

# PEKING REVIEW

20

May 19, 1961

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*Theatre, Sidelights and Other Features*

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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OF  
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# PEKING REVIEW

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NEWS AND VIEWS

May 19, 1961 Vol. IV No. 20

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## ROUND THE WEEK

### Steel for Agriculture

Last week the steel industry reported that more than 400,000 tons of rolled steel had been turned out for agriculture in the first four months of this year. This is part of the steelmakers' contribution to the national agricultural drive. A major portion of this allotment of steel products has already been made into farm implements and farm machinery for spring farming and summer harvesting.

A quarter of this allotment is quality steel for the making of small farm implements. The rest are squares, rounds, angle and flat bars, tubes, sheet steel, etc., for irrigation and drainage machinery and other bigger machinery.

This batch of steel products was produced by 17 major steel works and the medium-sized and small steel enterprises in many provinces. In turning it out the steelworkers put special stress on quality and variety. In the rolling mill of the Anyang Steel Company in Honan Province, one of the many medium-sized plants in the country, more than 20 varieties of rolled steel were produced.

### Experimental Plots

As they wind up their spring farming, members of the Qingshi (Blue Stone) People's Commune of Hupeh Province can point with pride to the quality of their work in the fields. A key factor that led to this success is the practical guidance given by the commune's managerial staff through the cultivation of experimental farm plots. Throughout the whole period of spring farming, the leading cadres together with other commune members cultivated some 8,400 mu of experimental plots.

On these experimental plots the cadres, supported by veteran farmers and agro-technicians, carried through experiments to improve various farm techniques and find ways to increase yields on the local farms. Successful methods were immediately spread to the rest of the farms. This method of leadership was first introduced by the cadres of Hungan County of Hupeh

Province during the big leap of 1958. Since its introduction it has been widely adopted throughout the country. Cultivating experimental plots played an important role in the big leap on the farms. The idea is based on the traditional mass line of work of the Chinese Communist Party. By bringing together the modern scientific knowledge of the agro-technicians, the experience of veteran farmers and the down-to-earth guidance of the managers and administrators, in other words, by drawing on collective wisdom, better methods of work are evolved. The method puts into practice the Party's old dictum that everything must go through the mill of experiment before it is generally adopted, so that subjectivism can be avoided.

A few months ago Chen Shih-chao, a Party secretary of the Blue Stone People's Commune, worked out with veteran farmers a new method of cultivating early rice seedlings which raises efficiency considerably. When this was demonstrated and won the approval of the peasant masses, it was adopted on 80 per cent of the commune's 4,000 mu of rice seedling farm. Work was not only done quicker but better too.

How to make the low-yield fields yield more had long been on the mind of Tsai Yu-ming, another cadre in the Blue Stone People's Commune. By working an experimental plot he and his colleagues found an effective way of transforming the low-yield fields in the commune by applying a special kind of fertilizer, worked out on the basis of the discovery that the trouble with these fields lay in the fact that they are low-lying, have excessive earth and that the water in them is too cold for the comfort of the crops. Now the kind of fertilizer worked out by Tsai and his colleagues is being used on practically all former low-yield farms in the locality with good results.

### Masters in Their Own House

A dispatch from Lhasa reports that more than 10,000 former slaves and serfs in Tibet have become leading



Commune Team and Their Mounts

Woodcut in colour by Yang Hsien-jang

functionaries in the local government administration and various people's organizations.

Only two years ago, before the feudal serf system which held Tibet in its grip for centuries had been smashed by the democratic reform, these men and women, down-trodden and ruthlessly exploited, were at the bottom of the social scale. Today they form the backbone of Tibet's administrative apparatus helping and guiding their people in running public affairs.

Some 2,000 of them now head basic administrative units. Many head district authorities or are chairmen of peasants' and herdsmen's associations in Tibet's farming and pastoral areas.

Former slaves and serfs are also playing an increasingly big role directly in the industrial development of the region. Already 24,000 workers of Tibetan nationality are working in various departments of industry in Tibet. Many who, only a few years ago, had never even seen a machine, are now skilfully operating complex machinery in power stations, machine shops and iron and steel works. The ranks of these new workers of Tibet are growing fast.

### Tapping Underground Water

There are three normal ways of getting water—from rain or snow, from rivers, streams and ponds and from underground. In most of north

and northwest China, rainfall is usually meagre and the above-ground water supply is inadequate, but there are rich underground water resources. It is now generally agreed that full exploitation of these resources can give powerful aid to the development of the national economy. It was to discuss how this can be done that a large group of scientists recently gathered at a special conference on underground water research in dry, desert and pastoral areas.

