

PEKING

March 24, 1959

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REVIEW

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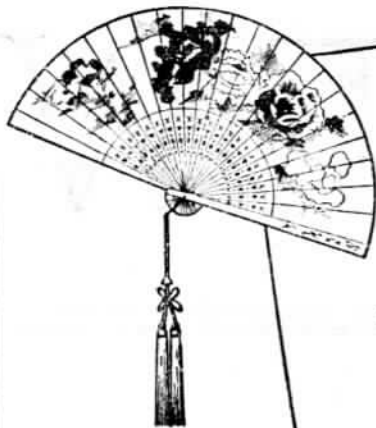
*Round the Week, Traditional Chinese
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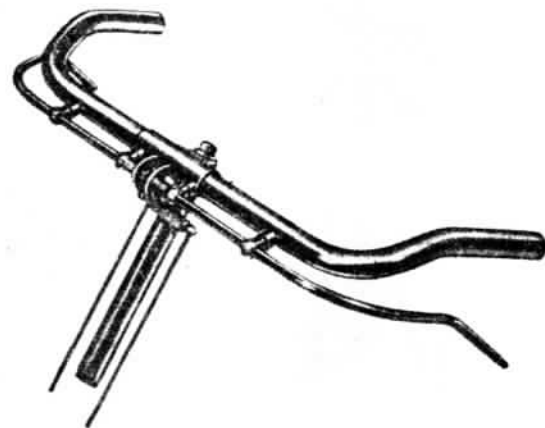
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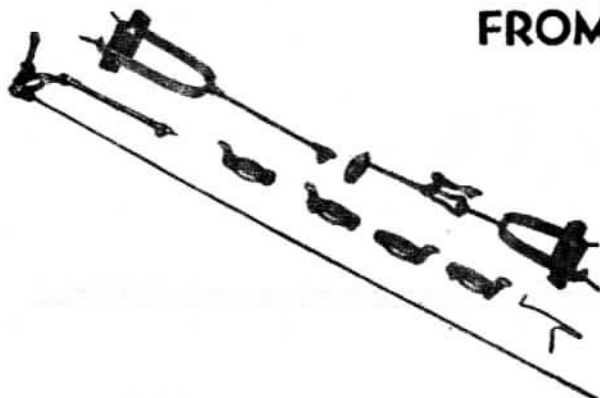


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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

March 24, 1959 Vol. II No. 12

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Race Against Time

THE push is now on all across the country. The aim: to fulfil and preferably to overfulfil the industrial and agricultural production targets for 1959 — 18 million tons of steel, 380 million tons of coal, 525 million tons of grains and 5 million tons of cotton, to cite just the main items.

On the industrial front, the basic guiding principle, as we have repeatedly explained, is to bring about an overall leap forward with the steel industry as the key link.

As reported elsewhere in this issue, socialist emulation is moving full steam ahead among the metallurgical workers for "larger quantity," "better quality" and "greater variety" of steel products. This campaign centres around the promotion of the technical revolution and is aimed at learning from the advanced, competing with the advanced and catching up with the advanced. From Hainan Island in the south to the Changpai Mountain in the northeast, from the eastern seaboard to the Inner Mongolian steppes and the Sinkiang hinterland, steelworkers are going all out to do their part. They are keenly aware that the successful fulfilment of the task to produce 18 million tons of steel in 1959 is of paramount importance not only for ensuring the implementation of this year's plan for the development of the national economy as a whole. It is of equal importance for speeding up China's building of socialism in the years to come.

The steel and iron workers are reinforced in their confidence and determination by the brilliant success of last year's big leap forward in which steel output more than doubled. They are guided in their advance by this year's inspiring objective of 18 million tons of steel. Their iron will to get things done with greater, faster, better and more economical results, their abundant initiative and enthusiasm and their boundless resourcefulness and ingenuity are typical of the prevailing mood of the Chinese workers today.

Reports are pouring in from various parts of the country indicating that the battle for steel is heating up. The response to the call for a nationwide drive to produce more and better steel has been prompt and enthusiastic. The day after the call was issued, the giant steel plants at Shanghai and Anshan reported new output records in their blast and open hearth furnaces. The steel plant at Tayeh, Hupeh Province, on March 15 topped its original daily target by 13.7 per cent, the highest record ever established since the beginning of the year. Output for the first half of this month recorded a substantial rise of 25 per cent over the corresponding period of last month.

These figures of course speak for themselves. But figures alone do not tell the whole story. It is the vigour, enthusiasm and perseverance of the broad working masses that are particularly impressive and revealing. The Chinese people have a clear idea of building their country into a mighty socialist land. And they are sure they will succeed through sustained efforts.

ROUND THE WEEK

Xiafang: New Round

If you walk through the corridors of any office building in Peking these days you will most likely still see the big red scrolls with lists of names written in bold characters against the extra large Chinese character 雙 which stands for "double congratulations." They are the names of the cadres who have been chosen for *xiafang*. A relatively new Chinese expression, *xiafang* came into popular use only last year; it means working in the countryside or in factories for tempering through manual labour (see *Peking Review*, No. 6, February 10, 1959). The meaning and significance of going out to do manual labour is defined in an editorial in the current issue of *Hongqi* (a translation of which appears on p. 13 of our issue).

The cadres vie for the privilege, for privilege it is since a period of work in the countryside does them a lot of good both ideologically and physically. Only a limited number of people can go at a time and everybody wants to get the first opportunity. This year, about 7,000 cadres in Peking are heading for the countryside and factories in the provinces. Some have already left, but the majority will be on their way in the next week or so. Most of them will be going to the people's communes where they will live and work like rank-and-file members of the communes. Although not a small percentage of the *xiafang* cadres have responsible positions in Peking, they will take part in the work of the communes, or factories, like ordinary working people doing their regular share of manual work.

Spotlight on Steel

A special steelworkers' radio programme, jointly organized by the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry and the Central People's Broadcasting Station, rallied the nation's steel makers on

Monday afternoon last week. It was the signal for an all-out national emulation campaign to see who in the iron and steel industry can do the most and the best in contributing to the national effort to produce 18 million tons of steel in 1959.

Li Fu-chun, Vice-Premier and member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party's Central Committee, urged the steelworkers of the country to bring about an all-round and a still bigger leap in iron and steel production in 1959. He listed the favourable conditions for achieving the steel target: first, vigorous Communist Party leadership and fraternal assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; second, the valuable experience gained by the workers last year; third, bigger state investments in the iron and steel industry this year.

Several million steelworkers in all parts of the country tuned in to the programme which lasted for four hours. While the programme was on the air urgent trunk calls and telegrams reporting latest production records and pledges to do more and better kept pouring into the Broadcasting Centre. From Hainan Island in the far south, for example, came a telegram in which the iron ore workers pledged to double output this year to feed the major iron and steel works.

Chuang Regional Autonomy: First Anniversary

The Kwangsi Autonomous Region for the Chuang People celebrated its first anniversary a week or so ago. There was much rejoicing over the achievements of the autonomous region.

Despite serious drought, which at one time threatened to destroy the crops, the peasants reaped a record harvest last year, doubling the 1957 output. An average of 800 *jin* of grain was obtained from every *mu* of land put under cul-

tivation. At the time of the founding of the autonomous region this was set as the target for 1963.

If the crops were unprecedented in their abundance, the successes achieved in industrial development were even more spectacular. The region hit the headlines of the national press on several occasions during the iron and steel campaign in the latter part of last year, with several hitherto unknown counties chalking up high iron ore records. Total iron ore output in the region last year was about 50 times the average annual output during the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57). This rapid expansion in pig iron production sparked the advances of other industries. Coal output rose over 500 per cent as compared with 1957, to cite but one concrete example. The output of machine tools, engines, and electric motors showed a considerable increase too. In terms of total output value, industry and agriculture went up by 95 per cent as compared with 1957. The autonomous region built three railway branch lines and thousands of kilometres of highways which boost the development of the region's economy.

With these great achievements the standard of living of the people has risen, especially since the establishment of the people's communes in the latter part of last year which introduced welfare services never before available in the region.

Agricultural Research

1959 will be a busy year for China's agronomists, too. With so much happening in the countryside and at such a tempo, there is much that claims their attention. One big job before them is summing up last year's phenomenal achievements in agriculture and writing, not just articles, but books about them. This is their major task for 1959, noted the national conference on agricultural science recently held in Peking.

The agronomists will base themselves on the 8-point Charter of Agriculture in analysing the record yields of last year, and in particular the high yields obtained from extensive areas. Of course, all the eight essential measures

THE EIGHT-POINT CHARTER



土 — Deep ploughing



肥 — Adequate manuring



水 — Irrigation projects



种 — Good seed

of the Charter will be examined one by one to see how, for instance, deep ploughing, close planting, or the use of good seeds had been instrumental in bringing about the record crops. But the application of the Charter as a whole will also be gone into fully to assess the interaction of all the eight measures. Results will be made known from time to time so that the peasants, who are striving for a bigger leap this year, can derive the maximum benefits from the research.

To tackle the job, key points will be set up throughout the country, to be staffed by research institutes and universities. The stress is on summing up the high yield experiences in wheat, rice, cotton and oil-bearing crops over large areas.

Chinese agronomists will also compile theoretical works in agricultural science, to turn to account the rich fund of experience garnered by the peasants last year. Priority attention will be given to studies in the cultivation of rice, wheat, cotton, fruit trees and mulberry trees, soil science and the control of infectious diseases among livestock.

Commenting on this major step taken by the agronomists, *Renmin Ribao* asserted that there are favourable conditions for writing theoretical works on agriculture in China today. First, there is a mine of information in the records of high yields over 100 million *mu* of land, all exceeding 1,000 *jin* per *mu*. Second, the ranks of the research workers have grown considerably and are being reinforced by the network of research bodies newly built up by the people's communes. Third, the agronomists in the country have accumulated a lot of experience during the big leap forward last year. Fourth, the vigorous guidance and assistance the agronomists are receiving from the Communist Party and government for doing their jobs.

The Secrets of Takla Makan

Takla Makan (the Big Gobi) is one of the world's most famous deserts, embracing an area of 460,000 square kilometres in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, in China's far west. According to a legend among the Uighurs,

"takla makan" means "once in, never out," a fair warning to those who want to challenge and cross this desert land. In years gone by, Chinese archaeologists and foreign travellers tried to conquer the Takla Makan but all failed in their attempts. The terrific sandstorms that rage for days on end and the difficulty of finding water combined to beat the most stout-hearted of the explorers.

When oil prospectors in Sinkiang, however, discovered promising oil-bearing structures in areas near the desert, a clear indication of the existence of oilfields in the desert, the government decided to make a determined effort to probe the secrets of the Takla Makan. Early in 1958 a team of young surveyors was organized to make the assault on this no-man's land.

The young explorers set out for the Takla Makan in several groups, slogging their way through the desert in temperatures hitting 42 degrees Centigrade, often with lips parched and cracked from thirst and noses bleeding from excessive heat. To preserve the camels, the men had to curtail and sometimes even forgo what little water they had. For weeks and months they stuck it out, and finally underground water was discovered at a number of points.

They crossed and recrossed the desert from many directions and found outcrops of strata of the Tertiary period extending for several hundred kilometres. A dozen or so oil-bearing structures were found in the southeastern and southwestern parts of the desert. In the southwestern part, the explorers also came upon stretches of green reeds, and large expanses of withered virgin forest, in the heart of the desert, in some places with large trees still surviving.

At one point an ancient settlement was located occupying an area of some 30 square kilometres and the remains of about 300 dwellings. The walls had crumbled but dilapidated props and doors are still in evidence. From their structure and style these houses looked not so much like dwellings of the Uighur peasants in southern Sinkiang as the habitations of Han people.

In the course of their expeditions across the Takla Makan the explorers saw wild camels, gazelles, rabbits, rats, lizards and rare species of birds.

The secrets of the Takla Makan have been unravelled. Thanks to the fine work of the young explorers and geologists, the job of surveying oil resources in the Takla Makan has been completed, and a year ahead of the original timetable.

Role of Chinese Youth

China's young people are urged to become "shock workers and pioneers," that is to say, to play a vanguard part, in all fields of socialist construction. Those who are still at school are urged to study harder, take part in productive work, strengthen their ties with the teachers, etc. This underlines the call sent out to all young men and women in China by the Chinese Communist Youth League which concluded the Fourth Plenary Session of its Third Central Committee in Peking some days ago.

