, and both of them scraped through with only two marks above the 'pass' level. The drawings and designs of these students from the construction sites used to be hung up on the walls of the lecture rooms as examples of how buildings should *not* be designed; and those students were told: 'You are developed physically, but mentally you will always lag behind', just as though this was a law of nature! They were neglected consistently and many became disheartened and dropped out of the university.

The students from the bourgeois fami-

lies were treated in quite a different way. The son of a professor here got quite good marks in an exam., but his father moved heaven and earth to get his son higher marks still. He said: 'The type and style of arch designed by my son was taught to him by me, so why are you judging me so harshly?' And the lecturer had to give that student full marks.

Architectural designs have a lot to do with ideology. The ideas of the working class students were not liked by the professors, because all our professors wanted to imitate foreign designs and add some 'typically Chinese' flourishes here and there. They said we must 'keep up' with the modern world; whereas the working class students only wanted to design what they and their families really need in this country; and at this time, and above all, as cheaply as possible. So the worker and peasant students would include in their designs only what was practically useful. One student, who was of peasant origin, designed a house. He provided a place for the storing of grain; another for the storage of vegetables through the winter months; a sty for a pig—back-to-back with the kitchen; a place for farm tools and a flat courtyard for the drying of grain—all very well incorporated together and a dream-house for any Chinese peasant today. But in spite of the fact that eighty people out of every hundred in China are peasants, the professor just drew his pen across the page in a big cross. This was not the kind of house he meant, though the exam. paper only said 'a house'. This professor helped the students to think and design in terms of a garage, a spare room, a dining room, music room, study etc, which our workers and peasants don't need, so of course they didn't put them into their designs; and that was why they couldn't pass their examinations. Many working class students gave up their studies, but some from bourgeois families stayed for many extra years at this university. One student has

been here almost eleven years! After he graduated from here, he didn't like the place of work he was assigned to and re-entered the university for another four years. Then came the Cultural Revolution (almost three years now), and still he is here. How was it possible for him to do this? Because he is related to a professor in the university.

What *sort* of knowledge we should acquire here is most important. Chairman Mao says that students should develop morally, culturally and physically. Liu Shao-chi wanted to turn students into spiritual lords, to meet the requirements of a capitalist restoration; his standards were quite different. For instance, when we entered this university as new students, we listened to a talk given by the head of this college in which he told us, on our first day here: 'Now you have entered a university; that means you have been given the chance to be somebody special. We are going to make engineers and architects of you within five years. What is an engineer, or a designer of buildings? He is like the conductor of an orchestra. He is not like an ordinary builder but cast from quite a different mould: sensitive, talented, with a deep understanding of the finer things in life . . . ' So you can see that he was teaching us that an engineer was superior to a builder and that a builder was decidedly inferior to an engineer or architect. He went on in this vein: 'You should have the brain of a philosopher, the eyes of a painter, the ears of a musician and the feelings of a great poet.' He said nothing about the feelings of workers and peasants. He openly spread bourgeois ideology by telling us: 'You must know the ways of life; life is enjoyment; if you don't know enjoyment and relaxation, you cannot create a good design.' So at the beginning of his course he spent quite a long time teaching us about the luxuries of life as it is lived in other countries, so that we could provide for them in the buildings we designed. During the first

year, he took the students to see churches and temples, big hotels and the foreign houses in the old concession areas. He also showed us foreign magazines and gave lantern-slide lectures to let us see the architecture of Western countries. He told us that an architect's design is a monument to himself and urged us to develop a style of our own and do 'original' work. Then he would add a few words of Marxism-Leninism right at the end of his lecture. What those professors were teaching had, and has, nothing to do with our needs in China today. We learned about the Royal Opera House in London; the sky-scrapers of New York; Notre Dame in Paris; the Vatican; Greek and Roman temples; the Pyramids of Egypt; Milan Cathedral; castles; etc. Our country consists mainly of peasants, factory workers and soldiers. We just don't need this kind of training. But we learned to think of them as 'immortal examples' in architecture, though these examples would be quite meaningless here. We think our Great Hall of the People is quite good: it is a product of The Great Leap Forward. It can seat more than 10,000 people and can be emptied in only a few minutes. Apart from serving its purpose extremely well, we think it looks very dignified and grand. But our lecturer said: 'Your Great Hall of the People is *big*, not *great*.'

In our studies here, we were taught only to look back at buildings of the past and not to create buildings of the future. Our old architects think in terms of pavilions, pagodas and small bridges over little streams: 'That', they said, 'is China.' The lecture halls were filled only with theories; there was nothing practical in their teaching.

The bourgeois intellectuals are very learned: they make a commonplace thing into a tangled mystery. For instance, one of our courses was entitled 'The Principle of Space'—it goes something like this: 'A doorway is a part of space and a door is a structure dividing space and joining

space at the same time. When the door is closed, space is separated; when the door is open, space is connected.' All this about a door! When you listen to it you feel it is nonsense, but the 'Principle of Space' took one year of our time in this university. Even about stones and bricks, they went on endlessly about weight, quality, porousness, and angles and perspective from the artistic viewpoint. When they wanted to teach us about the composition of a building, they started from a very small stone and it seemed to us that after two years they still hadn't got to the point. You can imagine what kind of students graduated from this university; and when those graduates got to their assigned posts, they found they had not studied what was actually needed in those areas. Chairman Mao says that what we learn should serve the ordinary people, but our students only thought of fame and building a monument for themselves. One student designed his own cottage in the countryside; another named a theatre he designed after himself!

The students from working class families didn't think like this when they first came here; but after several years in the university their ideas changed a lot. Some of them had parents who are builders, and after graduating from here they looked down on their fathers and mothers. One boy, whose parents came to visit him, was asked by his class-mates, 'Who are they?' and he replied: 'They are my neighbours.' These students were good when they came, but by the time they graduated they had become bourgeois. So we know that the educational field was not run by, or for the benefit of, the workers and peasants—quite the reverse in fact. The worst of it was that this process of bourgeois education was carried out secretly. It was not easy to discover the planners behind it. They pretended to love socialism. The students didn't think about these things, and they didn't imagine that in a socialist country

such things were happening. The students studied hard here; they didn't look at the educational system in a very critical way.

When the Cultural Revolution began, the bourgeois leaders said we must correct a few things which had 'gone too far'; 'where the political line wobbled a bit'! In this way they blinded us again to what was the *real* purpose of the Cultural Revolution—to dig out the people who were deliberately leading us towards the capitalist way of life and ideas.

In 1960, at the beginning of the Socialist Educational Movement, some lecturers and students of this university criticised the teaching methods and drove a few of the professors from the lecture halls. A professor trained in the USA was one of them. Whenever he gave a lecture, he always tried to speak in English and talk about life in the US. The students didn't like him and they felt he didn't behave like a Chinese and didn't love his country. He and one or two others were stopped from lecturing; but two years later, in 1962, Liu Shao-chi said that was a mistake and that professors all over the country had been harshly treated. Then the capitalist-roaders went to those professors and apologised to them saying the students lacked understanding. Their salaries were increased and their prospects improved. This professor who was trained in the USA was one of those re-instated. But some time later it was he who—after a visit to Peking—spoke to us about the Great Hall of the People being 'big', not 'great'. From these few examples you can gather the general trends. Revisionism was being taught even more openly in many other colleges and universities; ours was not such a serious case.

During the past year we have learned architecture and engineering on more than 40 construction sites and we have seen for ourselves that what Chairman Mao said was quite correct about education serving the working class. Our May

7th Commune is now a fact. We proposed to bring it into being last year and we gave it its name because it was set up in accordance with the spirit of Chairman Mao's instructions of May 7th, 1966 (but not published at that time). He said: 'It is still necessary to have colleges—here I refer, in the main, to colleges of science and engineering. However, the period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionised, proletarian politics should be put in command and the road for training technicians from among the workers, which the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant followed, should be taken. Students should be selected from the workers and peasants who have practical experience. They should return to production after a few years of schooling.'

Two important points had first to be taken into consideration if we were to be able to carry out the above instructions: First the question of who had the power in the university. Early in 1958, Chairman Mao said that education must serve proletarian politics and must be combined with productive labour, but while the power was in the hands of the bourgeois intellectuals, this could not be done. So the first thing was for the working class to take control of the universities so as to put an end to their government by the bourgeois intellectuals. The members of our 'commune' planned to cancel the old committee of management and form a different one, based on the three-in-one-alliance (which means here that all decisions must be taken by agreement between lecturers, students and construction-site workers), and the leading body should be the commune committee, which should consist of workers, lecturers, students and designers. Once we got the power, this was what we planned to do.

The second point was to change the condition of theoretical lectures which were divorced from actual experience in building. We decided we would remove the lecture hall to the construction site.

Our final educational plan divided the students' studies into three parts: lectures in the lecture hall; experience in the making of architectural drawings; and manual work at the construction site—which also helps production.

Now this plan is in operation and it is working well. In addition to the above, the students do some agricultural work, and also get a good military training. The lecturers join in the work at the construction site too; and the construction site workers now come here to help with the teaching of the students. This two-way traffic to and from the construction site has definitely put an end to the old bourgeois dictatorship in our university. Up to the time of this change, our students were enclosed within the walls of the university and could learn only from lectures in the classrooms. The teaching methods, too, are quite different from before—we used to be taken from theory to theory. But Chairman Mao asked: from where does knowledge come? It comes first from doing something; second from theory, and then from practice again. He also tells us to learn to swim by swimming; not by merely reading books on how to swim. You cannot learn a thing except by doing it. So the first thing to do here was to get the students to take part in the actual building of houses, and from that for them to produce some theories and questions in the classroom. And having found some answers in the classrooms, and having learned some theory, to go back again to the construction site to put those ideas to the test. So our new students now begin their course on architecture and engineering by working on building sites with the workers and they get an excellent basic knowledge of building. After that they ask many questions and produce many good ideas. Then they start a course in theory. From there they begin to draw designs and test their theories. In this way they can make great progress. When they study, they always have in mind the needs of our people

today and they will not be carried away by fanciful flights into an imaginary future, or by a desire for personal fame or gain. And it is important for the students to know that while they are learning, they are actually doing something useful. Chairman Mao teaches us that correct ideas come only from actual experience.

Our main aim in the university used to be good examination results; now the students think instead of what is needed to build up our country to take her place in the modern world. Our students are taking part in the Cultural Revolution *with* the workers. This helps them to keep their feet firmly on the ground while they are studying here—and the theory of space in a doorway has been buried forever! We have cut the course from between four and five years to between two and three years; and still the results will be better than they used to be under the old system of teaching.

The building of the May 7th Commune: We announced the plan for our May 7th Commune in July 1967 and let it be discussed by all. After that, we sent teams to communes and factories to find out the needs and opinions of peasants and workers regarding: housing and on the training needed by a student here who will return to his commune or industrial area to work after the course in the university is completed and he or she has qualified as an architect/engineer. We sent teams to various military units too, to ask their opinions. They all supported us and gave us many valuable suggestions. We also visited some so-called 'experts'; but our ideas were not welcomed by them. They said: 'Your proposals are bold; your spirit is good, but . . . ; but . . . ; but . . . the purpose of this university is to produce high-class technicians and experts, so higher maths and physics are an absolutely essential part of the training. All this will take time; Rome wasn't built in a day you know.'

One engineering expert said: 'Once I

had ideas like yours, but now I know they were the thoughtless ideas of youth.' This kind of thing caused some confusion in the ranks of our May 7th Commune, and some of them sided with the experts and authorities and thought those opinions were correct. Members of our commune began to drop out at an alarming rate due to the insidious propaganda made by the other side and we even began to wonder whether we should continue with our plans or not. But when we analysed the position in the light of class struggle, it seemed quite clear to us that our commune was actually a continuation of the class struggle, striking a blow for the working people, and it was quite natural for the bourgeois intellectuals to reject it. And since they unanimously opposed us, we knew that our main direction was right. We thought too of the opinions given by the workers, peasants and soldiers, who put the needs of the country first and whose advice was diametrically opposed to that given by the many experts we had consulted. The workers and peasants were firm in their opinion that we should be able to build as well as design, whereas the experts wanted us to go in for higher theoretical knowledge. August to December last year was a bad period, when the young people were encouraged to travel all over the country to 'gain experience', thus making it impossible for them to attend to the Cultural Revolution in their own units. This had already been done once earlier. Some of our group were very anxious to go travelling and had no further interest in our plan. What was more harmful was that travelling about China like this was in direct contradiction to Chairman Mao's instructions that we should resume classes and continue with educational reform. Finally, after much argument, most of them realised that moving about and exchanging experiences was not correct at that time, and they settled down to carrying through the Cultural Revolution instead. But after resuming classes, some students

argued that we should get on with studying architecture and engineering and not 'waste time' on debates, criticism of Liu Shao-chi, etc., and many of the lecturers supported this line of thought, saying we were throwing away our time in the university. They said: 'It is over a year since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, and it is time for you to catch up what you have lost in a whole year; and probably next year you can graduate. This will be your great contribution to the Cultural Revolution!' So many of our commune students neglected revolution and took up their textbooks again. And we couldn't do anything with our plan to form the May 7th Commune and change the educational system; and the membership of our May 7th Commune dropped from 93 to only five. So the five of us formed our own study class and we looked at this problem very honestly, and we came to the conclusion that this was a test of the strength of our convictions and we decided not to give up, but to go on trying to get recognition for our May 7th Commune. Later, the Revolutionary Committee of Shanghai recognised us; but the greatest encouragement we got was when Chairman Mao wrote his favourable comments on our proposals. We have more than 200 student and lecturer members now. It is a new idea, so we will make some mistakes. But we are led directly by the workers, so our own bourgeois training will not lead us into bourgeois errors. The barriers between the classes in China were absolutely unbreakable in the past, and it is the first task of our generation to solve this problem.