The conference was held in Yinchuan, capital of the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region in China's arid northwest. It was attended by experts from geological, hydrological, water conservancy, agricultural and meteorological departments in Ningsia, Inner Mongolia, Kansu and Chinghai. The work done last year was reviewed and future tasks were mapped out. The central theme of their discussions was how their research work could be best geared to the nation's agricultural development.

Considerable progress has been made in recent years in the study of underground water in China. General hydrological surveys covering 2,700,000 square kilometres have been completed in various areas. Detailed prospecting for underground water conducted in many areas has provided water sources for more than 100 cities, numerous big industrial enterprises and for farm irrigation on a big scale. Working with the help of the peasant masses during the anti-drought battle

in 1959 and 1960, geological department personnel in north and northwest China succeeded in finding many underground water sources. In Hopei Province alone, 1,800 mechanized wells were dug. These saved 500,000 *mu* of farmland from the menace of drought.

It is the vast expanse of land in north and northwest China, an important region for food and cotton crops and livestock-breeding, which holds the main attention of the scientists. Full exploitation and utilization of underground water in these two areas will change the face of this part of the earth. A survey made in Hopei indicates that above-ground water is sufficient only to irrigate 15 per cent of that province's farmland, but that its underground water, when exploited, will be able to extend irrigation to about 60 per cent of the province's farmland.

The Ningsia conference concentrated on research work done in Ningsia, Inner Mongolia, Kansu and Chinghai. It reported that 19 observation stations had been set up in these areas to keep a close watch on the movement of water underground there. The local people's communes which are helping the survey in various places have set up and run an additional 1,700 smaller observation centres. These centres have already collected a good deal of data. Scientists, for instance, have now got a good idea of the pattern of the movement of underground water beneath the extensive Yinchuan plain. Fruitful results have also been reported in the research on the relation between underground water and alkaline land.

Plans made at the conference call for full investigations of the underground water resources of all major agricultural and pastoral areas in these regions in the next few years. Scientists will press ahead with studies enabling them to forecast the movement of underground water; additional research will be done on soil amelioration. They will gather more data on the transformation of soil.

In carrying out their tasks they will rely on a set of "walking on two legs" policies which include the integration of professional research with mass participation of the people; the integration of modern and indigenous methods of observation and survey, and the maintaining of a close link between scientific research and production.

# Foreign Minister Chen Yi's Speech At Geneva Conference

*Following is the text of the speech delivered by Foreign Minister Chen Yi, Head of the Chinese Government Delegation, at the opening session of the enlarged Geneva Conference for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question on May 16.—Ed.*

## **Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates,**

First of all, please allow me, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, to greet the opening of this enlarged Geneva Conference. The Chinese Government has consistently stood for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreements. The Chinese Government Delegation sincerely hopes that this conference will make contributions in ensuring the neutrality and independence of Laos and safeguarding peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

Our present conference is convened on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreements and on the initiative of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia. This conference is a continuation and development of the 1954 Geneva Conference. The Co-Chairmen, the Soviet Union and Britain, have made great efforts to promote its convocation. We are particularly glad that Prince Sihanouk is present at our conference as its initiator. Prince Sihanouk has made consistent efforts to promote the peace and neutrality of Laos. We are convinced that the participation of Prince Sihanouk will certainly play a positive role for our conference.

From the very beginning, Prince Sihanouk's initiative has been welcomed by the Royal Government of Laos headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma, the Neo Lao Haksat and the Laotian people, and won the endorsement and support of China, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and Poland. Although this initiative met with the neglect, suspicion or opposition of certain countries, voices for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question and against the expansion of the war in Laos have prevailed more and more. The series of recommendations for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question put forward jointly by the Soviet Union and Britain as the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference have reflected this desire. Now, a *de facto* cease-fire has been realized in Laos; the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, in pursuance of the directives of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, has begun its work; and our enlarged Geneva Conference is eventually taking place here after breaking through the various obstacles. All these are gratifying.