The Central Committee of the Communist Youth League summed up its work in 1958 in the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party held last November-December. It mapped out the programme of work for the coming months and called upon the youth to perform a number of essential tasks for the big leap forward in 1959. Among these are campaigns to be launched in the factories for high output and quality, for economy drives and for learning from the experienced workers. In agriculture the youth are urged to experiment with high crop yields on wide areas, go in for tools innovations, try out scientific and technical experiments, etc.

There are about 130 million young people in China. The overwhelming majority of them are workers and peasants. The Youth League calls upon these young workers and peasants to raise their educational level and acquire knowledge of science by making use of the many opportunities for spare-time schooling which have come into being with the greater expansion of the national economy.

TER OF AGRICULTURE



密 — Close-planting



保 — Plant protection



工 — Tools reform



管 — Field management

The True National Interests of the Arab Peoples

Following is the full text of the leading article published in "Renmin Ribao," March 20, 1959, under the title "What Are the True National Interests of the Arab Peoples." — Ed.

THERE was great rejoicing throughout Iraq when the Shawwaf rebellion was smashed. And the world over, all people who support national independence and peaceful coexistence and oppose imperialism and the policy of aggression extend their heartfelt greetings to the Iraqi people on their victory.

The imperialists, however, have openly expressed their regret and disappointment over the failure of the Shawwaf rebellion. This is particularly true of the U.S. imperialists who have just concluded military agreements with Turkey, Iran and Pakistan which endanger the Middle Eastern peoples, and who are bent on carrying through their plot of armed intervention in Iraq in which they failed last summer. They didn't try at all to conceal their deep-rooted hostility to the Iraqi Republic. They are putting up a big show and are trying in every way to obscure their aggressive aims behind an anti-communist, anti-Soviet smokescreen. In doing so, they hope to lead the Middle Eastern nations astray, first and foremost the Arab states, so as to make capital out of the strife. This is not surprising in the least.

But the attitude of the United Arab Republic towards Iraq is a cause for surprise. Lately, and particularly since the Shawwaf rebellion, the propaganda organs in Cairo and Damascus have started a frantic campaign against the Iraqi Republic. They described the rebellious Shawwaf conspiracy as a "revolution" and the traitor Shawwaf as a "revolutionary leader." They also spread the "communiques" of the rebels on their *putsch* far and wide. The U.A.R. authorities in the Syrian and Egyptian regions, moreover, have gone so far as to hold demonstrative funerals for Shawwaf and his crew, inciting the people to hate Iraq and to "overthrow Kassim." In the past few days, U.A.R. President Nasser has time and again come forward himself with speeches violently attacking the Kassim government in Iraq. He slanderously dubbed Kassim "traitor" and "dictator" and said that "Kassim would meet with a fate similar to Nuri el Said's." He lavished profuse praise on Aref, Shawwaf and their like, the betrayers of the national independence of Iraq, and openly declared that new Mosul rebellions would take place in Iraq. In these speeches, Nasser also attacked the Communists of Iraq and other Arab states, slanderously calling them "agents of the foreigners" who allegedly want to eliminate nationalism and are hostile to all the Arab states.

All of this, which is very unusual conduct in international relations, has created tension between the U.A.R. and Iraq and aroused anxiety and worry among all friends

of the U.A.R. and Iraq, among all friends of the cause of national independence in all the Arab countries and the Asian and African countries. Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio, Indian Prime Minister Nehru, and press opinion in many countries that uphold peace and neutrality, have voiced anxiety over the current tense situation between the U.A.R. and Iraq. In his speech at a reception in honour of an Iraqi government delegation on March 16, N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., with a warm, friendly attitude, expressed the hope that reason would prevail in the relations between the U.A.R. and Iraq and that all possible efforts would be made to bring to an end the conflicts between the two Arab states, to avoid any exploitation of such conflicts by the imperialists. We fully support this wise advice in the interests of all the Arab peoples and cherish the earnest hope that this friendly desire will eventually be realized.

It is regrettable that President Nasser, in a statement issued immediately afterwards, on the evening of March 16, not only rejected Khrushchov's advice, but actually wanted the people of the U.A.R. to forget the consistent, unselfish assistance of the Soviet Union to Egypt, Syria and the U.A.R. and its stand of non-interference. He hinted that the Soviet Union was obstructing the independence of the U.A.R., and incited the people of the U.A.R. against the so-called "provocation" by the Soviet Union. Later, the official U.A.R. Middle East News Agency and Cairo Radio openly came out with absurd comments, alleging that Arab nationalism was engaged in open struggle with what they call "communist imperialism," that Arab Communists were "agents of Moscow," that communism is the "No. 1 enemy of Arab nationalism," and so on and so forth.

The New York Times, a mouthpiece of U.S. imperialism, chimed in almost at the same time with practically the same note: "What most concerns us today is the injection of communism. . . . The whole concept of Arab nationalism is in jeopardy. . . . Nasser has lost a battle, and so has the West. It will require foresight and vigilance to make sure that the Russians do not win a major campaign." Obviously, U.S. imperialism is pouring oil on the flames. The same U.S. imperialism which came out fully armed last July, together with Britain, to occupy Lebanon and Jordan respectively has now suddenly become the defender of Arab nationalism. Doesn't this call for deep thought and vigilance?

WE Chinese have forged profound friendship with the Arab peoples in the struggles waged by Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Yemen, Oman, Algeria and all the other Arab states against aggression and for independence. In the past, we suffered a fate similar to theirs and also like

them, we are still confronted with imperialist aggression and threats today. It is precisely for this reason that we cannot refrain from expressing our deep concern over the present state of affairs between the U.A.R. and Iraq and the situation in the Middle East as a whole related to it.

We always maintain that the five principles of peaceful coexistence, i.e. mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, should be the fundamental rules governing international relations. Our country, the U.A.R. and many other Asian and African countries all accept these principles. Both the Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in April 1955 and the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference held in Cairo in January 1958 proclaimed ten principles in the spirit of the five principles. These principles stipulate: respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations, abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country, abstention by any power from applying pressure on other countries, refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country, settling all international disputes by peaceful methods, etc. In the past, the U.A.R. not only advocated these principles, but rose in their defence when the imperialist countries violated them in their relations with Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq, thereby winning the sympathy and respect of the people throughout the world. How does the situation stand today?

THE current U.A.R. campaign against Iraq cannot in any way be regarded as conforming to the principles of peaceful coexistence, or to the principles of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, abstention from applying pressure, and refraining from threats against the political independence of other countries. All along the spokesmen of the U.A.R. have even avoided mentioning these principles when dealing with the question of relations with Iraq. The matter is very clear: It is not Iraq which engineered the Aref incident and the Shawwaf rebellion in the U.A.R.; it is not Iraq, the smaller one, which menaces and wants to annex the bigger U.A.R.; and it is not the Iraqi Premier who is bent on overthrowing the U.A.R. President and says threateningly that he will certainly be overthrown. Even American newspapers sympathetic to Nasser, such as the *New York Herald Tribune*, described his attack on Kassim as "the most brutal . . . that he has ever made." People the world over can see that those who were once victims of interference in their internal affairs are today interfering in the internal affairs of others; those who were once victims of pressure are today applying pressure on others; those who were once victims of threats of force and subversion are today threatening others with force and subversion. No matter what excuses they may use, or will use in the future, it will be difficult for people to show them sympathy and respect again, or not to form a new judgment of them in the light of the new facts. It is obvious that all the people in the world who advocate peaceful coexistence and oppose interference in the internal affairs of others will oppose interference and subversive activities against Iraq today just as they previously

opposed the British-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt, the U.S.-British subversion against the Egyptian and Syrian governments and the sending of U.S. and British troops to Lebanon and Jordan to interfere in the Iraqi revolution. The reason is very simple — these activities threaten normal international relations and peace in the Middle East.

SOME commentators in Cairo have tried to prove that Nasser has not changed his stand but that Khrushchov has changed his, and that the Communists, progressives and fighters for peace the world over have changed their stand. Such "proof" is futile. If those who were victims of intervention have become interventionists, how can it be said that they have not changed their stand? But the stand of the opponents of intervention has not changed correspondingly, so how can they support the new interventionists? If they support them, they will be changing their stand from defence of the five principles to their betrayal, from defence of the Bandung and Cairo declarations to their betrayal.

President Nasser has time and again stated that he does not demand the annexation of Iraq. This is a good statement. We are convinced that if only this statement were put into practice seriously, U.A.R.-Iraqi relations would eventually improve. The point is that very many facts of current U.A.R.-Iraqi relations do not conform with the spirit of this statement. It seems that official U.A.R. utterances, including those by President Nasser himself, seek to depict all relations between the Arab states, and even the foreign and domestic affairs of all Arab states other than the U.A.R., as the internal affairs of the U.A.R. Anyone who wants to express an opinion on these questions is regarded as interfering in the internal affairs of the U.A.R., as encroaching on its independence and dignity and seeking to put the U.A.R. and all Arab states "in a subordinate position" and make them "join blocs." Such arbitrary assertions cannot convince anybody, nor can they gag others. But those who engage in such arbitrary propaganda inadvertently prove a fact that they are unwilling to admit directly, namely, that they regard Iraq's foreign and internal affairs as the foreign and internal affairs of the U.A.R. In other words, they not only want to annex Iraq, but virtually regard Iraq as already annexed. And not only Iraq. They also regard all the other Arab states as though they were already annexed.

It is common knowledge that there is no law in the world, no joint resolution of the Arab nations whatsoever, which provides that all the Arab countries are provinces of the U.A.R. and should all submit to the rule of a certain person and adopt the political views of a certain person as their views. Peaceful coexistence is also needed among the Arab countries, and the five principles and ten principles also apply. Is this not a fact? While attending the Bandung conference and the Cairo conference, the representatives of the Arab countries, including Nasser himself, adopted the declarations of these two conferences as representatives of independent states. They did not regard their countries as exceptions. Is this not a fact? This being so, no government or individual can insist that the foreign and internal affairs of Iraq and the other Arab states must be placed "in a subordinate position" to the U.A.R.; or that when another country ex-

presses support for Iraq and other Arab states, it is interfering in the internal affairs of the U.A.R. or trying to place the U.A.R. "in a subordinate position." Is not all this as plain as the sun on a clear day?

THE broad masses of people of the Arab countries hope that they can one day put an end to imperialist control and realize Arab unity in such a way and under such conditions as they desire. This is a good wish, and we sympathize with it. But the more they want to fulfil this hope, the more firmly should they adhere to the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-interference in internal affairs. Only so can they eliminate differences between each other and strengthen mutual confidence and unity.

Khrushchov in his speech on March 16 pointed out that the unification of several states into one is a complex problem. The unification of states brings benefits to the peoples only when all the specific features of the countries being joined together are taken into account. Unification imposed upon a people will make them begin to feel ever more acutely the loss of their country's independence. And what results is not the strengthening of unity but a division of forces. This only benefits the imperialists. What sincere advice this is from a friend of the U.A.R. and of the Arab peoples! This advice, even though crudely distorted for the time being by certain people in the U.A.R., will ultimately manifest its force as the truth. Have facts not already proved the indubitable correctness of this golden advice? The recent utterances and actions of the U.A.R. against Iraq and some other Arab countries have failed to stimulate the advance of Arab unity, but have seriously hampered it. They have failed to reduce the existing differences and suspicions, but have aggravated them. Instead of rising, the prestige of the U.A.R. among the Arab countries has dropped. Instead of increasing, the number of its friends has decreased. Only the imperialists and their Yugoslav echoers rejoice over this. Can this be in the national interests of the Arab peoples? What is more, can this be in the national interests of the U.A.R.?