The Second Account—by a worker

The students were followed by a worker in his middle 40's, who spoke from the point of view of the construction-site manual workers. He was a tall man, dressed in blue, with a rather heavily lined alert face, and one finger missing. Following is what he said:

I am a carpenter from a building site near this university. I am a member of Team No. 2 of the May 7th Commune, and I am now a part-time lecturer in the university and a part-time student in the university's drawing office.

The May 7th Commune was set up on August 8, last year, and students from the university began to come and work regularly on our work-site. We hadn't studied Chairman Mao's works very carefully at that time and we had some wrong ideas in our minds when the students came and offered to work with us. We had met many students before, who came—sometimes from far-away schools and colleges—to do some physical labour, for a week or two. They used to come to our site and put on all kinds of airs; and after leaving us at the end of their stint of duty, even if they met us in the street, they wouldn't even nod to us. We thought this was the same old story when the students from Tungchi University offered to work with us—(always saying loudly: 'Now I have laboured—Now I have been tempered!' and then running back as fast as possible to the classroom). So we were not very friendly or encouraging: we just gave them some work to do and left them to do it. These students went back to the university that night feeling very disappointed; and decided they must try harder. The next day we noticed that their attitude towards manual labour was very good: they did the work carefully, and their behaviour towards us was good too. They told us on that second day: 'We have not come just for a short time, but will come quite regularly to learn to be builders. We want to live with you and integrate with you as Chairman Mao said on May 7th.' We had read the May 7th instruction, but we hadn't mastered it very well, so we studied it again with the students and in that way we came much closer to them. They suggested we should form a three-in-one combination: i.e. construction site, lecture hall, designing unit. We agreed, but the staff mem-

bers of the designing unit let us down and refused to come and work on the construction site because living conditions there were not so comfortable as in the university. So we all collected gongs and drums and with many flags and 'Welcome to our Work-site' placards and banners we all went to their office, smiling and making lots of noise, and announced we had come to welcome them to our construction site in procession. So of course they couldn't very well refuse to come with us, and we were able to form our three-in-one unit as planned.

As we had only had experience of working on the site, we knew nothing of what had been happening behind the walls of the university earlier. The students had dragged the would-be capitalist-roaders out into the light of day, and everybody knew who they were. We had done the same thing on our site, so the three legs of our unit had all completed this work. Through our joint criticism of the capitalist-roaders, we learned something of what the situation was in the university and what had been happening to our working class sons and daughters who had gone to study to be architects and engineers—how they were despised, neglected and so often driven out. We already knew about the special class for working class students in the university, and we had known too that more than half of them had had to give up studying. We knew too that in this class the professors were not very well qualified to teach, and politically (ideologically) they were not very good either. Some were Rightists, and one or two had even run away to Hongkong when criticism began; so we knew what kind of attitude they had towards worker architects and engineers and that they would never be on the side of the workers. Some staff members of the design section then exposed the crimes of the capitalist-roaders among the lecturers of the workers' class. The worker students used to be told—soon after entering the university—'You must work

hard; this is a great chance for you to better yourselves and attain a higher rank in life and a big salary at the end of the course.' At first the labouring-class students thought this a bit insulting, but after about a year they would be competing with each other for good marks and a chance for a better future, and the unity they started out with would have disappeared. The professors repeatedly warned these students to be obedient and not to cause any trouble, or they would be sent away—either to work on a construction site, or to a commune to do physical labour. Labour was used as a punishment! Even now, some of these lecturers and bourgeois cadres still think that if you do something wrong, you will be sent to a construction site to work, and when your 'punishment' is over you will be allowed to return to 'normal life' in the university. They used to come to work on the site in the past with the students, but with the idea always in their minds that they were fulfilling an extremely unpleasant and degrading task quite unworthy of their high intellectual level and superior status. We were very angry: we had always been angry with the attitudes and airs put on by the intellectuals who came to work alongside us. We used to tell each other: 'We didn't know that in our socialist country students can be brought up in this way.' It was obvious that there was something very wrong with the teaching methods in the university. We started a study class with the students, and the teachers from the design section, and tried to find a way to agree on how we should follow Chairman Mao's instructions to shorten the period of education and prevent bourgeois intellectuals from continuing to dominate the educational scene; and how we should apply working class leadership. In the course of these discussions, we all came to know each other much better than before and we began to understand what had divided us in the past. We found that the students were not so brave as the workers at that time:

they still preferred on the whole to obey rather than 'stick their necks out'; they often used the words 'punishment' and 'regulations' and they still had some fear of 'the authorities'. Later we talked of the situation in Peking; and we discussed ideas for new designs with them. Then they asked us to come and lecture to them in the university. This time we were unsure of ourselves; we wondered how carpenters, brick-layers and masons could possibly mount the lecture platforms and say anything useful. Then we saw that 'useful' was the key word, and mounting a platform only enables people to see better what you are demonstrating. After all, we were not expected to teach them physics, but something we really knew. So we thought we would begin by teaching the students to love their country and understand the point of view of the working class. We also invited them to visit our work-site regularly and work with us. And we all took the problems that cropped up on the work-site back to the lecture rooms for analysis and discussion. Two-thirds of the lecturers used to accompany us to the work-sites; and one-third carried on teaching—in turn. We found this method worked well: some people on the site and some in the classroom, changing around at intervals of one month. By employing this method, we found we could achieve two other results: (1) We could take more students into the university, and (2) the help we got on the construction sites from all those extra hands was both regular and valuable.

In order to help the students in an understanding of the working class point of view, we got three veteran workers to join the teaching staff of the university. They spoke with great feeling of their childhood; the wretchedness of their poverty; their lack of education; and the ruthless system of exploitation of those pre-Liberation days. They said: 'We stood up and rebelled against the injustice in our lives; we won and proudly we sent our children to school, college—even uni-

versity. So why do those children turn their backs on the labouring people? Why are many of them even ashamed of their own families?' Besides political instruction, we also gave the students practical lessons on how to follow and carry out a design from a blue-print; how to lay a foundation; how to do work at the site in the most economical way. Many of these lessons we conducted at the site itself, and soon we could give the students pillars to do, or an arch to complete on their own. The students were very interested, and they said: 'Though we are to be architects and engineers, we can do all manner of things, and we can understand much better by finding out by experience how things are done.' They said they used to get confused before, with only drawings on the blackboard, and everything proved by a sum in the margin; and they really agreed with us that theory alone is no good. They taught us a lot too, and the barriers came down very rapidly. At our site now, we have a classroom. It is not very grand; it is only a shed; but it is a sign of the progress we have made. After two months' work at the construction site, the students were asked to submit a design for a new Hsin-hua printing works. This was the first designing task given to our May 7th Commune; it was also the first time we workers had anything to do with the drawing up of a design. We started on the 27th January, and went to see the old printing works, and we talked to the workers, who told us what they needed and what was inconvenient or unnecessary. After the Spring Festival holiday we began work, on the 6th February. By May 29th we had designed and built this four-storied building, which covers an area of 3,600 sq. metres. It took us only 112 days. The students did most of the designing and building; and we workers coached, advised and helped them. Everything that was done was checked by veteran workers; and if they said something was not quite right, it would have

to be done again. At first the students were unsure of themselves (because it was a very responsible task for a first assignment), and they kept going back to the design department in the university to consult the lecturers and experts. Finally we told them: 'If you are going to go on like this, why not move back into your dormitories in the college altogether? Do you really only trust books after all? Why not try and trust the experienced workers on the site as well?' They took our advice, and through putting up that building we learned to rely on each other and trust each other. There was no time wasted on that job because we drew the design and put it into construction simultaneously. And as we built, we would add something to the design, or perhaps subtract or change something. In all our previous experience, the design alone would have taken about six months to emerge from the drawing office. Now, on our site you can't tell who is who! Everybody is doing everything just as the need turns up. In the past, it was always easy to spot the creased trousers of the designing staff and the umbrellas they held over their heads against the sun. We feel that in a very natural way we have all been able to deal with the problems that used to exist between our 'brain-workers' and our 'manual workers'. The work goes smoothly. In the past, when queries arose at the construction site, we had to telephone the design section, and after one or two days someone would wander in and say: 'I'm afraid that is not my drawing; I will send somebody else'; and after a few days somebody else would come. Then we could go on working until the next difficulty arose and we had to go through the whole process again. Sometimes the site was very far away from the

city's design section offices. We used to simply carry out their orders. Any suggestions from us would have been considered impertinent. Now we can all solve problems as they crop up; the results are very good; we can work much faster and the quality of our work is much better. So far, our combined staff of five hundred people have completed five new projects. And remember, all this whilst learning! At first the students tired easily at the site, but now they can do anything we can do. They are making good progress and are really useful people. These students will help the next batch of students not to be afraid of getting dirty or weary—now they sweat like we do, and have dropped all those old affected airs.

Now the door has been opened to us workers to learn some theory as well. Up to the time of the Cultural Revolution, whenever we put forward a request to learn designing, we were always told: 'You hardly know your ABC, so how can you attempt to learn architecture?' And the most we could then hope for was for one of our sons or daughters to manage to pass the examination and get into the university. Now Chairman Mao has supported our May 7th Commune and has given us this chance, and we must not let him down. We recently completed a 4,200 sq.-metre building in 125 days. This building was designed entirely by worker-designers, and every time we look at it we feel very proud, though we still 'don't know our ABC!' We do have some difficulties with mathematics (stress calculations, etc.) and at first we left these calculations to the teachers and students. Now they are patiently teaching us how to do these calculations.

So together we are changing the old habits and making history.

Nazism in Africa

To-day red-baiting has begun to curse South, Southern and Continental Africa, and capitulation to this cunning blackmail is the main danger in the present political situation. This is quite true, but red-baiting is only an usher on the threshold for the emergence of Nazism on a large scale, to fulfil Hitler's uncompleted task of building a Nazi empire in Africa. . . .

In his book *Their Paths Crossed* Mine, H.J. Van Rensburg, one-time Commandant-General of the Ossewa Brandwag, Hitler's fifth-column organisation in South Africa during World War II, describes how the joint conquest of Africa, which had been planned to follow victory over the Soviet Union in World War II, had been discussed in detail as far back as 1936, and how he, along with many others who now control South Africa, had worked actively in co-ordination with the Nazi Africa Corps for the conquest of Africa by the Nazis. He proudly reports that many white troops who would otherwise have fought against Hitler were retained in South Africa in preparation for the civil war that was to be organised by his group. Apparently, the Nazis have always regarded South Africa as an important base for the infiltration and later conquest of the more northerly African countries.

To this end, those in power in the Republic of South Africa and in the Federal Republic of West Germany have combined their economic strength, diplomatic double-dealing and military force to carry on the old plans for conquest with new methods. In addition they are jointly producing and testing important military raw materials, atomic weapons, rockets and poison gases.

The old ambitions of setting up a 'greater white South Africa' have again come to the fore. When South Africa and Rhodesia signed

their 1965 Trade Agreement, the West German *Handelsblatt* commented:

Dr Verwoerd has for many years proclaimed the idea of an economic community of Southern Africa, and membership not only for its white, but also of its black neighbours. The first step towards a South African Community has been taken. It is even to be expected that other applications for membership will follow. Zambia needs the Republic of South Africa as an economic partner. Malawi is an economic abortion. . . . The neighbouring Mozambique also depends to a great extent upon South African transit traffic and tourism.

And so the network is spread through 'advisers', 'instructors', etc. The Algerian weekly magazine *Revolution Africaine* of March 13, 1967, commented:

Is Rhodesia becoming a German colony? There are over ten West German officers on the General Staff of the Rhodesian Armed Forces. About fifty West German officers are working as advisers to infantry units or as instructors in Ian Smith's Air Force.

The *Ghanaian Times* of July 30, 1964, said:

West German military advisers, instructors and so on are not only active under camouflage in South Africa, but also in the neighbouring Portuguese colonies, particularly in Angola.

In addition, said the *London Daily Mail* of June 5, 1964, 'The West German Federal Republic has already concluded agreements with seven different African States, at all strategic points on the African Continent, for the supply of military advisers, instructors and other military aid.' Africa seems to be voluntarily put-

ting a noose around her own neck, and handing over the other end of the rope to the Nazis, no matter how brazenly the Nazis hoodwink and plot her downfall.

The *Handelsblatt* of December 22, 1966, described the first West German and South African alliance with African States as 'a cordon sanitaire to be set up round militant black Africa.' It expressly referred to Anton Rupert's activities as 'adviser' in Lesotho, and to others of this kind in Malawi, Botswana and Swaziland. 'If this is successful, South Africa will suddenly have in the OAU, and in UN, the votes of four African States,' the paper concluded. For years a big South African mobile exhibition has been touring West German cities. Here a glowing picture is painted of the splendid life provided under white rule for the master race in South Africa. The final exhibit is a huge map: 'The Future South African Commonwealth'. This map included the whole of Southern Africa up to the Congo, and in the banking leaflets distributed free, the territory to be taken over reaches as far as Kenya, whose favourable high plateau is recommended to Europeans.

Let us look at some facts that illustrate the dangers to which the people of Africa whose territories fall within the huge map are exposed.