Seven years ago, the question of restoring peace in Indo-China was discussed in this same building and agreements were reached which laid a good foundation

for ensuring the peace, neutrality and independence of Laos. Many who are present here today will still remember this. The agreements of that conference stipulate that each member of the conference must undertake to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Laos and to refrain from any interference in its internal affairs. The Royal Government of Laos also declared then that it would not conclude any military alliance with other states and would not allow foreign powers to establish military bases on Laotian territory. It was expected that, with such clear international guarantee, the people of Laos, through their own efforts, would be able to effect the smooth growth of a Laos which is peaceful, neutral, independent, unified, democratic and prosperous.

Unfortunately, however, the 1954 Geneva agreements have suffered increasingly serious violations and the Laotian people's efforts to realize their national aspirations have been continuously frustrated.

It is well known that the United States of America participated in the 1954 Geneva Conference, but in the end it refused to take part in the agreements reached at the conference. The U.S. Government issued a unilateral declaration to the effect that it would refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb these agreements; yet even this promise was very soon repudiated. Before the ink on the Geneva agreements had dried, the United States hastily rigged up the so-called Southeast Asia Defence Treaty Organization. As pointed out then by a number of Southeast Asian countries, the majority of the members of this organization are not Southeast Asian countries, nor is its purpose one of defence. This organization, assuming the position of an overlord, openly included the three Indo-Chinese states, among which is Laos, into a so-called area under its protection. Over the past years, the United States has all along used this organization as its tool to interfere in the internal affairs of Laos, violate its neutrality and independence and create tension in the whole of Southeast Asia.

The participating nations of the 1954 Geneva Conference undertook to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of Laos and indicated their wish to see the realization of the desire for national harmony and democratic unity expressed by the delegate of the Royal Government of Laos. However, in the intervening years the U.S. Government has been acting in a diametrically opposite direction. Each time when the people of Laos achieved some progress in their efforts towards this end, the United States invariably carried out obstruction and sabotage by every means. In 1957 when the Royal Government of Laos headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma signed the Vientiane agreements with the Neo Lao Haksat and set up a coalition government, the U.S.

Government openly expressed serious anxiety over the situation in Laos and indicated that it would reconsider its aid to Laos. Subsequently the Vientiane agreements were wrecked and the coalition government of Laos was overthrown. In 1959, when the Phoui Sananikone government declared that Laos was no longer bound by the Geneva agreements, the United States openly voiced its support. Everybody knows that following that many Laotian patriots were oppressed and persecuted, and even Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, was arrested. In 1960, Captain Kong Le, with the support of the Laotian people, staged a patriotic coup d'état, and Prince Souvanna Phouma resumed power and announced that he would pursue a policy of peace, neutrality, national harmony and state unity. The United States, while recognizing the Royal Government of Laos headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma, supported the rebel clique of Laos in starting a civil war. Disregarding the notes delivered respectively on November 22 and December 2, 1960, by the legal government under Prince Souvanna Phouma, the United States gave large quantities of military aid to the rebel clique of Laos. Furthermore, the United States instigated certain SEATO members and the remnant Kuomintang troops who had fled to Laos to take part in the Laotian civil war. The United States has even flagrantly set up a "Military Assistance Advisory Group" to take direct command of the operations of the rebel forces in Laos. Facts of the past seven years have proved that the prolonged instability and present grave situation in Laos have entirely been caused by the United States' violation of the Geneva agreements and its intervention and aggression in Laos.

However, no force can suppress the Laotian people's national aspirations for peace, neutrality and independence. The Royal Government of Laos led by Premier Souvanna Phouma, with the energetic support of the Neo Lao Haksat, has rallied together all the patriotic forces in Laos and led the Laotian people to wage victoriously a just struggle. This struggle has won the resolute support of all the peace-loving countries and people of the world, and as a result, to settle the Laotian question peacefully has become an irresistible trend. Even the United States has now expressed favour for the peace, neutrality and independence of Laos and has sent delegates to take part in the present conference. This is anyhow to be welcomed. It is our hope that the U.S. delegates will seriously work jointly with all the others to seek avenues to a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

The peaceful settlement of the Laotian question has two aspects, internal and international. The internal problems of Laos must be settled, and can only be settled, by the Laotian people themselves. The people of Laos, like all the other independent nations of the world, have the right to choose their path according to their own will. We have noted with pleasure that Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the Royal Government of Laos, and Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, reaffirmed in their joint communique on November 20, 1960, that "Laos must firmly follow the line of peace and neutrality" and "realize the unity of the entire people," and that "a coalition government comprising representatives of all nationalities and all patriotic political parties

including the Neo Lao Haksat" must be established. These propositions reflect the Laotian people's desire for the realization of national harmony and democratic unity, and for the preservation of their national independence. The Chinese Government has consistently supported, and will continue to support, this desire.