The spokesmen of the U.A.R. declare that they are attacking Iraq because Iraq, they allege, is controlled by communism which is banned by the U.A.R. Government. As we have said before, nobody has given the U.A.R. the privilege to interfere in the internal affairs of Iraq. Besides, the alleged control of Iraq by communism is a fiction. The authorities of the U.A.R. charge that "terrorism" and "dictatorship" have appeared in Iraq. This accusation is particularly regrettable because it tends to lead people to compare the state of affairs in the two countries. We have no intention of commenting here on things which really fall within the scope of the internal affairs of the U.A.R. But as to Iraq, people cannot help seeing what a great power the cause of democratization, though only at its beginning, has manifested in Iraq's struggle to defend its national independence. Without relying on democracy, without relying on the people, the Iraqi Republic would have stumbled long ago under the repeated attacks of imperialism and all sorts of reactionary forces. The example of Iraq has shown to all patriots of the Arab and Asian and African countries that what is needed to maintain national independence, to consolidate national unity and promote the national interests of the country, is not terrorism and dictatorship, not suppression of democracy, but the development of

democracy. The reason is quite clear: those who do not want to rely on imperialism and its lackeys, the reactionary forces, and who are determined to wage a resolute struggle against imperialism and the reactionary forces, must of necessity rely firmly on the people.

It is hard to understand why the relations between the U.A.R. and Iraq should have become strained after Iraq had overthrown tyranny and begun to put democracy into practice. To achieve Arab unity, the first thing, of course, is to help the peoples of Algeria, Jordan, Oman and the other countries, now suffering from direct imperialist aggression, to attain their independence. Why should Iraq, which has already won its independence, now be regarded as the No. 1 target? At a time when the anti-imperialist struggles of the oppressed peoples are raging and continue to mount in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and especially in the very continent of Africa in which Cairo is located, the U.A.R. authorities, who were once in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle, remain silent in the face of imperialist aggression. And they have launched, instead, such a fierce attack against Iraq which resolutely opposes imperialism in West Asia. What does all this add up to?

As everybody knows, the Iraqi people experienced a long period of hard revolutionary struggle and, on July 14, 1958, finally overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism and its representative, the Faisal monarchy, and established an independent and free republic. The victory of the Iraqi revolution destroyed a cornerstone of imperialist aggression in the Middle East and created more favourable conditions for the struggle of the Arab peoples for national liberation. Therefore, it is not only a sacred task for the Iraqi people to defend the fruits of this triumphant revolution but a task common to all Arab peoples. From its birth the Iraqi Republic has been treated by imperialism, which has never ceased its subversion and sabotage against Iraq, as a thorn in its side. However, the Iraqi people have stood up. They are united under the Government headed by Premier Kassim, determined to defend their national independence and have time and again smashed the subversive conspiracies of imperialism and other foreign aggressive forces. The Government of the Iraqi Republic is persistently carrying out the principles of the Bandung conference, pursuing a policy of peace and neutrality and has actively advocated solidarity and co-operation with the peoples of the other Arab countries. All this has won the warm support of the Iraqi people. This being the case, it is not hard to see whether an attack on Iraq conforms to the national interests of the Arab peoples or to the interests of imperialism—the common enemy of the Arab peoples.

FOR a long time, the imperialists have tried their hardest to sow discord among the Arab countries, pursuing a policy of "making Arabs fight Arabs" and "divide and rule." Particularly since the founding of the Iraqi Republic, the imperialists have contrived every conceivable means of stirring up conflicts between the U.A.R. and Iraq in their effort to isolate the Iraqi Republic so as to realize their scheme of knocking them down one by one. This plan of U.S. imperialism obviously made some headway after the tour of U.S. special envoy Rountree in the Middle East last December. People could see

that after that the official and semi-official propaganda organs of the U.A.R. ceased to oppose U.S. and British imperialism in earnest. On the contrary, they even spread the idea that the anti-imperialist task had been concluded and concentrated their fire on Iraq, the country in the Middle East most hated by the imperialists. This fact inevitably evokes uneasiness among all sincere anti-imperialist fighters and all sincere Arab patriots. One cannot but ask: what results will all this eventually bring to the U.A.R. and the Arab world?

WE do not find it strange at all that from the time when the U.A.R. authorities stopped their struggle against imperialism and unleashed a campaign against Iraq, they also began conducting fierce anti-communist activities. Our people know from our own history that whoever deviates from the stand of the people, from the stand of anti-imperialism, invariably opposes communism, because the Communist Party is the staunchest defender of the people's interests and the most resolute fighter against imperialism. Our people also know very well that just as Chiang Kai-shek's anti-communist policy greatly aided the invasion of China by the Japanese imperialists, so this policy of the U.A.R. also runs counter to its own national interests. But the primary concern of our people is that the U.A.R. authorities' opposition to communism goes far beyond the scope of their domestic affairs. From the very beginning, the U.A.R. authorities have opposed the Communists outside their country. Moreover, they have slandered the Communists as so-called "agents of the foreigners." And now they have slandered them directly as Soviet agents and smeared the Soviet Union as so-called "communist imperialism," thus linking their campaign against communism with a campaign against the Soviet Union.

Naturally these actions of the U.A.R. authorities have been applauded by the imperialists. American diplomats have praised Nasser's anti-communist speeches as

a more potent weapon than the Eisenhower Doctrine. This indeed brings out the whole truth of the story in a few words. But the people of the U.A.R. and the other Arab countries, particularly the people of those Arab and Asian-African countries that are struggling heroically against imperialism and its lackeys, will not forget the contributions made by the Communists within the Arab countries and in the whole world to the struggle of the U.A.R. and other Arab countries for national independence. They will not forget, in particular, that the Soviet Union is the greatest sympathizer and supporter of the U.A.R. and other Arab states in their struggle for national independence. On the contrary, they know that if this wrong anti-Soviet and anti-communist policy is persisted in, it will only lead to complete surrender to U.S.-British-French imperialism and the forfeiture of all their former achievements in the cause of national independence. This mistaken policy will only lead, and is already leading, to the U.A.R.'s isolation and will only cause, and is already causing, the political and moral bankruptcy of those persisting in the policy.

The situation in the Middle East and peace in the area are critical. A crisis threatens the future development of the cause of national independence of the U.A.R. and the Arab peoples. On the basis of our consistent friendship with the U.A.R. and the Arab peoples, we hope that the U.A.R. authorities will be able to see quickly the dangerous prospects before them, resolve to calm down, abandon their anti-Iraqi, anti-Arab, anti-Soviet and anti-communist policy which runs counter to their own national interests, and return to the patriotic, anti-imperialist road of friendship with Iraq, with the peoples of the other Arab countries and with the Soviet Union. Only such a road can bring the U.A.R. sure independence, strength, prosperity, honour and all that the patriotic people of the U.A.R. desire. Only by pursuing this path can the cause of independence and unity of the Arab peoples advance with relative smoothness.

TITO'S ASIAN-AFRICAN TOUR

Following is a translation of an editorial published in "Renmin Ribao" on March 18, 1959. — Ed.

YUGOSLAV President Tito, after spending more than three months visiting seven countries in the Asian-African region and Greece, has now returned home. Tito repeatedly declared that he made this tour abroad for the sake of "peace" and "friendship" among the peoples. However, that doesn't alter the facts. What Tito said and did during these three months fully demonstrates that what he was after was not "peace" and "friendship" but to peddle his wares that suit the needs of imperialism.

As everybody knows, a year ago the Tito clique put out a programme of modern revisionism designed to split the camp of socialism and undermine the international communist movement. But the result has been the very opposite. The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union

has become more closely united; the international communist movement with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as its centre, has become stronger than ever; while the Tito clique has found itself utterly isolated.

This time, under the signboard of "active coexistence," Tito and his group "toured" the Asian and African countries, sowing discord among them in an attempt to turn these countries away from the road of peace and neutrality, to weaken and undermine the national independence movements in the Asian-African region and assist U.S. imperialism in its aggression and expansion against the Asian and African nationalist countries.

What is the outcome of Tito's scheming on his Asian and African tour? Even the British *Daily Telegraph* has said that "the practical political results of the tour were negligible." The Tito clique's attempt to use its "active coexistence" to induce the Asian and African

countries to depart from their course of opposing imperialism is indeed a malicious scheme. But it will never succeed. The surging anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist tide of the Asian and African peoples cannot be stopped by any force.

THE policy of "active coexistence" advertised by the Tito clique is fundamentally different from the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Asian and African nationalist countries. The so-called "active coexistence" of the Tito clique, while pretending to stand "over and above blocs," actually means servility to imperialism and opposition to the socialist countries. The policy of peace and neutrality of the Asian and African nationalist countries, based on their anti-colonialist stand, cannot but take on the character of solidarity with the socialist countries in opposition to imperialism. The Asian and African nationalist countries of course do not belong to the camp of socialism, but they share with the socialist countries common interests in the struggle against imperialist aggression and in defence of world peace. All countries and peoples that strive for and uphold national independence have the full sympathy and support of the socialist countries. The socialist countries are their most reliable friends.

On the other hand, all countries and peoples that strive for and uphold national independence are in irreconcilable contradiction with the imperialist countries headed by the United States. In order further to rid themselves of imperialist oppression and plunder in the political and economic fields, none of the independent countries newly freed from imperialist enslavement has any alternative but to continue their struggle against the imperialist aggressors. They oppose the establishment of military bases and the setting up of aggressive military blocs in the Asian-African region by the United States, the U.S. "divide and rule" intrigues against the nationalist countries and the oppressed peoples, and the creation of tension by the United States.

To oppose ferocious imperialism, they need the support of the socialist countries and are willing to develop friendly relations with them. This friendship between the socialist countries and the peaceful neutral nations in Asia and Africa established in the course of their common struggle against imperialism and in defence of peace can never be undermined by the Tito clique.

The Tito clique knows that it is inconvenient to peddle openly the policy of dependence on imperialism and opposition to socialism in the peaceful and neutral countries. That is why Tito tries to sell his goods under the counter, using all kinds of obscure terms as a screen. He claimed that "the power blocs obstruct the realization of the policy of coexistence and endanger the independence of nations and states." He bragged about opposition to "neo-colonialism" and "all forms of colonialism" and noised it around that the Asian and African countries were confronted with "enemies of unity outside and inside," etc. This is the vicious trick which the Tito clique uses to undermine unity between the socialist and the nationalist countries, unity among the nationalist countries and their internal unity.

Tito did not utter a single word against imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism. Instead, he wanted the

Asian and African countries to oppose what he called "power blocs." Everybody knows that, in the present-day world, the power that really menaces the peace and independence of the Asian and African countries is none other than U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism is now not only the greatest enemy of world peace but the most sinister enemy of national independence. Its true colours have been completely exposed; it is bitterly hated by the peoples of Asia. And this is the very time that Tito chose to go running around Asia and Africa urging opposition to "power blocs." It is obvious what his purpose was.

After Tito returned home, he viciously attacked the socialist countries in a series of speeches, hurling all kinds of abuse against the Soviet Union and China. This fully exposed his real intentions: defence of U.S. imperialism and hostility to the socialist camp. To defend U.S. imperialism before the Asian and African countries and peoples who are fighting for and safeguarding their national independence and to oppose solidarity with the socialist countries—can this be regarded as conforming to the basic interests of the Asian and African countries and peoples? This is just an attempt to inveigle the Asian and African countries into keeping away from their friends and thus facilitate the imperialist attack upon them.

TURNING a blind eye to the great anti-colonialist struggles of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Tito indulges in talk about opposition to "neo-colonialism" and "all forms of colonialism." How many forms of colonialism are there in the world? There is only one! The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who have suffered terribly from the scourge of colonialism understand fully well that colonialism and imperialism are inseparable. The socialist countries in eliminating all exploitation and oppression, have removed the very source of colonialism. Relations between the socialist and nationalist countries are founded wholly on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. If anyone still insists that colonialism has so-called new and old versions, then the new version is precisely U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism has now become the world's biggest colonialism. The colonialist forces of U.S. imperialism dominate, exploit and squeeze the whole of Latin America, and wherever possible, penetrate and expand into Asia, Africa, Europe and Australasia. The notorious "Eisenhower Doctrine" was put forward to enslave the Arab peoples, to "fill" the colonialist "vacuum" in the Near and Middle East. The United States also supports the repressions carried on by all the colonialist powers against the colonial peoples in an attempt to prop up the tottering imperialist colonial system. It is precisely because of this that U.S. imperialism has naturally become the deadly enemy of all countries and nations which are victims of oppression and aggression.