When South African Defence Minister Botha visited Schröder in Bonn in April, 1967, the main subject of negotiations was the adjustment of the secret military agreement of 1961 between South Africa and West Germany to the barely concealed military alliance between South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal. The necessary preliminary talks with Portugal had already been conducted by Botha, who came to Bonn direct from Lisbon.

But there was a second, no less important, subject of discussion in Bonn: the secret weapon. Botha had for months been dropping mysterious hints about such a secret weapon, which 'South African scientists—among others—have been developing, and we shall be prepared to share it with friendly people who are willing to work with us.' (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 17, 1966.)

As Defence Minister Fouché and Professor le Roux (Vice-President of the National CSIR) let slip as far back as 1963, experts in the South African Defence Research Council are working on a combination with long-range rockets of Tabun, Soman and Sarin, which are

particularly virulent poison gases, colourless, odourless and tasteless. (Reuters, November 11, 1963; *New York Herald Tribune*, November 9, 1963; *The Times*, October 28, 1963, etc.)

These most poisonous of all poison gases, invented by IG-Farben Trust experts towards the end of the Second World War, were not ready in time to be used as Hitler's 'miracle weapon'.

The creator of these chemical means of warfare, a certain Dr Schrader, was taken over after 1945 by one of the successor firms of IG-Farben, the Ludwig Bayer AG (Leverkusen, West Germany), together with his closest co-workers Dr Walter Lorenz, Dr Gross, Dr Hecht and Dr Kuckenthal. The group was able to continue research work and developed still further the nerve-gas based on organic esters of phosphoric acid, into the still more poisonous 'Gas V'.

Contact with the Bundeswehr was taken over by the same Professor Wolfgang Wirth who had inspected this research work in his capacity as head chemist and General Staff Medical Officer of the Nazi Wehrmacht under Hitler. The camouflage name used for this research was also retained. As under Hitler, it was called 'Research in the Field of Production of Plant Protection Means and Insecticides'.

'Cyclon B' was also such an insecticide; it was a by-product of Schrader's research work. The Nazis murdered millions of people in the concentration camp gas chambers with Cyclon B.

Further development of Cyclon B was left to the USA; it has been used by the Americans in their war of aggression against Vietnam, disguised as a plant protection substance and insecticide.

Former Cyclon B experts have gone underground in South Africa, with the help of the West German Hoechst Dye Works; for the most part they are in the chemical factories of Sasolburg.

The nerve-gas researchers remained at first with the Bayer firm. In 1961 Dr Verwoerd sent his personal scientific adviser, Dr Moning, to Bayers. Moning suggested an exchange. Bayer and Co. should transfer their nerve-gas research and production experiments to South Africa and give the South African government a share, and the South African government would see that Bayers received control of the rich resources of chromium ore near Rusten-

burg, which can be mined cheaply, and thus be able to build up their international monopoly in chromium. Bayers accepted the offer. The firm became co-owner of the South African chemical firm 'Norichem', and in 1962 began building a factory 'for plant protection substances and insecticides' in the framework of 'FBA Pharmaceuticals, Johannesburg', which belongs to Bayer.

The factory, which has in the meantime been completed, is now in fact producing plant protection substances and insecticides.

Experts estimate that production could be switched over to Gas V in a matter of hours.

'These poisons,' said Professor le Roux (Vice-President of the National CSIR) at a scientific conference in Pretoria in 1963, 'could be sprayed from the air from planes or rockets like insect powder. They would have an effect similar to an atom bomb of 20 megatons but would be considerably cheaper.' (Reuter, November 7, 1963; *New York Herald Tribune*, November 8, 1963.)

Such gases would not only be cheaper, but more humane, wrote *Die Welt* of Hamburg, one of the Springer papers; the paper made fun of the 'general outcry' when the US aggressors tried out means of warfare of this kind in Vietnam.

With weapons which kill and destroy, one also destroys one's own future property and sows the seeds of revenge. This endangers one's own future security . . . The transition to chemical arms would at least . . . offer a better alternative . . . (*Die Welt*, Hamburg—West Berlin, March 31, 1965.)

Possibilities of this kind, of a cheap and radical destruction of mankind without much destruction of property or 'endangering one's own property', have certainly contributed to making these poisons attractive to men like Verwoerd, Vorster and Botha. Their factories can today produce several tons of 'Gas V' daily. A gramme of Tabun is enough to kill 400 people. Serin and Soman are considerably more poisonous. All three are very much less powerful than 'Gas V' and the further development of it. (*Revolution Africaine*, No. 186, 1966.)

The South African factories which produce these 'humane' substances are regularly inspected by a private person: Professor Wolfgang Wirth, who has since been pensioned off. His superior, Defence Minister Dr Schröder, was

therefore fully informed when Botha came to Bonn in 1967 to negotiate on further developments and the date on which revelations about the joint 'secret weapon' would be most effective.

Atomic research, rocket development, poison-gas production, and with it all a huge machinery for suppression of the vast majority of the population—any state which is to manage all this must have a tightly organised industry. There is a suitable model for this, too: the Nazi *Wehrwirtschaft*.

The demand put forward by C. J. Pitts, Chairman of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, that a Defence Council be set up to deal with the economic aspects of defence policy, and that trade and industry be represented on it, shows how correct this analysis was. (*Southern Africa News Features*, London, September 26, 1966.)

This in fact means that the Nazi *Wehrwirtschaft* with its War economy Council and *Wehrwirtschaftsführer* is to be imitated.

The new head of the South African army, Commandant-General Hiemstra, showed himself fully in agreement with this idea when he said: 'Every industrial concern in the country is potentially a member of the Defence Force and every worker a soldier in civilian clothes.' (*Star*, Johannesburg, February 12, 1966.)

It is perfectly clear where this comes from. In the archives of the biggest IG-Farben factory, the former AGFA, a Dr J. Schmelzer made a sensational discovery among the papers of its director, Gajewski, who held a top post in IG-Farben under Hitler. He found a copy of the Economic Study Commission of the Reichsgruppe Industrie which visited South Africa in 1938 on behalf of the Hitler Government.

The Commission had the task, 'with the help of good old business friends, to gain an insight into matters which have hitherto not been clearly visible from Germany, to detect and remove obstacles, but especially to found bases for our trade, build these up and, through personal contacts with government and economic circles, to provide assistance to our official representatives'.

Included in the negotiations were Prime Minister Hertzog, who refused a year later to fight against Hitler, Defence Minister Pirow and J. H. Van Rensburg, Commandant-General

of the Ossewa Brandwag. The report of the Commission was a regular stock-taking of the South African economy. It is striking with what consistency the South African racists have adhered to the plans worked out with the representatives of German monopoly capitalism in 1938, since they returned to power in 1948, after the interval caused by the Second World War.

This is true not only in the case of the build-up of state-owned industry, but equally so in the solution to the racial question. The expert for racial and 'native' problems was Gattinean, who wrote: 'There are often considerable difficulties on the farms now. Flogging has been forbidden. A big fuss is made about it now. Whereas the Africans used to be modest and willing, they are now often rebellious.'

The main report itself states that in 1938 there was no clear and consistent policy on the Natives, but such policy would have to be worked out if the supremacy of the white race was to be maintained. The report repeatedly stated that the racial problem is primarily a matter of keeping 'cheap black labour' cheap and willing.

The Nazi Party Office for Racial Policy made enquiries to determine 'the future legal position of the Natives and preparing later measures' both for the big colonial empire which the Nazis intended to establish, and for their partners and political allies in South Africa. Dr Gustav Strohm, head of the Colonial Office of the Nazi Foreign Office, described what he considered to be a clear policy on Africans in a letter from Addis Ababa which was under the Italian fascists in 1940. He said: 'Here under the blessing of a European administration, the Natives have become so disreputable, fat, lazy and unwilling that one might feel quite desperate, if it were not for the comforting thought that a hundred years hence, fewer blacks will play around here than there are Indians chasing buffaloes in the streets of Chicago today. This is in fact a comforting certainty.'

Herr Strohm later became a second Federal Republic's Ambassador to South Africa, where he met old friends again, the leading theorists who had cooperated in working out fascist racial laws. The most important of these were Dr Eiselen, Secretary for Native Affairs, and Dr Verwoerd, Minister for Native Affairs and later Prime Minister.

Eiselen, son of a German missionary, had studied ethnology in Germany and had introduced the basic principles of racial segregation in South Africa. Verwoerd also studied in Germany, where he qualified for cooperation in the work of drafting fascist racial laws. The team Strohm-Eiselen-Verwoerd took up in the 1950s the principles worked out in Nazi Germany and introduced fascist racial laws into South Africa. There is a striking resemblance, even in details, between Nazi plans and South African laws. Suggestions made 'on labour questions of the Natives in the African colonies' included the introduction of special identity passes, restrictions on residence, employment only in lower grade work, 'recruitment' of forced labour, separate living quarters, all the main apartheid features operating in South Africa today.

Another transaction which was effected during Strohm's term of office, with the help of the Anton Rupert Trust, was the transfer of a great part of SS ill-gotten property to South Africa, as well as the transfer of many SS men from Argentina to South Africa. In 1965 there was much discussion in the South African press about how big the secret SS population actually was, and how many of them were living under false names and even occupying important Government posts. It is a fact that in all German clubs, newspapers and other institutions in South Africa former SS men call the tune.

In 1964, Vorster, the present Prime Minister, called upon South African historians 'to investigate the role played by the Germans in forming the country for there were so far too few works on the German immigrants who have added their characteristic thoroughness and discipline to the South African way of life.' The first results of those investigations are available. This piece of official propaganda states that the white South Africans are in fact half-German. More Germans came with the legendary founder of the Cape Colony, Jan van Riebeeck, than have hitherto been supposed.

The report concludes with a long list of prominent people in the government, the economy, science and culture who studied in Germany (many of them during the Nazi period) and whose sons are now studying in West Germany.

If attention is concentrated on the key posts, it becomes very clear how consistently and suc-

cessfully the West German monopolies have followed the advice of Erhard, former Economics Minister and later Federal Chancellor, to join in 'exploiting the enormous labour power potential in South Africa, which is more attractive than almost any other country to enterprising German initiative.'

Decisive for the building-up of the power of the West German monopolies in South Africa and for the penetration into dominant positions was and remains their political influence on the state power, and especially on the government. Here, since Vorster's accession to power, tried agents of West German monopoly capital are moving more quickly than before into key positions of state.

The two countries mainly concerned, South Africa and West Germany, do not hesitate to involve big international consortiums in their efforts to build up a 'greater white South Africa'; on the contrary, they are eager for participation of this kind, since it makes it easier to carry out their far-reaching plans and does not endanger their aims so long as the political and military control remains firmly in their hands.

A model example of these tactics is the setting up early in 1967 of the IMEX company in Johannesburg, with an initial capital of 1.5 thousand million marks and big international participation; it aims at getting the entire economic development of Southern Africa into its hands, somewhat along the lines of the colonial trading companies of the 17th and 18th centuries, a parallel which the foundation reports expressly point out.

One of the first agreements made by the new trading company was with Malawi. IMEX is taking over the entire foreign trade of this young African state and is building for it a new capital called Lilongwe—an undertaking which will put Malawi in debt to IMEX to the tune of 120 million marks.

Economic advisers are another special feature of IMEX. Four such South African 'experts' are already acting as advisers in the African and enclave neighbour states of South Africa (Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, and Malawi).

One of these advisers is Dr Anton Rupert, head of the Rembrandt-Reemtsma-Rothmans concern. He is advising Lesotho, the former British protectorate Basutoland, quite openly to develop voluntarily into a 'Bantustan', as the

South African racists have christened their African reserves. Rupert is here more 'progressive' than Verwoerd was, for his idea is not only to plunder the African 'reserves' through their 'border' industries, but to plunder the African 'reserves' themselves through setting up industries in them; here he is in agreement with Vorster.

For this purpose Rupert had adopted a new philosophy, which he advertises as energetically as he does his cigarettes: the philosophy of 'partnership'.

Like the money for it this philosophy derives from Hitler's SS principle which was placed, for example, above the entrance to the notorious Buchenwald Concentration Camp—the dominance of the white race. While 'predominance' should definitely be defended, it should now be called 'partnership' with the developing countries. The main propagandist of this 'partnership' is the multi-millionaire Dr Anton Rupert, head of Rembrandt-Reemtsma-Rothmans trust.

The Dusseldorf *Handelsblatt* reported on November 28, 1966, that Rupert had built his entire 'global multi-national concern' on these lines, and he appealed for support for this 'partnership' in a speech he delivered in Rotterdam in which he referred to his successes in Malawi, Lesotho and Kenya.

Vorster is beginning to speak more frequently of this 'partnership' while Rupert has developed it into a sort of Christian neighbourly love for the much-too-independent States of Africa, who would do far better to become 'partners of South Africa'. Those who consent to be 'partners' are assisted into power by all possible means. Those who are not prepared to join in the new form of plundering of their own people are kept out of action by means of defamation, house-arrest, imprisonment, banning and terrorism, until the 'partnership' regime has gained a firm footing. And the network is spreading. The propaganda for a 'Greater South Africa' under white rule is being systematically carried on in the entire monopoly press in West Germany. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* wrote that South Africa was sometimes in a similar position to West Germany. 'Its neighbours are not willing, but this is probably only a matter of time. A sort of common market is developing between South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, the new states of Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi and Rhodesia. Time

heals many wounds. The Congo and Zambia will join one day . . . and a well-known South African industrialist is even building in Kenya.' Vorster himself explained his 'new policy' in a long speech to white Afrikaner students of Bloemfontein University. He told them that African States need leadership. 'We are not settlers, we are part of Africa, and we are the most developed state in Africa. We therefore have a duty to Africa, and we have to share the fruits of our experience with them. You students are here to develop leadership and gain knowledge.' He called for a setting up of a 'South African Peace Corps' on the US model.