The international aspect of the Laotian question is to create the necessary international conditions under which the people of Laos will be really able to realize their aspirations free from outside interference. This requires that, in accordance with the principles of the 1954 Geneva agreements, all the participating nations of this conference reach agreement through full consultations and jointly assume obligations to strictly ensure the independence and neutrality of Laos. In view of the experience over the past seven years and the obtaining circumstances, we hold that the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Laos and of non-interference in its internal affairs, and the stipulations that Laos shall not join any military alliance and that no foreign military bases shall be established in Laos, which were laid down in the 1954 Geneva agreements, should be reaffirmed and strictly and unanimously adhered to. The Laotian people's right to settle their problems themselves should be guaranteed; no foreign power should be permitted to use force or the threat of force against Laos; and no country should be permitted to use aid as a means to violate the neutrality of Laos and interfere in its internal affairs. The military personnel of the United States and of the other countries which are interfering in Laos with U.S. support must be withdrawn; and the remnant Kuomintang troops in Laos must be disarmed and sent out of Laos. If our conference can reach agreement on the questions mentioned above, it will have a good effect not only on ensuring the neutrality and independence of Laos, but also on preserving peace and security throughout Southeast Asia and the whole of Asia.

So far as the peace and security of Southeast Asia as a whole is concerned, the Laotian question is by no means an isolated one. If the factors which are now threatening the peace and security of Southeast Asia are not removed, a settlement of the Laotian question itself cannot be safely ensured. As everybody knows, in Viet Nam too, the United States has sabotaged the 1954 Geneva agreements, it has been obstructing the peaceful unification of Viet Nam and sending large amounts of military equipment and military personnel into the southern part of Viet Nam, and is now even threatening to place southern Viet Nam under its direct military occupation. At the same time, the United States has turned Thailand into its main military base and a source of war in Southeast Asia. The remnant Kuomintang troops equipped with American weapons are being used to endanger the security of Burma and other Southeast Asian countries and to carry out harassing activities against China. The Kingdom of Cambodia, which persists in a policy of peace and neutrality, is constantly subjected to subversive sabotage and military menace by certain member-states of the SEATO military bloc. The aggressive SEATO military bloc has become the principal tool of the United States for encroaching on the sovereignty of different countries, interfering in their internal affairs and incessantly creat-

ing turmoil in Southeast Asia. This bloc is the root cause of tension not only in Laos but also in the whole of Southeast Asia. Only by abolishing this bloc can peace and security in Southeast Asia, including Laos, be preserved and consolidated.

It should further be pointed out that, just as we are here to seek a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question and promote the peace of Southeast Asia, U.S. Vice-President Johnson is carrying out activities in south Viet Nam, Thailand, the Philippines and intensifying arrangements for aggression and war, thus seriously threatening peace in Southeast Asia. The Johnson-Ngo Dinh Diem joint communique is a direct violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements. All this cannot but have a most adverse effect on our conference and so arouse our due vigilance.

The Chinese Government has consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace and made unremitting efforts to safeguard peace in Southeast Asia and the world. In its relations with the Southeast Asian countries, as with countries of other regions, China has firmly upheld the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Together with all the other Asian countries present at this conference, China took part in formulating the famous ten principles of the Bandung Conference. China has concluded treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression or of peace and friendship with Burma, Cambodia and several other countries in Southeast Asia. China has always stood for extending the application of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference to relations among all countries, and for the establishment and expansion, first of all, of a peace area in the southeastern part and the whole of Asia to replace the aggressive military blocs. The Chinese Government firmly supports the struggle of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people to uphold the Geneva agreements and to achieve the peaceful unification of their motherland. The Chinese Government has

consistently supported Southeast Asian countries in their just cause of practising a policy of peace and neutrality, safeguarding national independence and opposing interference and aggression from outside.