Tito is now trying to find a way out for U.S. imperialism. He vainly attempts to use the pretexts of opposing "neo-colonialism" and "all forms of colonialism" to divert the anti-colonialist struggle from its aim, so as to entice these countries into opposing their real friends, the socialist countries, instead of opposing their real

enemy, the aggressive bloc headed by U.S. imperialism. If Tito's trick works, these countries will lose their national independence and freedom.

In fact, it is very easy to see through Tito's true role as a bodyguard for colonialism. In Tito's vocabulary there is no such term as "U.S. imperialism." Tito everywhere boosts himself as the "friend of the Asian and African peoples," but he never dares to condemn, nor in fact is he willing to condemn, U.S. imperialism for its aggressive and subversive activities in the Asian and African regions.

THE Tito clique has not supported the Indonesian people in their just struggle for the liberation of West Irian. Instead of backing the Arab peoples' national independence struggle, it asked the Arab states, in their relations with the West, to consider the interests of both sides and adopt measures which could be accepted by the other side. As regards the hard and arduous struggle waged by the Algerian people for national liberation, the Tito clique even went so far as to advocate that no proposals should be raised to make the solution of the problems of that area more difficult. After the victory of the Iraqi national revolution, the Tito clique openly asked Iraq to "defend the legitimate economic interests of the West" and avoid any "tension" in relations with the West. When the courageous Iraqi people resolutely upheld their national independence and sovereignty, there appeared in the Yugoslav press a series of malicious attacks on Iraq. The Tito clique lavished praise on the tripartite agreement signed by Britain, Turkey and Greece in opposition to the Cypriot people's desire for independence. It described the agreement as a "positive fact." No wonder the Western colonialists have noted with satisfaction that the Tito clique had come out as a "better opponent of colonialism."

At a time when the nationalist countries in Asia and Africa, above all the Arab states, urgently need to strengthen unity among themselves and among all anti-imperialist forces in their respective countries, Tito has acted as a provocateur undermining this unity everywhere and inciting opposition in the Asian and African countries to the so-called "enemies of unity outside and inside." Naturally, the Tito clique has never uttered a word about its behind-the-scenes activities in this connection. But the truth will out. The Presidium of the National United Front of Burma denounced Tito as having interfered in Burma's internal affairs in violation of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Western news agencies, too, disclosed that Tito had tried to disrupt the relations between the governments and the Communist Parties in the countries he visited. In the Yugoslav press' coverage of events in Iraq, one can see clear evidence of such activities. Yugoslav newspapers long ago started vicious attacks on the Iraqi Communist Party and other progressive forces in that country. Since Tito returned home, the Yugoslav press has further smeared and attacked the Iraqi Republic and its Premier Kassim. It openly supported the rebellion of the Iraqi traitor, Abdul Wahab Shawwaf. With ulterior motives, these papers published the "communiqué" of the Iraqi rebels and even called the Shawwaf revolt a "revolution," making the wild allegation that "the Iraqi

Government has betrayed the cause of liberation of the Arab world." If it is recalled how the Tito clique colluded with the Nagy clique of Hungary and had a hand in the Hungarian counter-revolutionary rebellion, people will understand why the Tito clique has shown so much enthusiasm over the *putsch* in Iraq. Its open support for that *putsch* is clear evidence of the hidden connections between the Tito clique and the current tension between Arab countries.

It is crystal clear that close unity and mutual support are an important condition for all countries and nations to win their struggle to obtain and uphold their national independence. Unity among the Arab states in the Near and Middle East has played a significant role in repulsing the repeated aggressions of the imperialists. Unity among all anti-imperialist forces within these countries is likewise an important guarantee of victory. Numerous facts testify that the Communists are champions fighting in the forefront of the national liberation struggle. Exclusion or persecution of the Communist Parties and other progressive forces within these countries will weaken or even undermine the struggle against imperialism.

There is no denying that there are ideological differences between Communists and nationalists. But this is no hindrance to their co-operation in the struggle to win and safeguard national independence, for they share the demand and aspiration to oppose imperialism, uphold national independence and develop their national economies independently. In any case, in the nationalist countries in Asia and Africa where the great cause of struggling against imperialism has not yet been completed, any weakening or sabotage of the national united fronts will inevitably give the lurking imperialists a chance to step in and will play into the hands of the imperialists and their hirelings who work to undermine this unity and create divisions.

WHEREVER he went in his Asian and African tour, Tito boosted himself as a supporter of the Bandung principles. But the foregoing facts show clearly that the deeds of the Tito clique run counter to the Bandung principles. Trying to "pass a fish-eye off for a pearl" as the saying goes, the Tito clique puts the Bandung spirit on a par with the so-called "active coexistence" set out in the programme of the Yugoslav Communist League. Though it may temporarily mislead a few people, in the long run it can never deceive all the Asian and African countries and peoples who strive for and defend national independence. The more the Tito clique exerts itself in the service of imperialism and hawks its shopworn goods, the more clearly will its ugly true colours be revealed before the masses of the Asian and African countries, and the more despised and isolated will it become.

The Asian and African peoples will continue to advance along the road of peace, neutrality and independent development. Their efforts, as always, will enjoy sincere support and assistance from the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union. Though there will be difficulties, twists and turns in their onward march, though they will encounter further disruptions and obstructions from the imperialists and their agents, such as the Tito clique, the wheel of history will never turn back.

The Tito Clique Shamed, Gets Angry

AFTER winding up his tour of Asian and African countries and Greece, the first thing Tito did was to give a series of speeches openly attacking and slandering the leaders of the socialist countries. In "replying" to so-called "attacks" by the socialist states, he even stooped to sheer fabrication. In his speech on March 7, he alleged with a great flourish, as if it were actually so, that while he and his party were visiting Indonesia, Premier Chou En-lai had appealed to the Indonesian people not to believe them, because they were in the service of imperialism.

Strange! It is known to all that during Tito's visit in Indonesia from December 23, 1958 to January 1, 1959, Premier Chou En-lai made no remarks whatsoever about Tito's visit to Indonesia. Tito's statement was obviously dug up out of his imagination. Such ability to lie unblushingly in public is shocking, to say the least!

Yet the Tito clique actually is in the service of imperialism, and this was especially true of Tito's Asian and African tour. The press of the socialist countries and the Asian-African countries long ago made this clear. The Lebanese paper *Al Nidah* wrote on March 3: "Tito

plays a role which is no secret to anyone, a role that is supported by the Western camp and especially by American imperialism. . . . Tito's main goals, which are also the goals of U.S. imperialism, are rupture of the bonds of friendship between the Soviet Union and the peoples of the two big continents (of Asia and Africa—*Ed.*), and especially between the Soviet Union and the Arabs; and the sowing of doubt about the foreign policy of the Soviet Union." The paper went on: "Could America dream up anything more to her liking than this president of a state under the guise of Socialism boarding a yacht and sailing over the seas in order to display America's old wares which the people of Asia and Africa had rejected long ago, in a new packaging which is more attractive and more deceptive?"

In an effort to cover up this dirty work and fool the Yugoslav people, Tito hypocritically stated in one of his speeches after returning home that he had not said anything to anybody against anyone else. This statement of Tito's is a complete give-away. Waving the banner of "active coexistence," Tito went about his swindle and slandered the socialist camp. He used such catch terms as "all forms of colonialism," "the policy of blocs" and

China Protests Against Tito's Slander

On March 18 Li Hui-chuan, Deputy Director of the Soviet and Eastern European Department of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, called Charge d'Affaires ad Interim of the Yugoslav Embassy in China N. Milicevic to the Ministry and lodged a serious protest against Tito's recent attacks on China and Premier Chou En-lai.

Deputy Director Li Hui-chuan pointed out that on March 7 President Tito of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia made a speech in Belgrade in which he said: ". . . during our visit in Indonesia, a well-known Chinese, Chou En-lai, appealed to the Indonesian people not to give us welcome. . . ." On the same day, *Tanjung* made public this speech.

Deputy Director Li Hui-chuan emphasized that during the visit of the President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in Indonesia from December 23,

1958 to January 1, 1959, the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Chou En-lai made no remarks whatsoever about Tito's visit to Indonesia. The above-mentioned statement by the President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was a sheer fabrication, and such a barefaced falsehood can only be regarded as clearly stemming from ulterior motives.

On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, Deputy Director Li Hui-chuan lodged a serious protest against this calumnious fabrication by the President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and his unwarranted attack and slander against a state leader of our country. Deputy Director Li pointed out solemnly that the Yugoslav side must bear all responsibility for the above-mentioned fabrication and slander.

"hegemony" in slandering the socialist countries. Can this be called "not saying anything to anybody against anyone else?"

It is surely ironic for Tito himself, on the one hand, to deny having said anything to anybody against anyone else and on the other, wantonly to slander the socialist countries. Towards Albania in particular, Tito even resorted to threats, alleging that Bulgaria and Albania had ambitions against Yugoslavia, and declaring that Yugoslavia would bring up the question of Albania's "war-mongering" before the United Nations Organization. This is obviously a deliberate attempt to create tension. It is quite understandable that his March 7 speech earned the tribute in an AP dispatch from Belgrade of being called "a militant, belligerent speech."

In reality it is not the socialist countries, but the Tito clique and its masters and collaborators, who cherish designs on the territory of other countries. Reports from various quarters show that the Tito clique has been collaborating with the Greek authorities for a long time in a vain attempt to annex Albanian territory. It is no mere coincidence that the Greek authorities openly revealed their ambitions with regard to Albania both before and after Tito's visit to their country. In an effort to stir up the Greek people, King Paul of Greece recently told them to forget about the question of Cyprus and centre their attention on a campaign against Albania with a view to taking over southern Albania. At the same

time, the Tito clique came out to applaud the London agreement, which was in fact a pact for enslaving the Cypriot people, saying that it has brought them possibilities of peace, improvement in livelihood and the independent determination of their own destiny. If this isn't singing a duet in the same chorus, what is? Tito repeatedly asserts that the Balkan military bloc is dead, but the facts show that his manoeuvres in collaboration with Greece, a member of the Balkan military bloc, against the socialist countries, and threatening peace in the Balkan area, have by no means ceased. On the contrary, these manoeuvres are being greatly intensified. These facts are sufficient to show what is being cooked in Tito's pot of "active coexistence" and "no blocs."

Tito spent three full months visiting eight countries. His only "achievement" is his further exposure before still more people as serving the interests of imperialism. The press in the socialist countries and the Asian-African nationalist countries have laid bare the nasty manoeuvres of the Tito clique in order to prevent these from endangering the common interests of the people of all these countries. This is absolutely necessary. Yet it should be said that it was Tito himself who exposed Tito most thoroughly. These are the facts. Tito shamed, has lost his temper. But what good will that do him?

(By "Renmin Ribao" Commentator,
March 19, 1959.)

红旗
HONGQI

The Participation of Cadres in Manual Labour

The following is a translation of a leading article in the current issue of "Hongqi" (Red Flag), No. 6, March 16, 1959. — Ed.

WORKERS and peasants throughout the country are making energetic efforts to realize a bigger, better and more comprehensive leap forward in 1959. Now many leading cadres of organizations at the provincial, municipal, special administrative region and county levels have taken direct part in manual labour in factories and rural areas. This is a great inspiration to the labouring people all over the country.

The participation of cadres in manual labour is a step of immense significance. Not only can it encourage the initiative of the workers and peasants in production and uproot the ingrained habit of bureaucracy, but even more

important, it can ensure that leading cadres work among the people like ordinary labourers, and opens up a way for the gradual integration of mental and manual labour.

In our socialist society, the system of exploitation and its social foundation have been destroyed. The relationship of man to man is one of complete equality. Despite the wide variety in the division of labour among the people, there is no distinction of dignity and disgrace in their social position. Everyone is an ordinary labourer in society. So long as the state remains in existence, our state functionaries, no matter how great their responsibilities, are completely equal in social position with ordinary workers and peasants.

Our cadres come from the masses, and new cadres must be constantly recruited from the masses. Their work is done completely in accordance with the people's needs; they cannot have other purposes in their work than

March 24, 1959



The day's work begins with a morning song

From Ku Yuan's series of sketches of intellectuals working in the countryside

striving to realize the interests of the broad masses of the people. To make the cause of the people triumph there must be such a group of cadres who serve the people loyally, accept the tasks entrusted by the people and lead the people to advance in every field.