Thirty years ago the world was plunged into war against Nazism which threatened to engulf it. Those plans of engulfment are being vigorously and enthusiastically revived. The centre of activities has been removed from Europe to Africa. Union Building in Pretoria has taken the place of the Reichstag Building in Berlin.

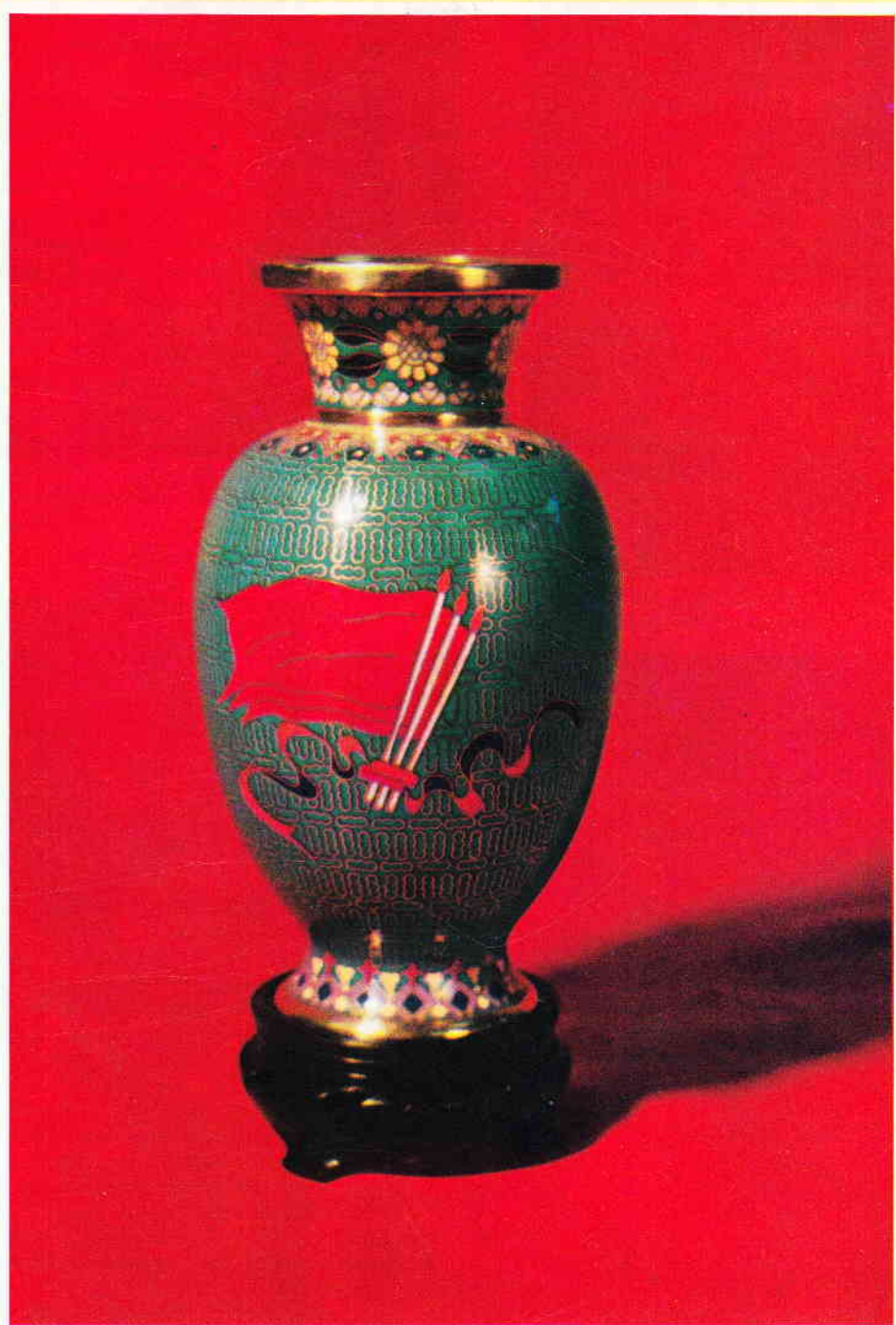
That world which went into war in 1939 is completely aware of this Nazi build-up. But then the political situation has drastically changed since the end of that war, and much of Africa declared its independence from colonialism. Africa, not Europe, is the immediate target of the Nazis. This is a matter of serious thought for progressive Africa, poor non-aligned and positively neutral Africa. Non-progressive Africa is actively and practically aligned. One section of it with the old colonial masters, and another with the rising Nazis. But the old colonial masters are collaborating with the Nazis. The West German M.P., Hans Merten, revealed to the *Neue Rheinzeitung* how African states were being hoodwinked. He said, 'These countries wish to have nothing more to do with the former colonial powers, because they fear they will thereby become dependent. For this reason some of them come to us. . . . We always act in agreement with the relevant former colonial power, and with the United States of America.'

Tom Tsekic

Religion in China

Chairman Mao, the great leader of all the nationalities of our country, pointed out in his work 'On Coalition Government': 'All religions are permitted in China's Liberated Areas, in accordance with the principle of freedom of religious belief. All believers in Protestantism, Catholicism, Islamism, Buddhism and other faiths enjoy the protection of the People's Government so long as they are abiding by its laws. Everyone is free to believe or not to believe; neither compulsion nor discrimination is permitted.' We consistently advocate protection of the freedom of religious belief and the freedom of not believing in religion. Communists follow a policy of freedom of religious belief; but towards religious believers, 'we can never approve of their idealism or religious doctrines.' We must repudiate idealism, monasticism and all kinds of religious superstition. We are convinced that the time will come when the religious believers will become awakened and cast away the 'gods'. To maintain its counter-revolutionary revisionist rule, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has completely betrayed the rudimentary principles of Marxism-Leninism, acted perversely and gone so far as to concoct the reactionary fallacy of 'communist Christianity'. This shows to what depth they have degenerated politically and ideologically, reflecting at the same time their mortal fear of the doom confronting them.

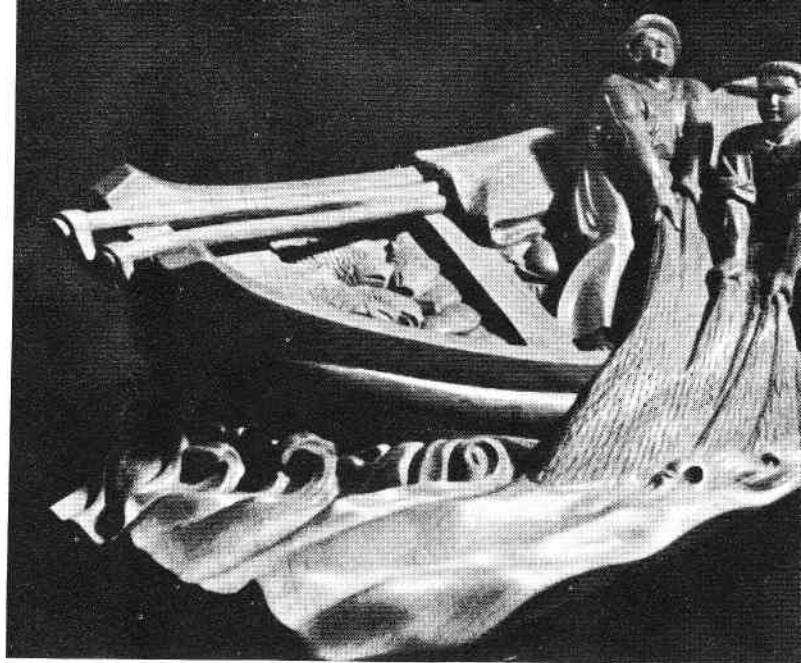
—Yu Fen in 'Degeneration of Soviet Revisionist Renegades as Seen from Their Concoction of "Communist Christianity"', published in the journal *Red Flag*, August 1969



Three Red Banners (*cloisonné*).



Wu Ching-hua in the ballet 'The Red Detachment of Women' (*ivory carving*).



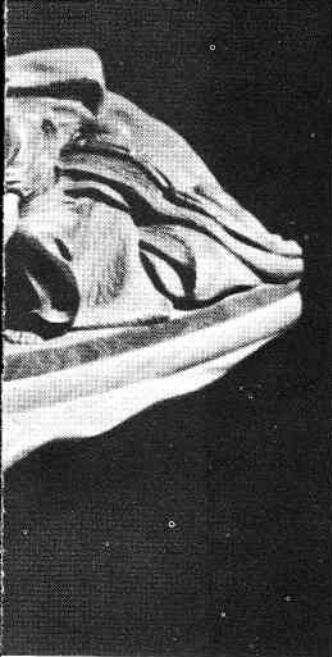
Pulling up the fishing net (*wood carving*).



Li Tieh-mei in the Peking Opera 'The Red Lantern' (*jade carving*).



A schoolgirl in the countryside (*ivory carving*).



The sun in our hearts (showing workers admiring a portrait of Chairman Mao—wood carving).



Listening to a broadcast from Peking (*feather composition*).





Break up the four olds and serve the workers, peasants and soldiers (*paper-cut*).

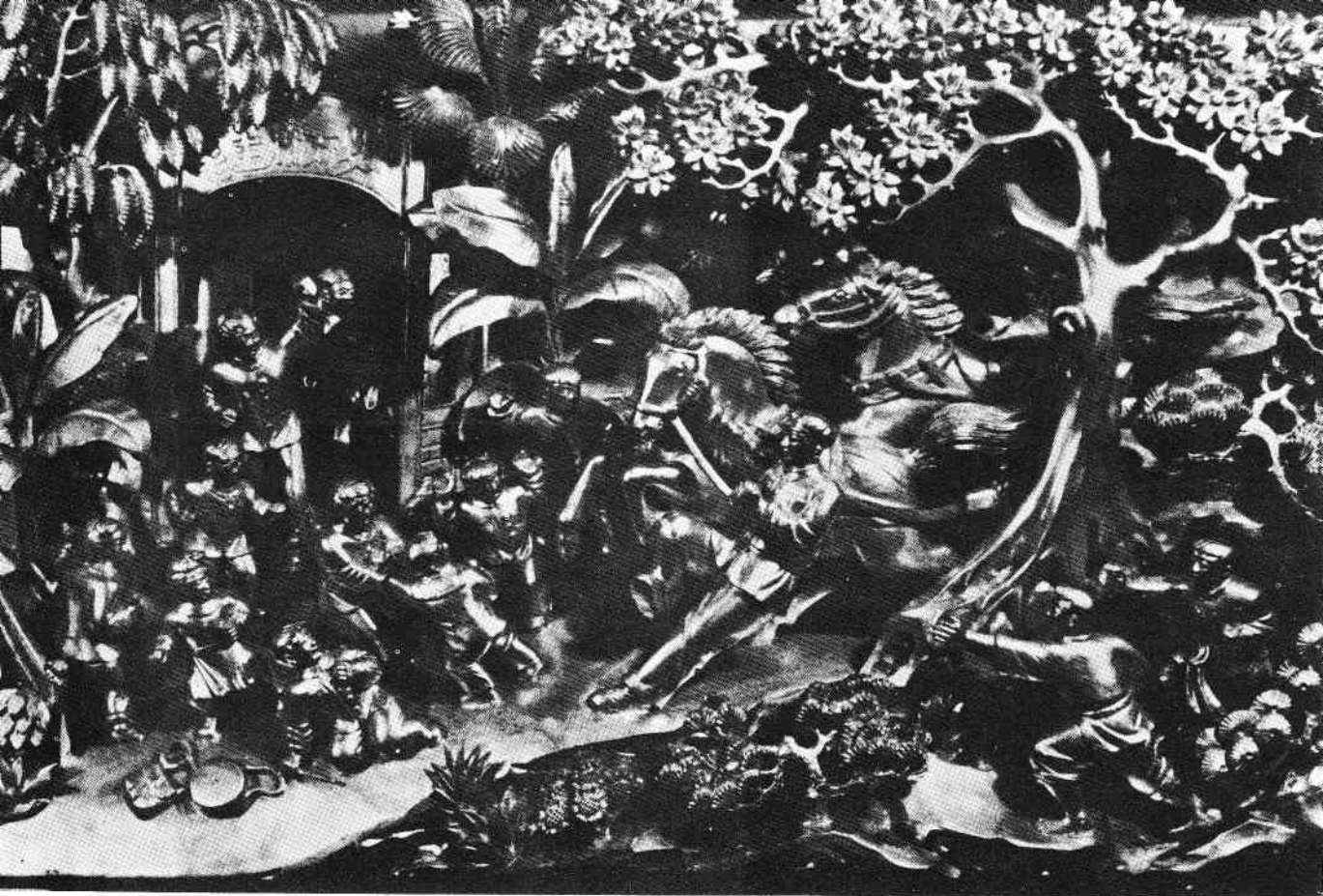


The White-haired Girl holding high a tripod to throw it at a landlord (*paper-cut*).



大桥要通途

Nanking Bridge (*wheat stalk composition*).