On the Laotian question, China, as a participant in the 1954 Geneva Conference, has always been faithful to the agreements of the conference and striven to uphold them. Although foreign intervention and aggression in Laos have already posed a direct threat to the security of China and cannot but arouse our grave concern, we have still been seeking patiently to settle the Laotian question by peaceful means. The present enlarged Geneva Conference provides another opportunity for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. We earnestly hope that the events which took place after the last Geneva Conference due to violations of the agreements and which led to serious consequences in Laos will not recur. The Delegation of the Chinese Government is ready to work jointly with the delegations of all the other countries participating in this conference to make contributions to the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates! The Laotian people are peace-loving and have never threatened anybody. Intervention and aggression from outside have brought them grave national calamities. All people who uphold justice have a profound sympathy for them. Now the Laotian people have already achieved certain successes in their efforts to rid themselves of such calamities. We ought to support them in their continued efforts until their national aspirations have been fully realized. The peoples of Laos, of Asia and of the whole world are following with close attention the progress of our conference. Our responsibilities are very great. We must not disappoint the hopes of the people of the world. Provided all the countries participating in this conference have the sincerity to truly settle the question, there is no reason why our conference cannot achieve positive results.

I wish the conference success.

## The Enlarged Geneva Conference Opens

# Initial Victory in the First Round

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**T**HE enlarged Geneva Conference for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question which has attracted the attention of the whole world opened in the Palais des Nations on May 16. Prince Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, delivered the opening speech at the conference.

The conference was scheduled to start on May 12. Its failure to open on time is due to U.S. obstruction. A

very sharp and complex struggle was waged to get it to meet without further delay. This was the first round of the struggle between the socialist countries and the other peace-loving countries on the one hand and the United States on the other regarding the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. The result is an initial victory for the peaceful aspirations of the socialist countries and the

other peace-loving countries; the U.S. policy of obstruction and sabotage has suffered a big defeat.

### Sincere Efforts

The peaceful settlement of the Laotian question is the universal desire of peace-loving people all the world over. This is a desire whose realization cannot by any means be stopped. The socialist countries and the other peace-loving countries have made persistent efforts to get this conference held. The firm stand taken and the sincerity shown by the socialist countries in seeking a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question is well known. In order to make a joint effort to settle the Laotian question at the Geneva Conference, Premier Chou En-lai wrote on May 6 to Prince Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, expressing the earnest hope that he would reconsider his decision not to take part in the Geneva Conference. It is gratifying that Prince Sihanouk, who proposed the convening of this conference, is finally taking part in its work. Foreign Minister Chen Yi, Plenipotentiary Delegate of the Chinese Government to the conference, in his speech delivered at the Geneva airport upon the arrival of the Chinese Government Delegation on May 11, once again expressed China's positive attitude towards this conference. He said: "The Chinese Government Delegation will, in pursuance of our country's consistent foreign policy of peace and following the principles and spirit of the 1954 Geneva agreements, work jointly with the delegations of the other countries for reaching an agreement on strictly ensuring the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Laos and non-interference in its internal affairs."

For days before the convening of the conference, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, one of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, contacted various quarters repeatedly. He firmly opposed various United States schemes to obstruct the holding of the conference and again and again made concerted efforts with British Foreign Secretary Home and others to ensure that it would meet. Reiterating their desire for peace, the delegations of China, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the legal Phouma government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat solemnly condemned the unreasonable attitude of the United States. Their condemnation completely exposed U.S. obstructions to the scheduled convening of the conference. Unable to hold its ground under the mounting pressure of world public opinion, the United States finally backed down and agreed to the conference opening on the afternoon of May 16.

### The Cease-Fire Question

The first pretext used by the United States to obstruct the convening of the conference as scheduled was that the cease-fire in Laos had not been verified. This pretext could not hold water. As the statement made at a press conference held in Geneva by Wu Leng-hsi, spokesman of the Chinese Government Delegation, said: "As is well known, the letter of invitation issued on April 24 by the Soviet Union and Britain, the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, only provided for the convening of the conference on May 12 but did not at all lay down the verification of cease-fire as a pre-condition for the convening of the conference. The U.S. attitude can only

be deemed a distortion of the letter of invitation of the Co-Chairmen. Moreover, through the initiative of the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat, *de facto* cease-fire was realized already in Laos on May 3. It is utterly unjustifiable for the United States to have insisted on the verification of the cease-fire as a condition for its participation in the conference."