The state functionaries in a socialist country must be like ordinary labourers. This viewpoint was repeatedly elaborated by Lenin. In *The State and Revolution*, Lenin more than once pointed out that with the realization of the proletarian revolution, the state officials should be just like workers carrying out the tasks entrusted by the labouring people and their role should be reduced to that of "foremen and book-keepers," responsible to the electors, replaceable at any time, and paid ordinary wages. Lenin endeavoured to find a way through which the state functionaries can be at one with ordinary workers and peasants. In *The Tasks of the Youth League* Lenin maintained that Communists must work together with the workers and peasants. He said: "Only by working side by side with the workers and peasants can one become a genuine Communist."

Communists must work side by side with the workers and peasants — this is also the basic starting point of the call issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party that cadres should take part in manual labour.

In the present social conditions, it is absolutely necessary to have a certain division of labour between the state functionaries and the masses of ordinary workers and peasants. However, the very fact of this functional division

of labour and the relations between leaders and rank and file as well as the absence of constant mutual contacts, give rise to the possibility of lack of understanding between them. In this respect the remnant influences of the old society must also be taken into consideration. The relations between officials and the people in the old society were those of the rulers and the ruled, but the relations between our cadres and the masses are essentially different. However, if our cadres are not constantly attentive to keeping close ties with the masses or are affected by the remnant influences of the old society and do not pay attention to overcoming them, they will lose the true character which a public servant should have. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, therefore, especially emphasized the necessity of educating the cadres to behave always like ordinary labourers in the midst of the masses and not to presume that they are entitled to special status just because of their different duties in the division of labour of society and thus stay apart from the masses and practice. Thorough implementation of the system of participation in manual labour by the cadres is a most effective method to educate our cadres in this direction and a most effective method to improve constantly the relations between the cadres and the masses in practical life.

When the rectification campaign began in 1957, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a directive indicating the great significance of the participation in manual labour by leading cadres and defining their participation in manual labour as a system. In its directive on the participation in manual labour by leading functionaries at various levels, the Central Committee of the Party called the attention of all Party members to the following fact: For more than thirty years the Party struggled hard together with the masses to win the great victory of the revolution. The big and arduous task ahead of us is to turn China into a great socialist state with modern industry and agriculture. To accomplish it, we must continue to develop the Party's tradition of keeping in touch with the masses and of struggling hard amid difficulties. One of the methods of carrying on this excellent tradition is for leading cadres at various levels to spend part of their time in manual labour, so that manual labour and brain work can be integrated. This was one of the aims of the rectification campaign at that time. Afterwards, the Central Committee once again issued a directive to the effect that all cadres in all organizations who are able to participate in manual labour should, without exception, engage in such labour.

The broad masses of cadres throughout the country have carried out this directive in concrete action: they not only do manual labour in their spare time but, in rotation, go to the countryside or factories to engage in manual labour for definite periods. Cadres go to the countryside to work as ordinary members of the commune or go to the factory to work as ordinary workers. These cadres eat, live and work together with other members of the commune and workers; like the others they share the production tasks and observe labour discipline. Cadres in the army, including senior officers, also go to the companies in rotation, to serve as ordinary soldiers. Among the broad mass of cadres, participation in manual labour has become common practice and taken on various forms.

The experience of the past year proves that participation in manual labour by cadres, particularly leading cadres, has achieved marked results in overcoming subjective and bureaucratic styles of work that stem from separation from the masses and practice.

Many cadres have said that after doing manual labour the cadres and masses come to understand each other much better and share the same feelings, because the cadres have gone deeper into practice and have lived and worked among the masses like ordinary labourers. Things which were not readily heard or seen in the past can be heard or seen now; what the masses are thinking and want can be discerned in time. Many new problems arising from production, work and the life of the masses can be more quickly discovered and solved by timely consultation with the masses. With practical experience of participation in production, the cadres can lead productive work and other work in a more concrete and meticulous way.

Improvement in the cadres' way of doing things must, in turn, exercise a significant influence upon the broad masses. The deep-rooted viewpoint of looking down at manual labour and the antagonistic relations between the officials and the ordinary people in the old society have left certain influences among the broad masses and it is not easy to eliminate them completely. If the masses see certain shortcomings in the working style of some cadres, it is all the more possible for them to misunderstand the relations between our cadres and the masses. It has been proved by experience in the past year that participation in manual labour by cadres, especially by leading cadres, has played a significant role in eliminating

certain remnant, old viewpoints held by the masses on manual labour and on the relations between the cadres and the masses. Through the living examples of cadres' participation in manual labour, the people become more aware of their position as masters of the country and have better understanding of the relations between the cadres and the masses. In many communes and enterprises, the participation in manual labour by cadres greatly inspired the masses; their labour enthusiasm rose manifestly and their confidence in, and affection for, the cadres also increased considerably.

Oneness between the cadres and the masses on the basis of the cadres keeping close links with the masses and the masses having full confidence in the cadres, is a fundamental key for scoring victory in every field of our work.

The participation of cadres in manual labour is not only of great significance now, but, as mentioned above, is a long-term policy. As our cadres come from the masses, they should, according to needs, return to the masses at any time to work as ordinary workers and peasants. With the daily general growth of the cultural level, political experience, communist ideology and consciousness of the broad masses, the differences between mental and manual labour will certainly disappear gradually. Therefore, the system of participation by cadres in manual labour, of cadres working as ordinary workers or peasants, should become a fundamental system in our country and be continued steadily. We have the rich experience of 1958 and on the basis of summing up the available experience, should make still better arrangements and achieve still better results in 1959.

Patterns of Development

Co-ordinated Drive to Boost Industry

by LU KUANG

IN the drive for an all-round leap forward in industry even bigger than last year's, a spirit of close co-ordination and mutual help among workers, enterprises and localities is an outstanding feature. The accent is on ensuring the rapid growth of the key branches of the economy: steel, coal, coke, ores, machinery (especially mining, coal-dressing, coke-making, steel-rolling, power-generating and irrigation equipment and rolling stock) and in consumer goods, the daily necessities. Particular emphasis is laid on steel which is considered the mainspring for an all-round rapid growth of the economy as a whole.

A Single "National Chess Game"

Planned and proportionate development of industry is necessary and possible under socialism. The current slogan is "to organize the economy as a single national chess game." The analogy is clear. All pieces on the

national chess-board should be closely co-ordinated and every move should be made strategically, with due consideration of existing conditions and future possibilities.

China is fighting to get rid of her heritage of backwardness in the shortest possible time. There are many competing claims on her resources. To utilize the available manpower, material and financial resources of the country most effectively, the following must be done centrally under an overall state plan:

the allocation of investments in capital construction;

the setting of production targets for the major industrial products;

the allocation of raw materials; and

the purchase and transfer of major capital and consumer goods.

Central planning, of course, involves the determination of priorities. In popular parlance today the problem is posed this way: one cannot catch ten fleas with ten fingers all at the same time. They have to be caught one by one. There are bound to be branches of major importance to which priority must be given. Steel is considered of strategic importance and coal is given high priority because they are the basic raw materials without which the sustained growth of the processing industries would be impossible and the material basis for farm modernization would be lacking.

This does not mean that no attention will be paid to non-priority branches. As Ke Ching-shih, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, colourfully expressed it in a recent article in *Hongqi* (Red Flag): "The major projects are like the trunk of a tree and the other projects are like the branches. We oppose strengthening the branches at the expense of the trunk. However, so long as the growth of the trunk is not impaired, there is nothing wrong with rich foliage." In fact, the rapid growth of the key departments serves as an impetus to the proportionate development of the other departments of the economy.

The view of the economy as a single national chess game is, of course, not new. The Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung have always stressed the importance of taking into consideration the overall situation, starting from the interests of the 650 million people as a whole, and the correct handling of the relations between the whole and the parts, between major and ordinary projects, and between centralized leadership and decentralized management.

This is the principle of democratic centralism as applied to the nation's economic life. On the one hand, key planning is done centrally; on the other hand, the administration of many enterprises has been transferred from the central to the local authorities. Concentration on the key projects is combined with proper attention to the needs of the various localities. Approaching the national economy as a single chess game not only does not dampen local in-

itiative but, on the contrary, helps develop the initiative of the various localities and direct it to where it is most needed. The inter-relations are like a symphony orchestra. The musicians (the branches and localities) all play the same score (the state plan) under the same conductor (the Central Government). The conductor is a seasoned maestro and the score is a symphony of socialist construction. It is up to the violinists, the clarinetists, the drummer . . . to play their parts in the most spirited way and make grand music.

Playing One's Part Well

This is why the spirit of playing one's part well and aiding one's neighbours now permeates the nation's economic life. Although local needs are mounting, Anhwei, Fukien, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Honan and other provinces are sending their best pig iron to Shanghai where little iron is produced but a growing, modern steel industry is turning out about 10 per cent of the country's steel. Many provinces, especially the neighbouring ones, are doing their best to help accelerate the construction of the giant integrated iron and steel works in Wuhan (Hupeh Province) and Paotow (Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region) by sending trained personnel, equipment and other needed materials. 89 plants in 18 provinces are working on orders from the Wuhan Integrated Iron and Steel Works and materials for the Wuhan Works get top priority in transport. The Wuhan Iron and Steel Works, in turn, is aiding plants in other parts of the country. Although still under construction, it is already sending high quality iron and coke from its new blast furnace and coke ovens to more than 100 enterprises in 19 provinces.

How the efforts of enterprises are co-ordinated is well illustrated by the example of Liaoning Province—China's greatest industrial base. Thousands of industrial and mining enterprises in the province are producing more than one-third of the country's steel and steel products, one-quarter of the country's rolling mills and 13.5 per cent of the country's coal. Efforts are being concentrated on ensuring the smooth working of the key enterprises (steel mills in Anshan, Penki, Talien and Fushun and coal mines in Fushun, Fuhsin, Penki and Peipiao) and the fulfilment of the key targets (for steel-rolling, mining, coke-making, power-generating and irrigation equipment). Special offices have been set up in the province and the municipalities to co-ordinate the work. Hundreds of factories in Talien, Fushun, Shenyang, etc. are co-operating closely to produce large and medium-sized rolling mills that are beyond the capabilities of any enterprise working singly. To ensure smooth co-ordination, the workers are striving to fill all orders on the dates, in the quantities and of the quality specified in the contracts.

It is with this spirit of "one for all and all for one" that the Chinese workers are speeding China's industrial development.



Every second counts

Oil Painting by Tien Ling

CHINA SUPPORTS SOVIET PROPOSAL ON THE GERMAN QUESTION

The following note was delivered by Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Tseng Yung-chuan to S. F. Antonov, Soviet Charge d'Affaires ad Interim, on March 19, 1959. — Ed.

THE Government of the People's Republic of China has the honour to acknowledge receipt of the Note of the Government of the U.S.S.R. dated March 2 proposing the convening of a summit conference of the state leaders of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France, Poland and Czechoslovakia, with the participation of representatives of the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic, to discuss a peace treaty with Germany and the West Berlin question. In the same Note, the Soviet Government suggested that, should the Western countries still be unprepared to attend a summit conference, a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the countries specified above could be called. Having studied the Note of the Soviet Government, the Government of the People's Republic of China considers that the unremitting efforts made by the Soviet Government to remove the threat of war and correctly settle the German question fully prove the Soviet Government's determination and sincerity in safeguarding world peace and promoting the peaceful unification of Germany. The Government of the People's Republic of China fully supports this proposal of the Soviet Government.

Since the conclusion of World War II, the Western countries headed by the United States, in crude violation of the Potsdam Agreement, have persisted in an aggressive and warlike policy of dividing Germany and rearming West Germany, and have drawn West Germany into the North Atlantic Treaty bloc. West Germany is today playing an important role in this aggressive bloc and has become a centre for conducting the cold war and a base for launching an atomic war. All this has not only greatly deepened the split of Germany but also poses a serious threat to peace in Europe and the world. A correct settlement of the German question will, therefore, be of tremendous significance to the preservation of world peace and the security of all peoples.