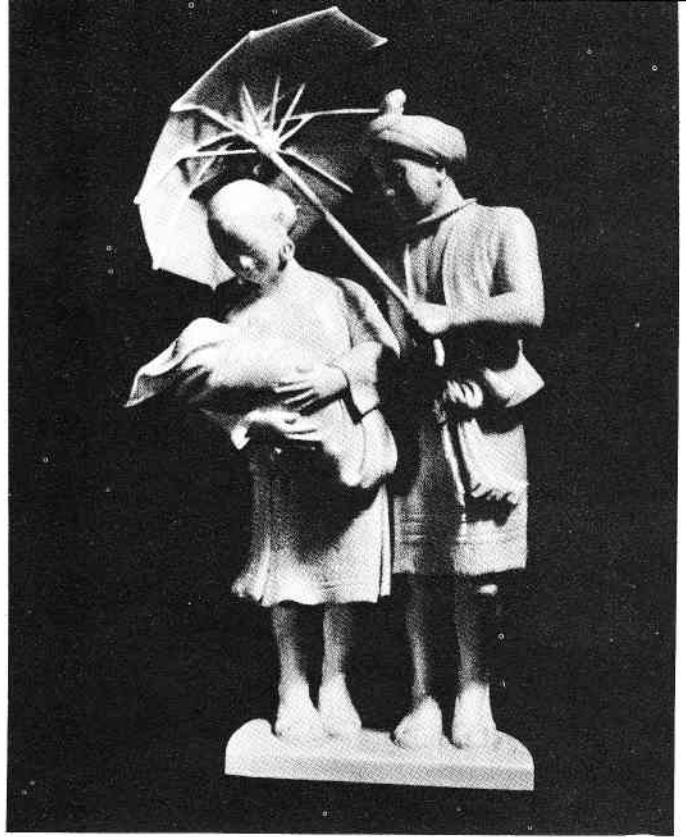


Liu Ying-chun, who gave his life to save a group of children (*Chiuchow wood carving*).



A Ouighur minstrel (*ivory carving*).

A new member of the family (*ivory carving*).



Isn't this good grain? (from the Rent Collection Courtyard—*paper-cut*).



Rebel (from the Rent Collection Courtyard—*paper-cut*).



Wooden screen depicting life in the Chinese countryside.

The Renewed Struggle

In agricultural societies like the Philippines where the main livelihood of the people is regulated by the rhythm of the seasons, the monsoon months, starting late in June and lengthening up to November, are always welcomed with celebrations. Little girls in immaculate white gowns, bearing flowers as an offering of thanks for the coming of the rains, are a familiar sight in the streets of every town. In places proximate to the rivers, fluvial processions of bancas, with its inevitable dunking of participants in the water, are common. The rains have come to be identified with life, bounty, new hopes.

The land, all parched, cracked, hard and brown the rest of the year, becomes soft and muddy, and from its bosom shoots of green grass emerge. The trees, stark bare and spindly, begin to put on a dress of light green. Everything takes on the colour of green, of soft, light green. Even the sky, all harsh blue and golden, lends a softness to the horizon, unseen during the past months.

Once more, everything seems to begin to breathe and stir. The whole countryside awakens to the steady patter of the rains on the thatched roofs, the leaves, the earth. From the highways, one could see the peasants in their starched blue, red and yellow overalls, plow in hand, prodding the *carabao* to go on while patches of moving white in the sky mark the return of the herons from their mountain-river lairs to the fields. It is the time of renewal, the time for plowing, sowing and planting, for digging the mud for edible snails, mudfish and catfish and crabs that had burrowed during the dry season.

In the cities, the boulevards, avenues and little streets are jammed with thousands of cars, buses, jeepneys and students trooping to their schools to enroll or attend their first day of

classes. Department stores are crammed with raincoats from Hongkong, umbrellas from Japan, jackets, leather and rubber caps, flood-boots, and rubber shoes. The store owners are once again having a great day raising the prices of their goods to fantastic heights.

Even as peace and tranquillity seems to have settled in the islands with the coming of the rains, the state has already taken precautions for the return of the students to their schools and the resumption of activism, while in the countryside safeguard measures have been doubled. The US AID, the whole summer long, recruited and trained riot-control squads for the army, the PC and the city police agencies. A horde of new recruits—many of them in their teens—to the special forces have been trained by the JUSMAG and let loose in the islands.

Learn From the Masses, Teach the Masses

The precautions taken by the state did not come to nought, for, in time for the opening of classes in Manila on July 7, the students of the U.P. (University of the Philippines), led by the Nationalist Corps, jointly held a demonstration with the peasants of Arayat, Pampanga.

Marching four by four under the dribbling rain, from the American Embassy to Malacañan Palace, the demonstrators carried huge streamers which read: 'Worker-Peasant-Student Unity for National Democracy', 'Down with American Imperialism', 'Marcos-Osmeña, Puppets', and 'We Demand Land, Not Guns!'

Among the demands of the Arayat peasants were: de-militarisation of Central Luzon, cutting military, economic and political ties with the US, and infrastructural demands such as construction of irrigation system, flood control, feeder roads, bridges, electrification, the absence

of which makes the sham land reform of the state even more so. The demonstrators were met by a minor palace functionary and were told to go to the Governor of Pampanga because he allegedly had the funds. The demonstrators could not help but suspect that they might be used to support the candidacy of the Governor's wife who had plans of running for Congress this November. As usual, the demands fell on deaf ears; and with the typhoons these coming months, thousands of hectares of arable land will once more be submerged under the flood waters while every trace of any trail will be washed away.

The joint peasant-student demonstration is a part of the life-long project of the Nationalist Corps members to integrate with the peasant and worker masses from which they have been alienated for so long, of unlearning what the colonial, Americanised educational system has taught them, and relearning from the people by sharing their daily and long-range struggles to uplift and free themselves from the bondage of feudalism and American imperialism.

One lesson that the peasant-student demonstrators learned was that the masses must rely on their own strength in the process of struggle.

University Strike

Close to the heels of the student-peasant demonstration, twelve thousand students of the U.P. boycotted their classes and declared a general strike in sympathy with the students of the College of Education who, days earlier, picketed the college, demanded a revamping of the colonial orientation of the college and the ouster of the Dean, who is the main pillar of the system.

The issue of Americanisation of the U.P., which prompted the February strike, once again surfaced, as no basic action had been done by the administration officials concerned with this issue.

President S.P. Lopez yielded to the pressure of the students to remove Dean Felixberto Sta Maria from his post after a meeting with Jerry Barican, Chairman of the Student Council, and Mrs Adelaida Masuhud, Councillor of the College of Education.

Up to now, however, Dean Sta Maria has not stepped down from his post and is giving

a fight. He has rallied behind him some well-known reactionary columnists from the metropolitan dailies, notably Teodoro Valencia and J. D. Constantino.

The Secrets of Satan's Chambers

According to a Reuters news report, the American imperialists are storing nerve gas and other chemical and bacteriological weapons for warfare in the Philippines. This report sent mild jitters down the spines of some columnists who immediately published accounts of the frightening consequences of these weapons.

One account says: 'Nerve gas is so deadly that a drop on a man's hand would kill him instantly. Among germ warfare agents produced and stockpiled by the US are a severe version of the "black death" that decimated people in the middle ages, called pneumonic plague and botulism toxin, an ounce of which could annihilate millions, along with Anthrax, Q. Fever, Rocky Mountain spotted fever and other diabolical concoctions. During World War II, the British tested Anthrax by infecting Gruignard Island in the North Atlantic, and today this island is still uninhabited. According to experts it will remain so for the next 100 years.'

Another account says: 'Last year, during a nerve gas test in the Dugway Proving Grounds in Utah, winds spread a deadly agent known as VX from an airborne aerosol device that had failed to shut off instantly, mysteriously killing 6,000 sheep thirty miles away . . . more than 100 square miles of pasture outside the proving ground had been contaminated.'

In the very recent past, during the February strike, one of the demands of the U.P. students was the termination of contract between the DOW Chemicals and the University of the Philippines' College of Agriculture to jointly research on and manufacture deadly chemical weapons for war. This was an off-shoot of the exposure made by the Partisans for Nationalist Student Power. The termination of the contract was made but has not prevented the American imperialists from storing them in their military bases. The Reuters news report could only surprise the naive columnists and elements who do not know that imperialism is a million times more diabolical than Satan.

*Nixon's Asian Policy:
Pit Asians against Asians*

Nixon's visit to the Philippines on July 26 drove the two warring rivals of the ruling oligarchy to hysteria in welcoming him. Never had such obsequiousness been seen or heard as when Marcos said in his welcome speech: 'President Nixon comes to us not merely as the President of the USA . . . but more than this, he comes to us symbolising all along the dreams and hopes of all mankind. He comes to us, perhaps, as a trustee of all mankind . . . he embodies all the noblest aspirations of humanity. . . .'

The visit to Asia had no other intention than to peddle his policy of Asianising American imperialism's plunder and wars in the area. Nixon assured his reactionary allies of material support in case of unrest but they must contend with it themselves, and anyway, the US bases will still be there, just in case the masses prove to be too strong.

Militarisation in the Countryside

Simultaneous with the anti-Nixon demonstration of workers, peasants and students in Manila, the day Nixon arrived, thousands of peasants gathered in the town plaza of Concepcion Tarlac to denounce the increasing militarisation of Central Luzon. This militarisation which has been going on for years upon the recommendation of JUSMAG officers was exposed last year when a group of Muslim trainees fled the training camps. The 'Jabidah Incident' which led to the public scrutiny of the government's military build-up, was quashed and since then the militarisation has been carried

out in silence again. But this cannot be hidden from the Barrio people whom they directly terrorise. In tune with the Nixon policy, more and more areas are being put under military control and lumpen elements are being armed by the JUSMAG to spread terror among the peasants in the islands.

Workers' Strikes

Back in the cities, strikes have sprouted in several factories, among them the Ford International, and the International Textile Mills. The workers, cheated once more in the collective bargaining, have taken up the struggle. One of the leaflets issued by the leadership of the INTEX Workers' Union said: 'The workers of Intex have learned that like their brother workers in other factories, the peasants, the students and other classes being exploited by the ruling classes, we must solidly unite and struggle for our interests at all times.'

Typhoon Elang, who came the day Nixon arrived, has left destruction in her wake. In the province of Pangasinan, a bus stalled in the highway one kilometre from the town of Alaminos was swept away by rampaging floodwaters, drowning fourteen passengers, while in Cebu city down south, four fishermen carried by strong winds to the high seas were confirmed dead.

In the meantime, while the damage wrought by Elang has not yet been accounted for, a new typhoon, code-named Winnie, has been tracked 685 kilometres south-west of Iwo Jima and is moving south-west towards the direction of the Philippines with a velocity of up to twenty kilometres per hour.

Armando Gaston

The Trap of Regionalism

There is little doubt that Tokyo is the best spot from which to study the struggles of the Philippine Republic; not because this is the source of Japanese 'aid'—that is probably the very worst medicine—as indicated by President Marcos on May 12, in Baguio City, when he said, anent foreign 'aid', particularly Japanese, that 'under no circumstance' should such 'aid' determine the economic development of the Philippines.

The reason why Tokyo (formerly Edo and now Eastern Capital) is such an excellent vantage point from which to watch the rise and fall of the new nations of the Southeast Asian sphere is that it is the 'regional' capital of Asia, as designated by Washington.

This is not because the air is clearer in the north and thus making possible a better view of the south; nor is it because the US leaders like the Japanese better than the Filipinos; it is just that the policy makers in the Pentagon and the White House believe that: (A) Japan is industrialised; (B) Industrialisation is equatable with military power; and (C) They think that they can use this power to 'lead Free Asia' for them against China.

What is glibly overlooked in this 'sound strategic concept' is that it was the United States that consciously and deliberately decided to re-industrialise Japan after World War II—when its industries were all bombed out of existence—and also in violation of its own pledge made at Potsdam and in its own 'United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy' dated August 29, 1945.

The Potsdam Declaration, which was almost totally devised by the US and signed by its allies, Britain and the USSR, pledged in Article II:

Japan shall be permitted to maintain such

industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those which would enable her to re-arm for war.

Japan today, under its 'third' re-armament, mobilisation plan, is being urged by the United States to re-arm with weapons of its own production and it is even supplied with patents and designs of 'superior' weapons which it has not worked out. The Japan Atomic Energy Research Institute announced publicly on October 3, 1968 that it had produced two lots of atomic bomb fuel, plutonium, 18 grams in April and 105 grams in October, stating: 'The nuclear fuel reprocessing plant was built solely with Japanese techniques.'

The United States Post-Surrender Policy that was supposed to set policy to control Japan for the post-war period, states in 'Part 4. Economic Demilitarisation':

The existing economic basis of Japanese military strength must be destroyed and not be permitted to revive. Therefore, a programme will be enforced containing the following elements, among others: the immediate cessation and future prohibition of production of all goods designed for the equipment, maintenance, or use of any military force or establishment; the imposition of a ban upon any specialised facilities for the production or repair of the implements of war, including naval vessels and all forms of aircraft; the institution of inspection and control over selected elements in Japanese economic activity to prevent concealed or disguised military preparation; the elimination in Japan of those selected industries or branches of production whose chief value to Japan is preparing for war; the prohibition of specialised research and instruction directed

to the development of war-making power; and the limitation of the size and character of Japan's heavy industries to its future peaceful requirements, and the restriction of Japanese merchant shipping to the extent required to accomplish the objectives of demilitarisation.

Nothing could be more explicit than these simple, ordinary and honest English words; their purpose is clear and unmistakable. And yet, these solemn, honest, promises made by the United States were broken. Why? Was it because the US had been insincere when it made these strong pledges? Had Washington made a mistake when it had sought and insisted upon a totally disarmed Japan? Was Japan's military might of 1968 (twice the pre-war firepower and the seventh in world power rating) a 'concealed or disguised' militarism?