Let us go back to developments in Laos. Starting from May 3, a *de facto* cease-fire has already existed. At the instigation of its U.S. masters, however, the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique has on many occasions violated the cease-fire order. Time and again they have tried to block agreement, using as pretexts such questions as the time, locale and content of the talks. What they are after is clear: they are counting on the American weapons which are being rushed to Laos in large quantities following the establishment of the U.S. "Military Assistance Advisory Group"; they are using the cease-fire negotiations to carry out provocations against the patriotic Laotian army and people and to seize advantageous positions. This is why, on the one hand, they obstruct agreements by the sides concerned on the cease-fire and political question, while on the other hand, using the pretext that the cease-fire has not been verified, to hold up the scheduled convening of the Geneva Conference. All their trouble-making is prompted by these ulterior motives. This is the essence of the tricks the United States has played on the question of the cease-fire.

On May 11, in a report to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos verified the fact that, starting from May 3, there had been a cease-fire throughout Laos. With this pretext dismissed, it was to be expected that the United States would sit down at the conference table without more ado. But, no, it created new difficulties to block the conference.

### The Question of Representation

The question of Laotian representation was used by the United States as another pretext to obstruct the smooth convening of the conference. The U.S. Delegation at first demanded that the conference convene only after the arrival of the delegates of the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique. Meanwhile the latter delayed their departure for the conference. The United States was also particularly insistent in opposing participation in the conference by the delegates of the Neo Lao Haksat which represents an important political force in Laos. The United States thus placed obstacle after obstacle in the way of the conference. As soon as one went down, it created another.

Regarding the question of Laotian representation, the smug plan of the United States is to pass off the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique as the legal government of Laos; deprive the Neo Lao Haksat of its lawful right to take part in the settlement of the Laotian question, thus eliminating it from the political scene in Laos, and sow discord between the Neo Lao Haksat and the legal government of Phouma and undermine their unity and cooperation.

After all, who can represent Laos? The Phoumi-Boun Oum clique, as everyone knows, is a small group of rebels



which used military force to make trouble under U.S. direction and with U.S. support after Prince Phouma was appointed by the King of Laos to form a legal government last August, which received the approval of the National Assembly. This rebel clique enjoys no legal status whatsoever in Laos; its existence precisely serves as evidence proving the U.S. crime of violating the Geneva agreements and intervening in the internal affairs of Laos. They can represent nobody except themselves—a small gang of rebels. It is precisely because they have betrayed Laos' national interests and stand that they cannot get the people's support and find themselves in an extremely isolated and steadily deteriorating position. The government headed by Souvanna Phouma is the sole legal Government of the Kingdom of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat is an important patriotic force in Laos; only they have the right to represent the Kingdom of Laos and the Laotian people.

The United States also knows that it would be very difficult to exclude the representatives of the legal government headed by Phouma from the conference. So it concentrated on trying to prevent the Neo Lao Haksat from being represented at the conference. However, this important force, the Neo Lao Haksat, cannot be brushed aside by the United States. Wu Leng-hsi, spokesman of the Chinese Government Delegation, said in a statement: "The Neo Lao Haksat rallies round itself broad patriotic forces in Laos. The history of Laos in the past years was, in substance, a history of the United States' refusing to recognize and attempting with all its might to exterminate the Neo Lao Haksat representing a patriotic force in Laos, and the other Laotian patriotic forces which co-operate with the Neo Lao Haksat. The United States has not hesitated to employ all sorts of measures, up to instigating the rebel clique to launch a civil war, in an attempt to exterminate the patriotic forces of Laos. However, no matter how much the United States exerted itself, it never succeeded. The Neo Lao Haksat has gained in strength and prestige more and more in its heroic struggle to oppose foreign intervention and uphold the independence and freedom of Laos. At present, the armed forces of the Neo Lao Haksat, together with the army of the legal Laotian Government, are in control of more than two-thirds of Laotian territory. Since the United States has not been able to destroy the Laotian patriotic forces in the battlefield, how can it brush aside this force at the table of negotiations? This will never succeed. Such a position maintained by the United States can only aggravate the tension in Laos and further aggravate the menace to peace in Southeast Asia and Asia as a whole."

The Neo Lao Haksat has its due place in the political life of Laos. On his way to Geneva, Prince Sihanouk said in New Delhi on May 14 that it is impossible to settle the Laotian question without giving recognition to the Pathet Lao fighting units. A study of Laotian history since World War II makes it clearer than ever that the Laotian question cannot be settled without the participation of the Laotian patriotic and democratic forces led by Prince Souphanouvong. The 1954 Geneva agreements laid down the legal status of the armed forces of the Pathet Lao fighting units in the political life of Laos. Unity and cooperation between the legal government headed by Phouma and the Neo Lao Haksat have become ever closer

in their struggle against U.S. imperialist intervention. Any attempt by the U.S. imperialists to sow discord and dissension between them will only end in failure.