In order to promote the development of Germany along the road of peace and democracy in accordance with the funda-

mental principles laid down in the Potsdam Agreement, the Soviet Union has, in the past ten years and more, continuously put forward to the Western countries, the United States, Britain and France, reasonable proposals for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, the withdrawal of foreign troops from Germany and many other proposals for the settlement of the German question. The Government of the German Democratic Republic, in the interests of achieving the peaceful unification of the motherland, has also repeatedly made proposals to the Government of West Germany for rapprochement between the two Germans and the formation of a confederation. All these reasonable proposals, however, have been unreasonably rejected by the Western countries. Nevertheless, out of its noble desire to safeguard world peace and loyal to the obligations it has assumed in regard to Germany, the Soviet Union, after putting forward the proposal for converting West Berlin into a demilitarized free city, again proposed, on January 10 this year, the convening of a peace conference of the countries concerned to discuss and conclude a peace treaty with Germany. There is no doubt that the threat of war can be removed and peaceful unification of Germany promoted through the realization of the above-mentioned proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. However, the Western countries up till now have not abandoned their reactionary policy on the German question. The United States, in particular, has not only never made any practicable proposal for the solution of the German question, but has incessantly clamoured for the use of force, thus poisoning the international atmosphere. This cannot but arouse the serious condemnation and unanimous opposition of all the peace-loving countries and peoples throughout the world.

Under the pressure of fair-minded world public opinion and in order to extricate themselves from their most awkward position, the Western countries were recently obliged to sham willingness to negotiate and propose the holding of a conference of the Foreign Ministers of

the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France, but they pre-determined the agenda of this conference to be discussion of the so-called "problem of Germany in all its aspects and implications" by the four Great Powers, while evading the question of concluding a peace treaty with Germany and that of West Berlin. It is obvious that, in playing this most clumsy trick, the Western countries aim at nothing but deliberately complicating the negotiations so as to delay and obstruct the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, thus achieving their objective of keeping Germany divided and maintaining the occupation regime in West Berlin for ever.

The Government of the People's Republic of China holds that should the Western countries again reject the proposal of the Soviet Government for convening a summit conference of the state leaders of the countries concerned or a conference of Foreign Ministers, or stall and obstruct the progress of the conference by means of endless quibbling, the socialist countries would be compelled to seek other ways of promoting a settlement of the German question and the West Berlin question. No threat or clamour on the part of the Western countries will be of any avail. Should they go so far as to attempt to resort to force, to encroach upon the territory and sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic, then "anyone who would venture to do so would have to shoulder a heavy responsibility to mankind for starting a new war" as stated in the Soviet Note. The People's Republic of China will, together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, give all-out support to the German Democratic Republic in rebuffing such armed provocation. The aggressors will certainly reap the fruits of their own doing.

The Government of the People's Republic of China esteems the unremitting efforts made by the Government of the Soviet Union to safeguard world peace, and reiterates its continued all-out support to the efforts of the Government of the Soviet Union.

March 19, 1959

CHANG HSI-JO — INEJIRO ASANUMA

JOINT STATEMENT

Chang Hsi-jo, President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, and Inejiro Asanuma, General Secretary of the Japanese Socialist Party and leader of the party's delegation which visited China from March 6 to 21, issued a joint statement in Peking on March 17. The following is the full text. — Ed.

THE Japanese Socialist Party Delegation headed by Inejiro Asanuma visited the People's Republic of China in March 1959 at a time marked by an upsurge of the nationwide movement launched enthusiastically by the Japanese people to restore Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations and put an end to the Japan-U.S. "security" system. Following the visit of the Japanese Socialist Party Delegation to China in April 1957 and the publication of the joint statement by Chang Hsi-jo and Inejiro Asanuma at that time, and as a result of the efforts of the peoples of China and Japan, there was for a time a considerable development of contacts between the peoples of the two countries. Unfortunately, after May 1958, as a result of the policy of hostility towards China pursued by the Kishi government, relations between the two countries deteriorated and became highly abnormal.

The purpose of the current visit by the Japanese Socialist Party Delegation is to convey to the Chinese people the Japanese people's fervent desire for peace, democracy and the earliest resumption of diplomatic relations with China, to promote people's diplomacy in order to consolidate and develop the friendship between the peoples of the two countries, and to step up the efforts of the peoples of the two countries to remove the artificial barriers raised against normalization of Sino-Japanese relations.

Although diplomatic relations between the two countries have not yet been resumed and their relations have been almost completely disrupted since the spring of last year, the Chinese side has welcomed the visit by the Japanese Socialist Party Delegation.

During their visit, Inejiro Asanuma, leader of the delegation, and its members Seiichi Katsumata, Soji Okada, Eki Sone, Toshi Nakazaki, Tadataka Sata, and Toshio Tanaka called on Premier Chou

En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Peng Chen, and held lengthy talks with them. The delegation also had talks on many occasions with Chang Hsi-jo, President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, and other Chinese quarters concerned.

These talks, which proceeded throughout in a friendly and sincere atmosphere, have achieved certain concrete results and had very important effects in promoting the friendship between the peoples of the two countries. It has therefore been agreed to state jointly the following points:

Both sides have reviewed the changes in the international situation since the publication of the joint statement between Chang Hsi-jo and Inejiro Asanuma in April 1957. Both sides unanimously hold that at the present moment the forces against imperialism and colonialism are growing daily stronger throughout the world. Such developments are highly favourable to Japan in her efforts to defeat the Japan-U.S. "security" system and regain Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands and to China too in her efforts to liberate Taiwan. At the same time, the peoples of the two countries must join hands in opposing the cold war and atomic war, in implementing the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the ten principles of Bandung, and in safeguarding peace in Asia and throughout the world.

Both sides emphatically reiterate that, in view of the current international situation and the situation in Asia, it is necessary to bring about an overall and unconditional prohibition of the testing, manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons of any description. For this purpose, all nations possessing nuclear weapons should speedily negotiate an agreement to prohibit the testing,

manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons.

The Japanese Socialist Party Delegation expresses the stand of its party that it is determined to defend faithfully, together with the Japanese people, the peace constitution of Japan, prohibit the manufacture, stockpiling, use and importation of any nuclear weapons by Japan and strive to get a declaration issued by Japan not to arm itself with nuclear weapons. Both sides have reached a unanimity of views on setting up an area free from nuclear weapons throughout the Far East and the Pacific and on exerting efforts directed to this end together with all the countries concerned.

A high appraisal has been made of the efforts by the peoples of the two countries to improve relations between their countries and develop people's friendship following the publication of the joint statement by Chang Hsi-jo and Inejiro Asanuma on April 22, 1957.

Both sides affirm that, in view of geographic and historic relations and the existing state of affairs between the two countries, the Governments of China and Japan should have immediately proceeded to the stage of negotiating formal and overall resumption of diplomatic relations. Unfortunately, on the contrary, owing to the Kishi government's policy of hostility towards China, relations between the two countries have greatly worsened, to the point of deadlock. This is entirely against the will of the peoples of the two countries.

The Chinese side holds that to break this deadlock the following three principles must be put into effect and appropriate steps taken by the Kishi government: firstly, it must cease carrying out a hostile policy towards China; secondly, it must not take part in the "two Chinas" scheme; and thirdly, it must not obstruct the restoration of normal relations between

China and Japan. If this is not done, it will also be impossible to resume Sino-Japanese trade.

The Japanese Socialist Party, in accordance with its fundamental policy for the solution of the deadlock in Sino-Japanese relations formulated on September 11 last year, not only fully agrees with the above three principles put forward by the Chinese side, but unequivocally advocates non-recognition of "two Chinas"; holds that the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair; advocates recognition of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organization; and maintains that, to bring about the formal restoration of diplomatic relations between China and Japan, the "Japan-Chiang Kai-shek peace treaty" must first of all be abolished and a peace treaty signed with the People's Republic of China. The Chinese side welcomes these views of the Japanese Socialist Party.

The Chinese side further points out that the political and economic questions between the two countries cannot be separated. These questions of economics and politics must be negotiated and settled simultaneously. At the present moment, the political question must be given priority. The Japanese Socialist Party Delegation agrees with this.

The Japanese Socialist Party Delegation expresses the deep desire of the Japanese people in demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops stationed in Japan, abolition of military bases, complete recovery of the Japanese territories of Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands, after the abolition of the so-called Japan-U.S. "security" system, in order to secure Japan's independence and sovereignty and in demanding the establishment of friendly relations with various countries including China, the Soviet Union and the United States on the basis of the five principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression against each other, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence, and the ten principles of Bandung which developed from the five principles. The Chinese side holds that the achievement of complete independence by Japan and her pursuance of a path of peace and neutrality and not joining any military bloc, not only conform with the national interests of Japan but also benefit peace in Asia and throughout the world. The Chinese people sincerely welcome and support the earliest realization of these aspirations of the Japanese people. The Chinese side declares that

Taiwan is China's territory and the U.S. armed forces must withdraw from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. The Japanese Socialist Party Delegation deems that this stand of China conforms with the interests of peace in Asia and the rest of the world, and sincerely supports it and hopes that it is realized through peaceful negotiation.

After Japan puts an end to the Japan-U.S. "security" system, achieves complete independence and concludes mutual non-aggression agreements with China and the Soviet Union, then, it can be expected that the military clauses concerning Japan in the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance directed against Japanese militarism will naturally become null and void. Following the conclusion of a collective security treaty between the Asian and Pacific countries, first of all between China, Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States, the neutrality of Japan will be further guaranteed. Both sides have reached a unanimity of views in these matters.

The Japanese Socialist Party Delegation stresses that although diplomatic relations between Japan and China have not yet been resumed and contacts between the two countries have been almost completely disrupted since spring last year, nevertheless to foster the friendship between the peoples of the two countries and people's diplomacy, friendly contacts and cultural interchanges should be promoted as practical circumstances permit. The Chinese side has concurred in this and agreed to invite friendly Japanese cultural, art, academic, technological, peasants' and workers' delegations to visit China. The Japanese Socialist Party Delegation has conveyed to the Chinese side the desire of the Japanese people to invite Chinese people's delegations to visit Japan. The Chinese side has expressed gratitude for this goodwill shown by the Japanese people and hopes that conditions will soon emerge which will make possible for such visits to be made on invitation.

Both sides are unanimous in holding that the visit of the Japanese Socialist Party Delegation to China in the present circumstances, has made a positive contribution to furthering the development of people's diplomacy between China and Japan. Both sides are convinced that the common aim of the peoples of China and Japan to safeguard world peace and peace in the Far East, resume Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations and promote friendship between the peoples of the two countries is certain to be completely victorious.

New Phase in Traditional Painting

Revitalized by the liberation, Chinese painting in traditional style continues its advance, its exploration of new themes and new forms. The recent exhibition in Peking of 161 paintings by artists from Kiangsu Province is a further indication that, though many shortcomings still remain to be overcome, Chinese artists have carried their traditional art to a new stage of development. One feature distinguished it from previous exhibitions: the majority of the paintings on display dealt with present-day life, reflecting China's great leap forward in industry and agriculture last year. *Scooping Silt from a River* and *Carting Mineral Ores in Rain* by Chien Sung-yen, *Shipping Green Manure* by Yu Teng-fu, and two joint efforts by artists of the Institute of Chinese Painting in Kiangsu—*Battle for Steel* and *Free Meals for All*, were among many paintings that won instant and widespread popularity. Of the sixty artists participating, a few were of the older generation, but most were young or middle-aged.

In the past few years, an increasing number of traditional artists have been adapting their techniques with quite good results to modern themes. Where there has been the most obvious lack of success it has been because the paintings suffer from varying degrees of contradiction between content and form. For instance, in some paintings we see the setting of modern buildings with their clean-cut lines against a landscape background painted in the style of the Sung or Tang dynasty; in others, like a cursory nod to modern trends, various objects of present-day life—oil derricks, surveyors' camps or teams and so on—have been naturalistically introduced as subordinate elements to landscapes painted in imitation of old masters. Many such paintings, of course, have marked a stage in a serious advance to a modern outlook by the artists, but the disharmony of conception inevitably leaves an impression of incongruity. As the exhibition of Kiangsu artists forcefully shows, however, such obvious shortcomings are gradually being overcome.