No, the new and increasingly home-produced military strength of the 'cruel and vicious Japanese enemy' of the war fought from 1941 to 1945 was open and proudly displayed under the same Rising Sun flag. Why then this violation by the United States of international agreements? Because the US accepted the Japanese thesis of the 1930's that China was the enemy. From 1931 to 1945, Japan slaughtered millions of Chinese in China, insisting that it was merely fighting 'Communist bandits'. After 1945 the United States took over this same slogan. The truth was that if a truly independent, modernised and industrialised China emerged, whether Communist or anti-Communist, this would mean that the United States—or Japan—would be unable any longer to control the affairs of Asia.

To justify its course of action and to economise on its huge expenditures in trying to police the world alone, the United States has sought to transfer part of this burden to Japan. ('Japan must assume responsibilities commensurate with its economic might.') But aware that there is Asia-wide animus at any attempt to make the Japanese once more the *Kempeitai* (gendarmier) of the Orient, Washington is emphasising the advantages of 'regionalism', asserting that this is the next stage 'beyond nationalism'. The superficiality of this slogan is apparent, for even as among nations there are some who derive greater benefits, so in regionalism, the most powerful nation—Japan in Asia—will see its 'nationalism' rewarded from 'beyond' its national borders.

This whole zonal plan seems to be a new and piecemeal style of solving the world's problems, and yet it is but the same, identical 'New Order' for Asia and Europe, devised by the war-time Axis partners whereby Germany would dominate and 'develop' agricultural Eastern Europe and mineral-rich Africa while industrial Japan would build its own 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' in the rich Orient stretching from northern Hokkaido to New Guinea in the south and from Hawaii westward to China.

In the first days of World War II, both Radio Berlin and Radio Tokyo magnanimously agreed to permit the United States to retain the 'Monroe-Doctrine land of the Americas', for the time being, if it remained neutral and did not interfere with the 'New Order' being built with guns and at the cost of some sixty million lives.

Seemingly the Nazi geo-politicians had migrated to the United States and under the new label of 'regionalism' the old 'New Order' in Asia, called the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere', was being re-animated.

As part of this plan, the US-devised Asia Development Bank was established, and to ensure the proper 'regional control', the presidency was given to Mr Takeshi Watanabe, formerly of the Japanese Finance Ministry in Tokyo. As a sop to Filipino pride, the head office was established in Manila, thus making some few jobs available for office girls and janitors, while the policy-makers and big money came from other rich and industrialised lands.

Here in this North-South—industrialised and un-industrialised—relationship was the same flaw that confronted Hitler-Tojo and their modern, latter-day disciples of 'regionalism'. Both were based upon the same cartel-view of the world in which the industrial lands would buy—or secure—the raw materials from the under-developed lands of the 'south' at the market price which they had determined, while selling their manufactured products to these same under-developed lands at the highest prices they could secure, and thus ensure the perpetuation of under-development.

The prices of the raw materials purchased by the industrial powers was always so low that they precluded the possibility of industrialisation from domestic income. Under-developed lands then turned to the new, gleaming 'Development Bank'—one each in Asia, in Latin America and Africa—all controlled by the US with

'native' front-men acting as 'presidents'. These 'Development Banks' were happy to loan money for certain things but not for the establishment of industry. The rule which had been so successfully tested in Latin America by the United States was to gladly loan money but only for 'infrastructure', which means building modern highways, railroads and docks, *first*, so that the ores and crops and resources could be expeditiously gotten out of the country—and shipped to the United States. This 'improvement' of the under-developed lands was a pre-requisite for industrialisation; but, every country that accepted this bait found itself so deeply indebted that true industrialisation became even more distant.

This is the scheme of the Asian Development Bank and this is why its activities will not help, but only retard the development-industrialisation of all Asia—except the US and Japan. In those unique cases within any of the under-developed

lands wherein some individual has some capital, has a franchise, or some other risk-free deal, the private bankers of the USA, or Japan, acting separately or in a consortium, stand ready to make loans, but only if the terms are 'gilt-edged', and triply guaranteed.

Because such 'good things' only exist in prostitution, the growing or sale of opium, armed robbery or the militarisation of the under-developed to 'fight Communist aggression', the prospect of industrialisation of the under-developed lands seems remote and ever-more doubtful.

This fact should come as no surprise for it is only natural that the United States and its two 'regional' chieftains, Germany and Japan, should seek to retain these regions as customers, they not being able to produce the same goods themselves. Here is the tragic, awful and profitable paradox.

David Conde

Economic and Technical Co-operation

A ceremony marking the transfer of the Kinsoundi Textile Combine, the first national textile combine of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) built with Chinese assistance, was held today on the eve of the 6th anniversary of the August Revolution of the Congo.

Wang Yu-tien, Chinese Ambassador to the Congo, pointed out in his speech that the successful construction of the Kinsoundi Textile Combine is a crystallisation of the Sino-Congolese co-operation in the economic and technical fields. It opened a brilliant page in the history of friendly co-operation between China and the Congo. Wang Yu-tien thanked the Congolese Government and people for the help given and the concern shown to the Chinese engineering and technical personnel. He expressed the wish that the friendship between the Congolese and Chinese peoples will grow with each passing day.

Edouard Madingou, Secretary of State for Economy and Finance of the Congo, said that the Kinsoundi Textile Combine is a fruit of Sino-Congolese co-operation. 'On this occasion, it is with deep emotion and great pride that we present this splendid fruit to the Congolese people. This is a remarkable work judging either by its costs, its generosity, its social value or its economic importance.'

Madingou stressed that 'we say once more of the remarkable generosity, for the experts of the Chinese technical assistance have displayed a spirit of sacrifice, hard work and devotedness in the study of the project, in its execution and in the preparation for its operation. This has enlightened all those who worked with them, far or near, thus giving a vivid illustration to the thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung.'

Hsinhua, Brazzaville, 12 August

Arabic Literature

Husein Rofé

The Arabic Language

Of the ancient middle Eastern Semitic family, the only surviving languages are Arabic, Hebrew and Amharic (the last-named being spoken in Ethiopia). They are related to the extinct but historically significant Aramaic, Phoenician and Syriac; more distantly to the Ancient Egyptian of the Pharaohs. An appreciable literature has survived from all these Semitic tongues, as from Himyaritic or South-Arabian, not to be confused with Arabic.

The subject under consideration is the literature preserved in the Arabic language; it is not the literature of the Arabs any more than Latin is necessarily that of the Romans, though originally so. The language in question is Classical Arabic, not to be confused with any of the varieties of spoken Arabic which extend from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf.

Theoretically, Arabic literature commences with pre-Islamic poetry; in practice, Western and Eastern scholars have rejected much of this as a subsequent forgery. The language of Classical Arabic is based on that of the Quran, or Muslim scripture, representing the revelations of the Prophet Muhammad early in the seventh century. The text of the Quran, first memorised and only later recorded, was regarded as sacred: the Divine Word spoken through the mouth of

the messenger was flawless and untarnished, therefore the language in which it was revealed must serve as a pattern of perfection in style.

Some pursued this argument to such lengths that they concluded Arabic must be the only language understood in heaven; others codified the grammar, deducing rules to be observed on the basis of the Quranic text. Within a century of Muhammad's death, his followers had extended the sway of Islam from an obscure Arabian village to an empire stretching from Spain and Morocco in the West to the frontiers of China in the East, embracing a population of Spaniards, Berbers, Syrians, Persians and others.

The role of the Persians

At the time of the Islamic conquest, there were two great powers in the Western world, Byzantium and Persia; by mid-seventh century, the latter was a part of the Islamic Empire, and has been a Muslim country ever since. It only took a century for the axis of the new empire to need removal from the Byzantine to the Iranian sphere of influence, as the capital was transferred from Damascus to Baghdad, where it remained for five centuries.

The desert Arabs, suddenly finding themselves faced with the administrative problems of a vast and multi-racial em-

pire, were obliged to look to their more experienced subjects of alien race for help and orientation. Especially after the transfer to Baghdad, a new city founded in 762, which became the greatest metropolis in the world outside Byzantium, and the wealthiest, the Persian element gained the ascendancy over the political and administrative life of the empire: apart from the all-powerful Caliph, an Arab ruler of the Prophet's family, in whom spiritual and temporal authority were fused, the chief offices went to Persians, who often directed imperial affairs with little interference even from the Caliph himself.

The new subjects had had to make an effort of adjustment, adapting themselves to the new culture based on the Quran and having its roots in Arabia. The Persian language of the time, otherwise called Pehlevi, disappeared to rise from its ashes metamorphosed into Arabic script with a host of alien terms and expressions, remaining nevertheless utterly distinct from Arabic in all its basic forms. For a long time, the language of literature and administration continued to be Arabic, which also had to make adjustments to meet the demands of a complex society far removed from the world of the desert, of tribal vendettas, camels and date-palms. It became enriched by terminology of Persian and Greek origin, being in its nature sufficiently flexible to integrate these expressions and evolve new concepts.

It was, however, not only in language itself that hybrid twins emerged from the daily contact of Arabs and Persians: the Persians were obliged to express themselves in Arabic, so that their works might be read throughout the empire and not merely in a province. A similar situation prevailed in Spain and elsewhere. So it came about that many of the great works of Arabic literature were in fact written by non-Arabs, and the race which had provided the initial impetus contributed only a small part of the literature published in its own language.

Connection between Language and Religion

I have indicated a parallel with Latin, since the language of the Romans came to be the medium of cultural exchange of all the races of Europe, and remained so long after the Romans had vanished from the stage of history. This is however a poor analogy, since in Europe it was the exception, aristocrat or cleric who studied Latin; in the Muslim Empire, Arabic was the sacred tongue of almost the entire population irrespective of race. Even those who could not understand it committed scripture to memory, and they were required to pray in it daily. Only a small minority of the conquered population failed to accept the new faith; the extent of the Islamic Empire was virtually identical with that of the faith, and few Muslims resided outside it until comparatively recently.

In time, portions of the empire asserted their independence and national literatures re-emerged within the world of Islam. This was especially true of the humanistic field: Persian poetry attained a production which was no whit inferior to the output in Arabic, whether quantitatively or in quality. Subsequently the Turks and others made their contributions, but even they usually considered it more elegant to compose in Persian. Arabic remained the language of religion, and continued to be used by Persians and Turks until quite recently for religious and scientific purposes, while all the Islamic peoples used the Arabic script exclusively until the twentieth century.

Unfamiliarity with Arabic Literature

When one reflects that literature was being produced over so wide a portion of the earth's surface for so many centuries by such varied races at the height of a great civilisation, it becomes clear that the amount of books written in Arabic must have been very great indeed. Why then

is this literature comparatively so little known in the West?

Three main reasons may be adduced, as follows:

- 1) The destruction caused by the Mongols;
- 2) Presentation of the literature with an Islamic slant;
- 3) Cost of publication and translation.

When the Mongols invaded the Middle East, mosques were used as stables for their horses, while paper from books served for their bedding. Even the human holocaust is beyond computation; how much worse must have been the fate of libraries in cities razed to the ground?

Many books published by Muslims viewed the world with a specifically Islamic *Weltanschauung*, which can both perplex and repel the would-be European reader; he may often need a basic understanding of Islamic civilisation and custom to appreciate the unfamiliar presentation.

It was not until 1726 that a religious dignitary in Istanbul gave his solemn and considered verdict that the printing press was not dangerous and diabolical. Prior to that time, and often even later, books had to be copied out laboriously in manuscript; apart from their implied scarcity, this also meant frequent errors and variants. The establishment of a critical text entails a great deal of labour, collating far-flung manuscripts; when the work is published, whether in the original or in translation, it is often of interest only to specialists. Without the sponsorship of funds or philanthropists, prospects of remuneration proportionate to the labour involved are discouraging for editor, translator and publisher.

It follows therefore that much literature has vanished, that more lies unknown in manuscript form scattered through the libraries of the world, and that what had been published has often never been translated into a European language.

Literature of the Jāhiliyya

Although we have no evidence that the numerous pre-Islamic poems were committed to writing until some generations after their composition, it would be a mistake to dismiss the entire complex of this literature as forgery; especially since many Eastern nations have maintained a strong tradition of oral literature and the Arabs were famous for their memories as for their appreciation of this poetry. Further, it cannot have sprung ready-formed into the light of history with the appearance of Islam. Whether one can be so certain as to the identity of a given poet is another matter, since plagiarism was no rarer then than elsewhere.

The pre-Islamic age, which of course includes the existing literature in the days of the Prophet, is referred to as the *Jāhiliyya*, or the days of ignorance. As in so many other world literatures, we note the earliest surviving compositions were poetical, already in an advanced state of development. In fact, the sixth century poets are today considered to be the greatest in the entire literature; probably however they have survived in somewhat adulterated form. They were all *qasidahs*, odes more complex in nature than the early Greek epics. Strict rules governed not only the metre but also the successive references to various themes. They expressed intensely personal sentiments, though the limited horizons of the desert offered few subjects. Poems could be panegyric, satirical or erotic, and the satires of tribal poets were much feared by other tribes, since the desert Arab was hypersensitive about his honour and dreaded ridicule.

The most famous of these early poems were the seven *Mu'allaqāt*, said to have been hung in golden letters on the walls of Mecca's chief shrine. Traditionally, the most outstanding poet was *Imrūl Qays*. These early odes have been translated into several foreign languages.