### **The U.S. in a Fix**

In this pre-conference struggle the United States stood in the dock for putting unjustified obstacles in the way of the conference. With regard to the United States' shameless plot to obstruct the convening of the conference, the spokesman of the Chinese Government Delegation asked "whether the U.S. Delegation has come to Geneva to take part in the conference or to sabotage its holding." Faced by the Chinese Government Delegation spokesman's telling exposure, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk hurried out with his explanations. But what useful purpose can sophistry serve if the United States does not change its unreasonable stand?

U.S. trouble-making did not even have the sympathy of its Western allies. A Reuter dispatch of May 14 from Geneva says: "Observers saw a note of dissatisfaction with the Americans behind the views being expressed in British Delegation circles tonight." The same news agency reported again on May 15 that when French Foreign Minister de Murville met Rusk in the evening of May 14, he took "a tough line" towards the U.S. Secretary of State. It is reported that the French Foreign Minister told Rusk that the Western powers would look ridiculous in the eyes of the world if for some pretext they refused to attend the conference which had been called.

It is obvious that the United States has landed itself in a state of isolation from which it cannot extricate itself because it has done evil and incurred public enmity.

The U.S. Delegation issued a statement on May 15 which, besides calling the legal Phouma government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat "Laotian" in an ambiguous way, could not but admit that the "general feeling" of all delegations, except that of the United States, is that the delegations of the Phouma government and the Neo Lao Haksat should take part in the conference. This actually amounted to admitting that the U.S. stand had got no support at all.

It is by no means accidental that the United States should have landed itself in such a fix. In the words of the American commentator Walter Lippmann, the United States "gambled and lost" by brazenly intervening in Laos in total disregard of the provisions of the Geneva agreements. The United States indicated that it was willing to reach "a settlement . . . at the conference table" because it had no other choice. But at the same time it is afraid of negotiations. This is why Rusk could not but suffer such a "difficult moment" in Geneva, as a U.S. news agency puts it.

The United States has finally sat down at the conference table, but whether it has the sincerity to facilitate a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question remains to be seen. As the statement issued by the U.S. Delegation on May 15 indicated, the attitude of the United States towards the future development of the conference will be one of reservation. Does this mean that it will place new obstacles in the way of the conference? One must be vigilant about this possibility.

# Resolute Support for Cuba

**C**HAIRMAN Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai on May 9 jointly sent a letter to President Dorticos and Premier Castro of the Republic of Cuba, expressing the resolute support of the Chinese Government and people for the Government and people of Cuba in their struggle against the new attack on Cuba now being planned by U.S. imperialism. The letter was in reply to a special statement distributed to foreign diplomatic envoys in Cuba by the Cuban Revolutionary Government on April 27. The letter reads in full as follows:

**His Excellency President Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado,**

**His Excellency Prime Minister Fidel Castro Ruz,**

**Republic of Cuba.**

**Your Excellencies:**

We have received your special message of April 27 concerning the direct armed aggression by the United States of America against Cuba. The Chinese Government and the Chinese people hold that your warning against the new adventure being intensely prepared by the U.S. ruling circles should command the serious attention of all peace-loving nations and people of the world.

The heroic Cuban people, under the strong leadership of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba and Your Excellencies, won a brilliant victory in the battle to repulse the armed invasion by U.S. mercenaries. This has not only dealt a severe blow to the U.S. scheme of aggression and successfully defended the Cuban revolution, but also greatly inspired the fighting will of the peoples of Latin America and the world in opposing imperialism, safeguarding their national independence and striving for world peace. The crime of flagrant aggression committed by the United States against Cuba has torn up the peace mask of the Kennedy Administration, and helped the peoples of Latin America and the world to see more

clearly the even more vicious and sinister features of the Kennedy Administration. However, as you pointed out in the special message, U.S. imperialism will by no means reconcile itself to its defeat in Cuba. Undoubtedly, it will plot, and is actually plotting without disguise, a new attack on Cuba in a futile attempt to plunge the Cuban people back into its enslavement. We fully support your solemn and just call that all peace-loving nations and people of the world should deem it a duty to carry out a resolute struggle to stop U.S. imperialism's playing with fire which is threatening world peace.