Superficially considered, this success seems to be a rather obvious advance but it has demanded no little effort and searchings of heart. Not a few Chinese artists of the traditional school worshipped and followed the classical masters for centuries with an almost blind faith. Their prime aim was to imitate the old masters and create what they regarded as "lofty"

and "elegant" paintings. Artists must undoubtedly learn from the classical masters to assimilate the best elements in their tradition and carry it forward. But in certain academic circles this looking to the past was carried to the extreme of turning away from reality and contempt for everything new. When they painted bamboos, for instance, they strove to copy and imitate Cheng Panchiao of the Ching dynasty (1644-1911 A.D.); any success in this led them further back to imitate Hsia Chung-chao of the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368 A.D.) and Wen Yu-ko of the Sung dynasty (960-1127 A.D.). When painting landscapes, it became the custom first to learn to paint in the style of Shih Tao of the Ching dynasty, then Huang Ta-chih of the Yuan dynasty, and Kuan Tung and Chu Jan of the Five Dynasties (907-960 A.D.). The further back they went to look for masters they could copy and imitate, the prouder they felt. This rummaging in the past had its roots in the growing reluctance and inability of the scholar-painters of the former upper classes to observe and reflect contemporary reality.

Art must constantly refresh itself at the living springs of life. At the time of liberation, however, many artists of the traditional school were isolating themselves more and more from life, content with plagiarizing the ancients, copying a tree from one and a mountain from another, a mist from a third and a boat from a fourth. They found it extremely difficult to see and under-

stand revolutionary reality or use their traditional techniques to depict contemporary themes. That is why we have had those strange juxtapositions of modern figures and Tang or Sung landscapes in many of the first attempts to produce modern paintings in traditional techniques.

This is not the first time by any means that the brush techniques peculiar to traditional Chinese painting have undergone a radical reappraisal and adaptation to new themes and subject matter. The greatest classical masters were by no means hidebound conservatives, but great innovators. Their constant advice has always been to study reality. "Technique follows the times," as the famous Ching classical master Shih Tao put it, indicating his belief that brush technique must develop to take in new things. In the halcyon days of the Tang dynasty, for instance, artists painted figures with exquisitely delicate strokes and in luxuriant colours. This suited the extravagant life of the feudal aristocracy and the prosperous economic life of that period. The paintings of Chang Hsuan and Chou Fang are typical of that time. Later, during the Sung dynasty, with the spread of the influence of neo-Confucianism and the Chan or Dhyana School of Buddhism, characterized by a love of meditation and nature, and scorn for the vanities of worldly life, there was a drastic change in the scholars' way of thinking. The themes of paintings also changed and, with it, their forms and techniques. Brilliant colours gave way to monochrome Chinese ink paintings, and the delicate outline delineation of figures was replaced by rapid impressionist strokes.

Today the majority of artists of the classical school have realized the dead end into which their art had dropped. They also understand that this is not merely a matter of form, but of outlook.

Over the past few years they have made energetic efforts to remould their ideology, to espouse the cause of the people, instead of being divorced from them, as a first means of completely revitalizing their art and successfully treating modern themes. They have gone out to the farms, factories and construction sites to sketch, draw and merge themselves creatively into the life and struggles

of the working people and with present-day life. All this serves as the inspiration for their new paintings, the inspiration not only for subject matter and themes but for the transformation of their techniques as well. In some of the best of these paintings, like the *Meishan Reservoir* by Chang Wen-chun, shown at the Kiangsu artists' exhibition (see *Peking Review*, Vol. II, No. 1), we feel the force of the inner compulsions that moved the artist to paint; he moves us because he himself was moved. This is no mere topographical report. This is exactly what Shih Tao meant when he said: "Huangshan Mountain is my teacher, and I am its friend." Shih Tao infused his paintings with the deep and genuine feeling he had for Huangshan Mountain with its unique and enchanting scenery.

Modern reality is a complex affair. In the course of their work artists of the traditional school meet with many unfamiliar things. They try to overcome these difficulties by working in collaboration. Sometimes they study the theme together and discuss its composition before they paint collectively, sometimes they study and discuss how the painting should be done before one of them undertakes to do it. And after the painting is finished, they ask for the opinions of the masses of the people familiar with the subject and make the necessary changes on the basis of the suggestions given. *Battle for Steel and Free Meals for All*, shown at the exhibition, are notable examples of the good results yielded by such collective efforts.

There were those who pessimistically argued that the traditional techniques were done for, that they might be all right to depict hermitages secluded in the hills, but not the socialist civilization of today, with its steel and concrete factories, machines and dynamic movement. The experience of the past shows the great flexibility of traditional brushwork, and now the Kiangsu artists, like their colleagues in other places, have demonstrated that this is by no means true. That traditional techniques can be adapted to reflect present-day life, the aspirations of the working people and their efforts in building socialism, is no longer a matter for speculation. Through the efforts made by artists both of the older and younger generation, a new page in the history of Chinese painting is being written. The soaring spirit and tremendous enthusiasm of the Chinese people during the present era of socialist construction is finding increasingly vivid expression in the paintings which artists of the traditional school are drawing.

— FU CHUNG



Scooping silt from a river
Painting in traditional Chinese style by Chien Sung-yen

Celebrating the Fortieth Anniversary of the Hungarian Soviet Republic

A Chinese Government and Communist Party Delegation arrived in Budapest for the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Hungarian Soviet Republic on March 21. It is headed by Chu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

Chu Teh, speaking at the airport on his arrival, warmly congratulated the Hungarian people on the outstanding successes they have achieved under the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and their workers' and peasants' revolutionary government. These achievements in consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, safeguarding the fruits of socialism and carrying out socialist transformation and construction greatly rejoiced and inspired the Chinese people, he declared.

In Peking, the occasion was marked by a mass meeting on the eve of the anniversary. Addressing an enthusiastic audience representing people of all circles in the capital, Tung Pi-wu, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, said that it was to the honour of the proletariat and working people of Hungary that forty years ago, inspired by the victory of the great October Revolution in Russia, they established the second proletarian state in the world. Although it was ruthlessly strangled by imperialist reaction and lasted only 133 days, he noted, the courageous struggle of the Hungarian proletariat has been for ever inscribed in the annals of the Hungarian revolution and the international communist movement and casts its light afar.

Tung Pi-wu recalled how news of the Hungarian proletarian revolutionary struggles following the great October Revolution had aroused the warm sympathy and enthusiasm of the Chinese people and given further encouragement to their revolutionary movement. He cited the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung to show the great importance the Chinese people had attached to the Hungarian revolution.

Tung Pi-wu pointed out that the Chinese and Hungarian peoples had long ago sealed a profound militant friendship forged in their common revolutionary struggle. That friendship, he said, was growing daily and now, within the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union,

they were fighting shoulder to shoulder against their common enemies and marching hand in hand along the path of socialism.

Tung Pi-wu concluded by wishing continued brilliant successes to the Hungarian people in carrying on their glorious revolutionary tradition and in their struggle to bring about the complete victory of socialism and communism under the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

The Hungarian Ambassador Nogradi Sandor was greeted with enthusiastic applause. His address dealt with the history and significance of the founding of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

After the meeting, a documentary and a feature film about the 1919 Revolution were shown and sketches and revolutionary posters of the time exhibited.

Chinese Delegation to Iraq

A 12-member Chinese cultural delegation is currently visiting Iraq. It is headed by Burhan Shahidi, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and President of the China Islamic Association.

The Iraqi Minister of Education Brigadier Muhiddin Abdul Hamid gave a banquet in honour of the delegation. Premier Kassim and many high Iraqi officials attended.

The delegation has visited several colleges, schools and other cultural centres in Bagdad and has been greeted with great warmth everywhere it has appeared.

Chile Likes Chinese Art

The popularity won by the Chinese Acrobatic Troupe in Chile has proved once again that true people's art knows no national boundaries; it is a potent link between the peoples. During the troupe's five-week stay in Santiago, well over 140,000 Chileans saw its 35 performances. The former Chilean President Carlos Ibanez, President of the Chilean Chamber of Deputies Raul Julliet, Dr. Salvador Allende, leader of the Popular Action Front and Honorary President of the Chile-China Cultural Institute, were among the many prominent people who attended the shows.

Chileans also liked the concerts of Chinese instrumental music and songs given by the troupe's orchestra and singers

over "The Miners' Radio," the biggest Latin American broadcasting station. Santiago papers gave generous space to photos and notices about the troupe.

The Chinese artists' visit was also the occasion for many friendly meetings with Chilean cultural circles who showed an intense interest in present-day China and a desire for closer contacts with their Chinese counterparts.

A happy event in the troupe's stay in Santiago was its get-together with the delegation of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces. The Cubans happened to be visiting Chile at the time and went backstage after the show to greet the Chinese artists. A few days later, they were entertained at a luncheon party in their honour at which Chou Erh-fu, the troupe's leader, on behalf of the Chinese people congratulated the Cuban revolutionaries on their victory. Captain Jorge Mendoza, head of the Cuban delegation, expressed his great pleasure at meeting "his Chinese brothers" and his admiration for China.

The imperialists, thoroughly upset by the goodwill the troupe has won among the Latin American peoples, made a mean attempt to sabotage its performances. This dramatically rebounded against them. At the Santiago premiere on February 14, two agents distributed provocative leaflets forged in the name of the troupe and the Chile-China Cultural Institute which sponsored the visit. This was exposed on the spot by the institute's Acting President, Radical Deputy Martinez Camps, who asked the mayor of Santiago who happened to be in the audience to investigate the case. The agents were arrested in the theatre and confessed that they had been promised two thousand pesos to do their dirty job.

The Chilean press and radio exposed the provocateurs the next day. Later the Associated Press of the United States sent out a distorted account of the event in its usual cold war vein. Not a single Chilean paper published it.

In response to popular demand the troupe several times extended its stay in Santiago. It is now touring cities in south and central Chile.

BRIEFS

It will not be long now before the people of Peking will be able to sample luscious Bulgarian grapes. Five thousand grape vines have been presented to the Sino-Bulgarian Friendship People's Commune on the outskirts of Peking. They are the gift of the Bulgarian Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the Rural Work Department of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the members of the Bulgarian agricultural producers' co-operatives.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

ments are strictly carried out in south Viet-nam.

U.N. Resolution on Kamerun

"No resolution can prevent Kamerun (the Cameroons) from achieving genuine independence," is the title of an article in *Renmin Ribao* (March 18) on the resolution on Kamerun adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on March 13.

The article points out that the U.S.-sponsored resolution is "actually an out-and-out colonialist resolution." Superficially it provides for the trusteeship over French Kamerun to end on January 1, 1960, but it fails to provide the necessary conditions to guarantee genuine independence for Kamerun, such as the withdrawal of the French colonial forces and the holding of elections before the trusteeship ends. It also completely ignores the reasonable desire of the Kamerun people for unification of the French and British trust territories.

While talking about giving "independence" to Kamerun, the French and British colonialists are actually intensifying their armed repressions against the people, and through the local governments and assemblies they had set up, they are trying to merge Kamerun into the "French community" and British Nigeria. By this means they hope to divide Kamerun permanently and continue to enslave its people.

The United States' attitude on the Kamerun question threw further light on its so-called anti-colonialism. The U.S. colonialists, in fact, have all along supported the British and French colonialists in their bloody suppression of the Kamerun people and are opposed to independence for Kamerun. At the U.N. General Assembly Session, the United States hypocritically talked about support for Kamerun's independence, but blocked the holding of a plebiscite and democratic elections by the Kamerun people. Meanwhile, it is actively penetrating British and French "spheres of influence" in Africa so as to establish direct U.S. control over their African colonies.

The present legislative assembly of French Kamerun was elected under the threat of French colonialist bayonets, and the nationalist organization, the Union of the People of the Kamerun, which truly represents the Kamerun people, is still outlawed. French colonial forces are still murdering people in Kamerun and there is no guarantee of the democratic rights of the Kamerun people. All this makes it a mockery of the U.N. Charter for the United States and other colonialist countries to talk grandly from the U.N. platform about the "independence" and "freedom" of the Kamerun people. However, the article concludes, the destiny of

Polish United Workers' Party Congress

"We heartily congratulate the Polish United Workers' Party on the success of its Third Congress," declares the editorial of *Renmin Ribao* (March 21), and "we wish it ever greater success in leading the Polish people in building socialism and defending world peace."