Following this poetry came the Quran, a collection of utterances of the Prophet Muhammad while in an inspired state. They were spread over several years, dealing with a variety of subjects; revelation was appropriate to the needs of the Prophet and the community. Eventually the Quran ('recitation') was collected into a book which paid scant attention to the chronological order of the revelations.

The Quran exerted a far greater influence on the development of the Arabic language and literature than did Shakespeare on that of England or Dante on Italian. This scripture was held to contain everything worth knowing; the comprehension of its allusions and obedience to its prescriptions entailed investigation of history, geography, astronomy and other sciences. From the Quran alone, there developed a whole corpus of theological sciences; nevertheless, this aspect of Arabic literature, important as it is to the Muslims, is that which appeals least to other readers.

The Golden Age of Islam

It was not until the establishment of the new capital of Baghdad, 130 years after Muhammad's death, that great secular literature made its appearance in Arabic. It rapidly developed in the late eighth century into a cosmopolis of wealth and learning. Greek science, long lost to the Western world slumbering in the Dark Ages, was translated, often from Syriac, the empire was scoured for great works and even the Emperor of Byzantium was asked to seek for them. Among by-products with world-wide consequences, we may briefly mention that these Arabic translations found their way to Córdoba in Spain; that city was under a Muslim ruler the most enlightened in ninth century Europe, and Christian princes came to study in its universities the lost learning of the Greeks in Arabic versions. A direct consequence was the European Renaissance.

Meanwhile, in both Baghdad and Córdoba, the two great cultural centres of the Arabic-speaking world, original production kept pace with the flood of translations; it found its inspiration in the blend of Islamic and Hellenistic impulses, in the co-operation of men of many races and religions, in an atmosphere of enlightenment which (especially in Córdoba) had no parallel for centuries to come.

When Baghdad was at its zenith, and especially during the reign of Harun al Rashid (786-809), literary activity included the systematisation by the Basra school of Arabic grammar, the codification of the four schools of Islamic law, and the development of new styles in poetry. These last derived from the economic and social consequences of the new city life, with the emergence of an affluent and sophisticated cosmopolitan population. The *ghazal* was invented at this time: this is a new form of love poem, distinguished from the *qasidah* by its shortness.

Although the Abbasid Dynasty had ousted its predecessors on the basis of their impious materialism, Islamic society in the capital of Harun al Rashid was characterised by fondness for the delights of this world, its poets were licentious, and the greatest of them, Abu Nuwās, boon-companion of the Caliph himself, immortalised the delights derived from wine, slave-girls and beautiful youths. He also satirised the traditional tendency to celebrate the glories of a distant desert, no longer relevant to the society of the time. By thus breaking completely with tradition, he took an important step forward, creating a style of poetry which had its roots in the life of the Islamic metropolis, not in that of the pre-Islamic desert.

Harun's half-Persian son Ma'mun was of a more serious turn of mind and gave the chief encouragement to philosophical debates, to scientific investigation and to the study of foreign works. In the religious field, we note two divergent cur-

rents: fashions in orthodoxy which changed with the Caliphs and often made it dangerous to support theories no longer in favour; and *Sufism*, an anti-intellectual reaction, which sought direct spiritual experience as an antidote to hair-splitting theorizing. It was this new and popular movement that led later, especially in Persia, to the greatest creations of Islamic literature. These do not however occupy so prominent a place in the writings of the Arabs.

The Writing of History

Certain forms of literature are quite unfamiliar among the Arabs: these include the novel and the drama, which did not develop because they did not fit in with the social concepts deriving from the religious orientation of society. Nor was there any financial encouragement for the composition of a novel, as writers often depended for their existence on the ability to attract the patronage of a ruler they laboured to flatter. This helps to explain why literary output was often greatest when political rule was fragmented: there were more petty princes or potential patrons.

For history there was always an incentive: not only was it necessary to situate the cosmic event of the Prophet's mission within the perspective of human endeavour; it later became lucrative to chronicle for petty princes (or great ones) the glories of their dynasties. History has in fact always appealed to the Muslim mentality, Sir Muhammad Iqbal having qualified it as one of the three ways of understanding the manifestation of a divine plan in the material universe.

The Muslim writers were indebted to the Persian chronicles of the Sassanian kings, since these viewed history in terms of events during individual reigns. Christian influences have also been noted, though of rather hagiographic nature. In addition, biographical compendia were much in fashion, describing the lives of

poets, saints or learned men. Arab writers and their hearers were perhaps unduly pre-occupied with the strange and miraculous; in consequence, these pen-pictures often omit important details at the expense of those which strike the imagination forcefully.

A peculiarity of the Arab historians is their tendency to collect anecdotes as fully as possible without any attempt at collation; these are thus presented successively from different sources, all their contradictions and inconsistencies being left for the reader to weigh up for himself. The most famous of these histories, that of the Persian Tabari, attempts a study of the world from the creation, naturally devoting most space to the history of Islam when that period is reached. It contains a great deal of information on the pre-Islamic semi-legendary history of Persia. In general, such works maintain high standards of scholarship and accurate reporting.

Scientific Literature

In this article, one can only hint at the breadth of the scientific field covered. Medical literature included the works of al-Rāzi (Rhazes), whose output was staggering, including well over a hundred different medical treatises. He is generally regarded as the greatest of the physicians, and his writings on both alchemy and medicine were avidly studied in translation in Renaissance Europe. Among the other great authors in the field, it is necessary to mention Ibn Sīna, more familiar in Europe under the name of Avicenna. He was however first and foremost a philosopher.

In the field of philosophy, the Arabic writers were basically influenced by the ancient Greek authors, whose work was presented in Arabic in a cast acceptable to the Islamic and Eastern mentality. Aristotle was the dominant influence, and among the great Arabic philosophical treatises, those of al-Kindi and al-Fārābi

stand out in addition to the previously mentioned Ibn Sīna. Al-Kindi was something of a polygraph, concerning himself in addition with optics, alchemy and astrology. Both of these philosophers wrote works on music also. Al-Fārābī is important as a writer on political theory, inspired by the works of both Plato and Aristotle.

It is well known that modern astronomy and chemistry have developed out of astrology and alchemy. Those mediaeval sciences were originally philosophical systems which attempted to understand the basic harmony of the cosmos. Only later did they degenerate into materialistic superstitions. The chemical terminology and the names of many stars in the English language today reveal the enormous debt of Europe to Arabic science and research in these fields. The astrologers had here also availed themselves of the earlier work of the Greek Ptolemy. A noted writer on astronomical and mathematical subjects was al-Bīrūnī; it is less well known in the West that the Persian poet Umar Khayyam is in fact regarded in his native land chiefly as a scientist. Many wrote far greater poetry.

Al-Jāhiz, a 9th-century Persian from Basra, was among the most fertile of all writers, and there was hardly a subject with which he did not concern himself. He hired bookshops and spent the entire night in them satisfying his avid intellectual curiosity. One of his many famous works, the *Kitāb ul Hayawān*, or Book of the Animals, is not as its name suggests primarily a work on zoology, but rather a compendium of information about every conceivable creature, designed to point out to the reader the majesty of the Creator.

Literature after the Mongols

Despite the havoc they wrought in Asia, the Mongol invasions did not directly affect the Muslim kingdoms in Africa. One consequence of their occupation of

Persia was that that country, now definitively cut off from the Arab lands, saw a national renaissance in which all literature was composed in Persian. Not long afterwards, the Ottoman Turks took over control of most of the Muslim world, and they too preferred literature in Persian or even Turkish, when religious issues were not involved.

It is of interest that probably the greatest Arabic writer after the Mongol invasion was a North African, Ibn Khaldūn of Tunis. A fourteenth century Arab who received his education in the brilliant Far Western capital of Fez, he grew up in almost the only Muslim cultural centre that had remained Arab, unaffected by Persian or Turkish culture. He is famous as sociologist, historian and philosopher. His wide knowledge was acquired by travels far afield to Cairo and Granada. He is most well known for his *Muqaddima* or Introduction to a World History. This is generally recognised as the first attempt by anyone to produce a work on the philosophy of history. It reveals him as a remarkably clear thinker. Apart from this famous work, which is largely concerned with sociological issues, his writings include a *History of the Berbers*.

The economic conditions deriving from changed international relations, and the rise of European international maritime trade, are reflected in the great poverty in Arabic literature right up to the nineteenth century. Subsequent production came under European influence, which began with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. A new generation of Arabic writers emerged a century ago from the American University of Beirut, and a new style in literature developed; this was perhaps as alien to classical Arabic literature as Italian writings are to the spirit of Ancient Rome. Despite the brilliance of the modern writers, from Syria and the Lebanon and later from Egypt, these have been ignored here, since they belong to another world.

Haiku in Western Romanticism

A Chime of Windbells—a Year of Japanese Haiku in English Verse

Translations with an essay by Harold Stewart.
(Charles E. Tuttle Company, Tokyo 1969.)

'It would be tempting to speculate on the reasons for the expanding popularity of *haiku* poetry today'—the book closed, we get an answer of a sort to this very first sentence. The brevity and elusiveness of this poetic form peculiar to Japan make it too good a vehicle for the mystical interpretation of Eastern cultures to be missed. The Far East, shrunken to Japan, I am afraid, is the hallowed land of Tradition which the author, as a true worshipper, writes with a capital T, whether it is one or four, Shinto, Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism. The essay, longer than the translations, is indeed an impressive example of this brand of Western romanticism. To convince us that 'in all authentically Traditional poetry there inheres an esoteric dimension, an anagogic significance', no words are spared to show us the unfathomable depth of the religious background: the unfortunate reader will learn with awe, if he is unfamiliar with Spinoza, that Shinto worships *natura naturans* in *natura naturata*. He will be overwhelmed by the hoary divinity of the Japanese Imperial Line and the reference to such an authority as René Guénon's *La Grande Triade* which explains, 'according to Taoist hermeneutics' a false etymology of the character *wang*, known to every Chinese schoolboy, with the added and strange statement that '*lung*, the Dragon, is the Chinese equivalent of the Logos.' Who would dispute the fact that the flag of the 'Imperial Navy' is 'a perfect emblem of the deployment of the vital potentialities of the Sun, both spiritual and psychophysical'. Surely no rabid nationalist could possibly be unaware of the proper interpretation of the Japanese flag 'according to Traditional Metaphysics . . . : the disc is red because it comprises in principle all the possibilities of manifestation. The ground is white because it represents the Un-

manifest, which includes both the possibilities of manifestation and those of non-manifestation. . . .'

Coming across the statement that 'Japan is often described by its Chinese name as the Land of the Rising Sun, although the Japanese themselves call their country Nihon or Nippon, which indicates its solar origin', we start wondering whether the translator knew any written Japanese.* No doubt such a knowledge might have hampered his efforts towards a 'creative and interpretative' translation. We are promised an 'alchemical transmutation of language in which the silver of prose is turned into the gold of poetry' and, mind you, no 'fool's gold' of free verse or poetic prose, but the solid poetry of our grandfathers with the complete paraphernalia of rhyme, rhythm, assonance, alliteration and other effects—not the 'solipsistic obscurity and cacophonous experimentation of the modern poets.' 'In short, the couplet being an English verse-form, while the *haiku* is not', the translator transmuted the one into the other, getting, I guess, a sort of liquid gold, as 'the poems can either be imbibed consecutively somewhat like *renga*, or linked verses, or sipped individually at random.' In the process the *haiku* is lost, though the drink tastes hardly more English as the couplet in isolation is an unusual verse-form, indeed, and, forced into that sort of loose connection, even stranger. Let us make the point clearer by taking one example, the most representative piece, probably, of Bashô (1644-1694), the greatest of *haiku* poets:

<i>Furuike ya</i>	The old pond . . .
<i>kawasu tobikomu</i>	a frog jumps in:
<i>mizu no oto</i>	the sound of water.

* The ancient Japanese called their country Yamato.

The standard *haiku* is built on the interplay of three lines of 5, 7, 5 syllables, calling for a tour de force in simplicity. The *ya* of the first verse, called *kireji* (cutting word), marks a suspensive pause setting off the effect of what follows. The words, coming from everyday language, would be intelligible to a child of three. Sorry for reducing 'haiku to a poetry of *petites sensations*', sticking to 'the more superficial layers of meaning'; but the poem conveys wonderfully an impression. It makes us hear the unnamed silence. I am afraid we only read about it in the rhymed, alliterative, assonantic amplification of Mr Stewart:

*The old green pond is silent, here the hop
of a frog plumbs the evening stillness: plop!*

We'll leave to the appreciation of the reader whether this kind of translation makes us better aware of the supposed second and third levels of meaning. We may feel that Benzaiten-sama (Pien-ts'ai-t'ien, Sarasvāti) has rather imprudently loaned her lute to the Australian poet, as he claims, for those free compositions on what he seems to consider timeless metaphysical utterances. Neither in the arrangement, following the four seasons, nor in the commentaries is the reader made clearly aware that the 364 *haiku* by some 80 poets span four centuries. No doubt it reflects on the 'anti-poetic age of ours' to be so down-to-earth as to take *haiku* as a poetry of circumstances, predominantly. Still reading the translation of 'a splendid haiku' by Seishi (born in 1868) on the imperial tombs at Mukden:

The imperial tombs are cold. Through
middle air

The sun and moon at one another stare,

we can't help wondering whether the following commentary does justice to the poet who 'on a visit to Mukden saw the imperial tombs of the defeated and deposed Manchus, cold and deserted, the principle of Divine Kingship despised, ignored, or forgotten by the modern world. Through middle air, which in the Far East is the psychic world intermediate between the physical Earth and the spiritual Heaven, now only the Sun, symbol of being and the Emperor, and the Moon, of Consciousness and the Empress, stared at each other in tragic blank dismay.' So do we, remembering how Divine Kingship was restored in Manchukuo in 1934 and what kind of co-prosperity was in store for the Far East. . . .