It describes the Congress as a great event in the political life of the Polish people marking a new stage of the Polish people's rapid advance along the road to socialism.

The editorial states that the 1959-1965 plan of development of the national economy decided on in the Congress resolutions "shows the bright future of Poland." The Polish Seven-Year Plan and the long-term plans of development of the national economies of the other socialist countries "are all important component parts of the economic competition of socialism with capitalism," the editorial says.

The Congress emphasized the strengthening of the Party's leadership in the people's state and the strengthening of the unity and ideological work of the Party; revisionism was trenchantly condemned. All this, the editorial says, will certainly have a profound influence on Polish socialist construction.

The Congress reaffirmed Poland's peaceful foreign policy and strongly condemned the Adenauer group's intrigues to annex the western territory of Poland, the editorial continues, adding that the determination of the Polish people to safeguard the western part of their motherland has the support of all peace-loving peoples.

In his report at the Congress, Comrade Gomulka pointed out that the theory of Marxism-Leninism is the one and only foundation of the Polish working-class movement, and the Moscow Declaration adopted in November 1957 by the Communist and Workers' Parties of twelve socialist countries is a fundamental directive of the Polish United Workers' Party's policy. The editorial also recalls that the Polish United Workers' Party condemned the revisionists of Yugoslavia for their vain attempts to break the solidarity of the international communist movement, and that Comrade Gomulka stressed that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the basic international strength of that movement

and the fraternal friendship and unbreakable alliance with the Soviet Union lies at the foundation of Polish policy. Comrade Gomulka's speech, says the editorial, expresses the firm determination of the Polish people and once again proves that the solidarity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp is unbreakable.

This Congress, the editorial concludes, has strengthened the unity of the Polish United Workers' Party and its links with the masses, as well as the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, and the unity of the international communist movement with the Soviet Union as its core. This is an important guarantee of new victories for the Polish people.

Stop South Viet-nam Atrocities!

Discussing the memorandum which General Vo Nguyen Giap, Commander-in-Chief of the Viet-nam People's Army, sent to S. Ansari, Chairman of the International Commission in Viet-nam, *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (March 20) states that the memorandum proves with massive and indisputable facts the massacre and persecution of Viet-namese patriots and former members of the resistance by the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. It also shows that it is the U.S. imperialists who instigated the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to commit these crimes.

The establishment of many concentration camps in south Viet-nam, the murder of innocent patriots by the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, affront humanity and violate the Geneva agreements. Commentator declares: "As a participant in the Geneva Conference, we cannot allow the U.S. and the south Viet-nam authorities to trample on the Geneva agreements at will."

These crimes in south Viet-nam have aroused the great indignation of the Chinese people, says Commentator, they deeply sympathize with and fully support the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam in their heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

We hope, Commentator continues, that the International Commission in Viet-nam will accept Vo Nguyen Giap's proposal that it send a mobile team for on-the-spot investigations into the massacres in Phu Loi and other places, and so guarantee that the Geneva agree-

Kamerun will be decided in the last analysis not by the United States and other colonialist countries, but by the Kamerun people themselves.

African Freedom Struggle Spreads

"The flames of anti-colonialism light the African continent; the thunder of the struggle for freedom shatters the dreams of the colonialists!" With this headline, *Renmin Ribao* (March 16) publishes a commentary greeting the heroic struggle waged by the people of Nyasaland and throughout Central Africa against British colonial rule.

The present fight of the Central African people, the commentary states, is not only on a larger scale than ever before, it has a clear-cut political aim. Nyasaland demands an end to the Central African Federation, an end to racial

oppression, and the realization of national independence.

The people of Nyasaland and Central Africa and those in other parts of Black Africa are inspiring each other's struggle, causing a chain reaction which is moving the national independence movements in Africa south of the Equator towards a new climax.

The British colonialists have realized that it is impossible to preserve the old colonial system intact, so they are engaging simultaneously in political chicanery and violent suppression. They boast about so-called "constitutional reform." But the "constitutions" set up by Britain in its West, Central and East African colonies do not in the least reflect the sovereign rights which should be enjoyed by the local people.

The British colonialist authorities also resort to buying over a few traitors,

and trying to split and disrupt the national independence movements. For this purpose, the colonial government in Nyasaland has reiterated that it is willing to hold talks with "moderate African politicians" but not with the African National Congress which is resolutely opposing British colonial rule.

The African people, however, have seen through these tactics. They have become more resolute in their demand for national independence, for basic democratic rights and real general elections and in their opposition to racial discrimination.

The present explosion of the popular struggle in British Central Africa, the commentary notes, follows the anti-imperialist movements in the Belgian Congo, French Congo, North Africa and British East Africa. It is a sign of the awakening of the whole African people. The situation is rising to the boiling point.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

— Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc. —

Programmes are subject to change. Where times are not listed consult theatre or daily press.

PEKING OPERA

▲ **MU KUEI-YING** A brave warrior-maid of Sung times wins the heart of a young general after defeating him on the battlefield, and later helps him drive out foreign invaders. Mei Lan-fang as Mu Kuei-ying.
Mar. 25, 7:00 p.m. *Zhong He Theatre*

▲ **ORPHAN OF THE CHAO FAMILY** Prime Minister Chao Tun of the ancient State of Ts'in is killed by the ambitious minister Tu An-ku who orders the wholesale execution of his family. Chao's friends, Cheng Ying and Kungsun Shu-chiu, save Chao's infant grandson, sole heir of the family, by a desperate plot in which Kungsun gives his own life and Cheng Ying lets his own son die in place of Chao's grandson. The new production by the Peking Opera Company of Peking, stars such well-known actors as Ma Lien-liang, Tan Fu-ying, Chang Chun-chiu, and Chiu Sheng-jung.
Mar. 26-28, 7:00 p.m. *Peking Workers' Club*

SHAHSING OPERA

▲ **THE WEST CHAMBER** A young scholar, Chang Chun-ju, meets Tsui Ying-ying by chance and falls in love with her. To be near her he rents a western chamber by her home. However, a local bandit chief wants to marry her. Her mother, terrified, promises that whoever saves Ying-ying from the bandit will have her hand in marriage. Chang, with the help of his friend, a general, disposes of the bandit and claims the reward. Ying-ying's mother tries to back out of her promise. But with the help of the clever maid Hung Niang, the lovers marry. Produced by the visiting Tientsin Shaohsing Opera Troupe.
Mar. 24-27, 7:00 p.m. *Ji Xiang Theatre*

SZETCHUAN OPERA

▲ **THE RIVERSIDE PAVILION** A play by the famous Yuan dynasty playwright Kuan Han-ching, about a beautiful woman who outwits the powerful Lord Yang in his scheme to get rid of her husband and possess her.
Mar. 24, 7:00 p.m. *Peking Theatre*

▲ **VISITING THE WEST LAKE** A traditional opera about a young girl who,

refusing to submit to feudal oppression, dies for her true love.

Mar. 27, 7:00 p.m. *Peking Theatre*
(The above two operas are produced by the visiting Szechuan Opera Troupe.)

PINGJU OPERA

▲ **BITTER FLOWERS** A play about the Shantung peasants who rose against traitors and oppressive landlords at the start of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression.
Mar. 24, 7:00 p.m. *Da Zhong Theatre*

▲ **THE RETURN OF THE PHOENIX** A comedy of errors. A young man wins a bride despite the schemes of a wicked stepmother.
Mar. 26, 7:00 p.m. *Da Zhong Theatre*

CHINESE BALLET

▲ **PRECIOUS LOTUS LANTERN** A modern Chinese ballet based on an ancient Chinese fairy tale. The nymph of Mt. Huashan falls in love with a scholar. Infuriated by her attachment to a mortal, her intolerant brother imprisons her. Fifteen years later her love-child, who has grown up to be a brave warrior, defeats his uncle in combat and sets his mother free. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.
Mar. 25-27, 30 & 31, 7:00 p.m. *Tianqiao Theatre*

MODERN OPERA

▲ **MADAME BUTTERFLY** Puccini's famous opera in Chinese. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.
Mar. 24, 28 & 29, 7:00 p.m. *Tianqiao Theatre*

THEATRE

▲ **THE SALESWOMEN** A new comedy by Lao Sheh, the well-known playwright, describing how three young girls and a housewife free themselves from household drudgery and become saleswomen. At first they have a sneaking contempt for their new jobs but they soon learn what socialist service means to the people, and make good. Produced by the Peking People's Art Theatre.
Mar. 24-31, 7:15 p.m. *Shoudu Theatre*

▲ **THE EGRET** Laid in Amoy on the eve of liberation, this play by Pai Jen tells the true story of a young girl named Liu Hsi-fen. Educated by the Communist Party, she became an underground revolutionary, faithful to the revolutionary cause to the

end. She was killed by the enemy. After her death the people came to know her as "The Egret"—symbol of foresight. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre.
Mar. 24-31, 7:00 p.m. *China Youth Art Theatre*

FILMS

▲ **THE STORY OF LU PAN** The story about Lu Pan, an ancient Chinese craftsman and his ingenuity in solving technical problems in bridge building and architecture.
Mar. 25-28, *Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Zhongyang, Peking Workers' Club, Guang An Men*

▲ **SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE MIAO PEOPLE** Socialist construction in the homeland of the Miao people in Kwangsi.
Mar. 25-27, *Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou*
Mar. 29-31, *Shengli, Xi Dan Theatre*

▲ **BY THE MARCH 8TH CANAL**—based on the true story of a group of women in Anhwei who step by step advance their mutual-aid team to co-op farm and people's commune.
Mar. 28-31, *Shengli, Xi Dan Theatre*

(The above three feature films are newly produced by the Chiangnan Film Studio.)

▲ **STORIES ABOUT LENIN** Two episodes from Lenin's life. One describes how on the eve of the October Revolution, Lenin outwits counter-revolutionary agents by disguising himself as a Finnish worker. The other describes the days from 1923 to his death when, despite his serious illness, he still pays the closest attention to the direction of the revolution. A Soviet film dubbed in Chinese.
Mar. 25-28, *Guang An Men, Peking Workers' Club, Zhongyang*

▲ **CRIN-BLANC** and **LE BALLON ROUGE** Two French shorts with Chinese sub-titles. The first is about a boy who tames a wild horse by his loving care. The second is about a boy and his red balloon.
Mar. 28-31, *Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou*

EXHIBITIONS

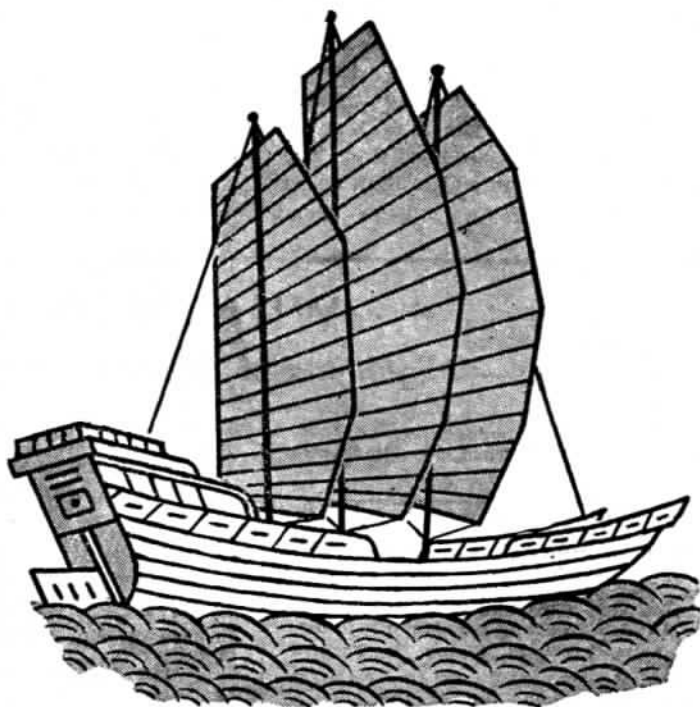
▲ **EXHIBITION OF CHINESE PAINTINGS IN TRADITIONAL STYLE** Sponsored by the Peking Research Society of Chinese Paintings. Open daily 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. At *Beihai Park*

▲ **EXHIBITION OF CZECHOSLOVAK PUPPET FILMS** by J. Trnka. Open daily (except Mon.) 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. At *Zhongshan Park*

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