One gets the sorry feeling that the author smothered his child out of excessive love. Many, no doubt, would disagree as, after all, he published a previous volume in *haiku* in 1960, *A Net of Fireflies*. Still the fact will not dispel our misgivings about the innocence of romantic escapism which so conveniently confuses the issues. Who is tamer, the *haiku* translator or the 'poet kept in a cage on the campus', to use the scornful expression of Mr Stewart?

Alas that we cannot give unrestrained praise to such a handsomely bound volume! Among the 34 coloured illustrations the 18 due to Ueshima Masaaki show a naive and subtle sensitivity for *haiku* poetry. What a pity that the translator has not followed the example of 'the young Japanese artist, potter and garden designer' in bringing the *haiku* poets out of their metaphysical clouds, down to the level of ordinary human beings, with their very human love, sadness, anger, and laughter.

Anne Marie Lévy

ON MANY HORIZONS *news and views*

Miracle in Medical Science

Revolutionary medical workers from Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai, led by the working class, saved a young woman worker Wang Shih-fen, who received burns on 98 per cent of her body.

The patient had third and fourth degree burns on 88 per cent of the body.

Four operations were performed over a nine-day period.

Hsinhua, Peking, 12 June

Thai Guerillas in 33 Provinces

'The Voice of the People of Thailand' in an article broadcast yesterday said, at present, the flames of people's armed struggle are burning in the vast areas of 33 out of the 71 provinces throughout Thailand.

The radio said, according to incomplete figures, from November 1967 to the end of May this year, the people's armed forces of Thailand fought more than 1,200 battles with the troops and police of the US-Thanom clique, annihilated nearly 2,000 enemy troops and opened up many new battlefields.

Hsinhua, Peking, 14 June

300,000 See Documentaries

The documentaries on the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China and the Yangtze Bridge at Nanking are still going strong after running for two weeks.

In the past fortnight over 300,000 people have seen the pictures.

Many went to the cinemas a few times to catch a glimpse of the leaders. People were deeply touched when they saw Chairman Mao stand up in ovation when the young PLA commander back from Chenpao Island stepped down from the speakers' stand where he had just made his speech.

Ta Kung Pao,
Hongkong, 19 June

The Most Stable Currency

Chinese currency will from now on be

known officially in foreign languages as Renminbi or RMB instead of the JMP used hitherto.

One tenth of a RMB Yuan is a Jiao, and one tenth of a Jiao is a Fen.

It was learned here that this was a decision made recently by the head office of the Bank of China in Peking.

Bankers here hailed this as a timely decision. As the RMB has become the most stable currency in the world and has been increasingly used in international settlements, they said, it was time the currency was given an official nomenclature in foreign languages.

Ta Kung Pao,
Hongkong, 19 June

Killing Two Birds with One Stone

With the assistance of the Suharto fascist regime, the Japanese capitalists are carrying out in Indonesia their plan of 'industrial Japan and agricultural Southeast Asia'.

To pursue this plan, the Japanese capitalists are dumping machinery on Indonesia in the name of 'undertaking' agricultural production, and at the same time importing cheap agricultural produce from Indonesia. By this tactic of killing two birds with one stone, Japan is able to corner the Indonesian market and at the same time control its raw materials.

Hsinhua, Peking, 20 June

Soviet 'Aid'

Following the example of US imperialism, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has in recent years made heavy inroads upon Asia, Africa and Latin America in the name of providing economic and military 'aid'.

Its 'aid' to Asian, African and Latin American countries consists mostly of heavy industry items such as metallurgical, mining and power plants. This is because the abnormal development of its internal economy has resulted in large stock-piles of heavy machines, and the revisionist clique is anxious to look for markets abroad to dump these old-timers in

an effort to extricate itself from the difficulties it faces in production, at the expense of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples.

What is more important, it wants to dominate the recipient countries politically so as to establish a colonial rule of the new Tsars. Its 'aid' is adapted to and closely coordinated with its counter-revolutionary global strategy.

Hsinhua, Peking, 20 June

Rockefeller's Visit

The New York Governor, Mr Nelson Rockefeller, flies home from the latest of his turbulent Latin American tours today—leaving behind a trail of unrest and a declaration that the Pan-American Alliance for Progress has failed.

Anti-American violence flared in Montevideo for the third day running yesterday, despite a Government move to soothe the uproar by installing President Nixon's envoy in this Atlantic coast resort instead of the capital during his one-day visit.

Reuter, Punta Del Este, 22 June

Indian Troops Go Home!

Nepal's Prime Minister, Mr Kirtinidhi Bista, has called for the withdrawal of Indian military personnel from Nepal's northern border checkpoints and an Indian military liaison group stationed in Katmandu.

He said Indians were posted in these checkpoints under a 1950 treaty because trained Nepalese were not then available.

'Since Nepalese are trained now with India's own assistance, the Nepal Government feels Indian personnel can and should be withdrawn,' he said.

AP, Nepal, 25 June

Busiest in the World

Death Row in Pretoria's central prison is the busiest in the world with executions at the rate of one every three days.

Mr M. A. Thompson, a lecturer of the University of South Africa, said this in an article in the university's law faculty magazine.

South Africa carries out 47 per cent of the recorded executions in the non-communist world, Mr Thompson said in his article. This figure is corroborated by United Nations statistics.

The Times,
London, 27 June

Singapore—US Oil Base?

The outgoing US Ambassador to Singapore, Mr Francis J. Galbraith, said today that American oil companies were interested in making Singapore a base for their operations.

Mr Galbraith said this in a farewell speech this morning when he called on President Yusoff bin Ishak.

Reuter, Singapore, 28 June

Thai Rice

The more 'aid' Thailand takes from the US, the deeper its economy sinks in difficulties. According to the press of Thailand, its financial deficit amounted to 3,724 million bahts in 1968, and it is expected to be greater this year.

Rice export, an important source of revenue for Thailand, has decreased sharply. Thailand exported 400,000-odd tons of rice in the first five months of this year, as against 780,000 tons in the same period of 1968 and 850,000 tons in the same period of 1967.

Hsinhua, Peking, 8 July

Anti-China Film

Not long ago, several hundred youths in Calcutta strongly protested against the showing of the anti-China film, 'Shatranj' (Chess), in a cinema. The young people arrived at the cinema before the showing started, and lodged a stern protest with the proprietors of the cinema. They angrily burned the advertisement posters and photographs of the film; film-goers also took part in the struggle. Under the pressure of their resolute struggle, the manager of the theatre was compelled to stop the screening of the film. Other cinemas dared not screen this film any more.

Hsinhua, Peking, 9 July

Chinglo Method of Diagnosis

The medical personnel of a field hospital of the People's Liberation Army units in Shensi Province of North-west China in their practical work of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers have devised an effective, simple method of diagnosing and treating common ailments in the countryside.

The chinglo diagnostic method is based on the traditional Chinese medicine theory of the meridians—passages or channels along which blood and vital energy circulate—and the related acu-

puncture points, and aspects of Western medicine.

Therapeutic measures include the injection of effective Chinese medicine and Western drugs at acupuncture points on the meridians where abnormal reaction occurs.

Hsinhua, Sian, 12 July

A Cheap Slander

Hongkong police yesterday denied news reports that 'Chinese heroin' has been smuggled from Hongkong into Britain.

In a statement issued by the Hongkong government office in London, the Hongkong police said they had no information on the heroin mentioned in press reports.

Hongkong Police Narcotics Superintendent C. L. Stevens said there was no evidence Communist China was exporting narcotics or cultivating opium poppies.

UPI, London, 12 July

Oh, Calcutta!

Calcutta has a population of 7.5 millions. It was reported that in Calcutta, at least one million able-bodied persons have no regular jobs and have to eke out a living by street hawking. But they cannot make both ends meet. About 100,000 people in the city have no home but the open street.

One fourth of the population of the city live in the slums, called 'bustees'.

The Indian Government has fleeced the people every year and collected all kinds of taxes from them, while public services in the city have remained unchanged for the last 25 years. The streets are lined with heaps of uncollected garbage and water supply and drainage are always a problem. Diseases are rampant, seriously affecting the life and health of the people.

Hsinhua, Peking, 16 July

Canal Across Mountains

The people of Linhsien County in Honan Province have successfully completed their Hungchi (Red Flag) Canal. Full of revolutionary fervour, more than 200,000 army-men and civilians in the county recently held grand rallies to mark the completion of the canal, which took ten years to build.

The people in the county cut through mountains to construct a 70-kilometre-long trunk canal and more than 100 kilometres of branch canals to conduct water from the Changho

River in Pingshun County, Shansi Province, across the Taihang Mountains to their county.

Hsinhua, Chengchow, 22 July

They Admit at Last

The Pentagon, acknowledging for the first time that the United States has deployed war gases overseas, announced yesterday it is removing its chemical weapons from Okinawa.

'Preparations are being made to remove certain chemical munitions, including some toxic agents, which were moved to Okinawa several years ago as a result of decisions made in 1961 and 1963,' the Defence Department said.

AP, Washington, 22 July

Through Side Door

About 1,000 Filipino demonstrators burned three American flags and tried to break into the Presidential Palace tonight just as the Philippine President, Mr Ferdinand Marcos, was giving a state dinner in honour of President Nixon.

More than 500 guests to the state dinner were admitted through a side gate and the back entrance of the palace from across the Pasig River.

Some of the demonstrators carried placards saying 'Go home Nixon,' 'Nixon—plague of the world,' 'Stop US-Soviet imperialistic collusion.'

Manila, 26 July

Nixon Ignored

Nixon arrived here Sunday afternoon for a brief visit.

About 1,000 Indonesians and Americans were at the airport, one of the smallest crowds to greet a visiting Head of State in the last four years.

In Jakarta, Information Ministry loudspeaker vans toured the city urging the people to line the streets to welcome Nixon. Along the motorcade route there were long empty gaps and an unimpressed crowd.

AP, Jakarta, Indonesia, 27 July

They Rudely Give Orders

Reporting on Nixon's visit, a few Filipino newspaper columnists Monday were strongly critical of Nixon's security staff.

'The city was swarming with security men . . . who rudely gave orders to Filipino security men and soldiers,' wrote Amando

Doronila in the Daily Mirror.

He said the Philippines Presidential Press Secretary 'was helpless to stop—in his own country—American security officers from shoving Filipino newsmen.'

In the Manila Times, Teodoro Valencia wrote that Nixon's 'security people lost no opportunity for showing their weight. They ordered our MPs (military police) about and insulted people at the Manila International Airport.'

AP, Manila, 28 July

Inside Hongkong

More than 600,000 people in Hongkong are living below the poverty line of \$50 per month (US\$8), according to Dr Robert Mitchell, who has just completed a three-year project in a study of urban family life.

South China Morning Post,
Hongkong, 30 July

Protest in NZ

About 30 demonstrators carrying banners and Vietnamese flags assembled outside the residence of the consular agent of the US in Christchurch on July 20. They chanted slogans and burnt an American flag.

After this demonstration they went out to the American base at Harewood Airport and took up a position outside the main entrance. Some police from the airport told them to move on. Then some carloads of police arrived from the city, and the police attacked an elderly crippled man.

Ta Kung Pao,
Hongkong, 31 July

He Misses the Target

A young Japanese man, armed with a pointed spatula and carrying a note opposing America's poisonous gas storage on Okinawa, attempted to attack the US Secretary of State, Mr William Rogers, at Tokyo International Airport today but instead knocked down the American Ambassador to Japan.

Police said the assailant mistook the Ambassador, Mr Armin Meyer, for the Secretary of State and lunged at the Ambassador during the departure ceremonies for Mr Rogers. Both men are of similar build.

UPI, Tokyo, 31 July

A Single Spark

Peasants in West Bengal killed five landlords after a peasant was shot dead by a group of landlords, police said yesterday.

A police spokesman said a group of landlords opened fire on a big procession of peasants on Sunday in Paraganas district, adjoining Calcutta, killing one and injuring ten.

Angry peasants on Monday caught five landlords and beat them to death with stones and sticks, he added.

Reuter, Calcutta, 30 July

More Troops Despite 'Withdrawal'

US Senator Stephen M. Young says he is disappointed that American troop strength in Vietnam is higher than when Richard Nixon became president, despite the withdrawal of 25,000 men.

Young said in a Senate speech last Friday that the US had 532,000 men from the army, navy, marines, air force and coast guard in Vietnam on January 19, 1969—two days before the inauguration.

On July 19, troop strength totaled 535,500, said Young.

AP, Washington, 2 August

2,417 Brothels

The number of prostitutes and cases of venereal disease in Thailand are increasing at an alarming rate, the National Research Council said today. It said there were 2,417 brothels in this country in 1968.

The number of prostitutes working in these houses was 151,244. Both figures are expected to be higher by the end of this year, the announcement added.

UPI, Bangkok, 4 August

Flee in Panic

Wealthy South Vietnamese are leaving the 'country' at an unprecedented rate, presumably permanently, according to a number of sources today.

The Catholic daily, Xay Dung, said at least 400 wealthy people had left in recent weeks.

Senator Bui Van Giai, who returned to Saigon today after a stay abroad, said the number of South Vietnamese arriving in France was 'astonishing.'

AFP, Saigon, 6 August

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