The Chinese Government and the Chinese people resolutely support the solemn and just stand taken by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba and the Cuban people on safeguarding their national independence and state sovereignty and all the measures adopted by them for this purpose. We wish to reaffirm to Your Excellencies, Respected President and Prime Minister, that the 650 million Chinese people will stand close by the Cuban people and carry on the struggle against our common enemy to the end. Although difficulties and detours are still lying ahead of the Cuban people in their forward march, we are confident that no force on earth can destroy the revolutionary cause of the Cuban people. Any new adventure of U.S. imperialism will end in utter defeat.

Please accept, Your Excellencies, the assurance of our highest consideration.

**LIU SHAO-CHI,**

*Chairman of the People's Republic  
of China*

**CHOU EN-LAI,**

*Premier of the State Council  
of the People's Republic  
of China*

Peking, May 9, 1961

## The Great Significance of Cuba's Victory

by **YU CHAO-LI**

*Following is a translation of an article published in the No. 9-10 issue of "Hongqi," fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, under the title "The Great Significance of the Victory of the Cuban People's Patriotic Struggle Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression." Subheads and bold-face emphasis are ours.—Ed.*

**T**HE Cuban people have smashed the U.S. armed aggression launched with its mercenaries. This victory is of extremely great significance and has a far-

reaching impact on all Latin America and the world over.

### I

The armed aggression by U.S. imperialism against Cuba has devastatingly exposed the nature of the Kennedy Administration as one which pursues a policy of aggression. Kennedy has lost at one throw all the political

capital he has accumulated since the presidential election campaign by his cant about peace.

### Kennedy Administration's Counter-Revolutionary "Two-Tactics"

The Kennedy Administration has assumed power at a time when U.S. imperialism's international position is going from bad to worse and its economy at home is beset with difficulties. To get out of this fix in which U.S. imperialism has landed itself, the Kennedy Administration, since coming to power, has been bragging especially about its so-called "fresh approach to world relations." The ruling circles in the United States take pains to claim that the Kennedy Administration has changed the old policies of aggression and war carried out by the U.S. Government, alleging that the policy of the Kennedy Administration is one of quest for peace. In fact, Kennedy's so-called "fresh approach to world relations" is intended to make more cunning use of the counter-revolutionary "two-tactics," that is, holding an olive branch in one talon and a bundle of arrows in the other, as he himself puts it.

Kennedy and his close associates hold that any means can be used so long as it helps to attain the aim of aggression. In a research report on U.S. foreign policy compiled under his guidance before he took office, the present U.S. Secretary of State Rusk said: "There are many things and many methods; but there are central aims and more or less co-ordinated methods. Military, political, economic and psychological means are employed alternately or in combination as the situation indicates." These tactics of holding "an olive branch in one talon and a bundle of arrows in the other" mean that they use peaceful means when they consider peace to be to their advantage and they use the means of war when they consider war to be to their advantage.

The Kennedy Administration has made all kinds of statements about peace while simultaneously adopting unprecedented measures for arms expansion and war preparations. Kennedy minced no words in saying that U.S. imperialism needs to gain time in order to "close the missile gap" and change as soon as possible its military inferiority. He clamoured that U.S. military spending must be based on the so-called "security needs of the nation," not the pre-determined confines of a budget. He holds that in order to set up "new missile systems," the United States "should be prepared to pay whatever this costs." The U.S. monopoly capitalist class has a very high opinion of Kennedy's "combined use" of peace and war preparations. In their view, this is the only realistic and profitable method for U.S. imperialism.

The counter-revolutionary "two-tactics" employed by Kennedy are particularly markedly employed in the struggle for "leadership" in the intermediate zones. Since assuming office, Kennedy has mobilized a whole battery of propaganda machines to publicize U.S. "sympathy" for the national independence movement and has advocated extension of economic "aid" to the under-developed countries in the intermediate zones. At the same time, the United States has been actively using the United Nations and other international organizations

under U.S. control to intervene in the internal affairs of the Asian, African and Latin American countries; it has actively fostered its agents in many of the countries which are subjected to U.S. aggression. The U.S. monopoly capitalist class and its mouthpieces have shown a great interest in the "problem of war" in the intermediate zones. A particular stress is put on local wars including so-called "brush-fire wars," "limited wars" and "sub-limited wars," "guerrilla warfare and anti-guerrilla warfare." They consider these wars indispensable for the suppression of the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and for the seizure and control of these vast regions.

The recent armed aggression launched by U.S. imperialism against Cuba is the result of these policies of aggression and war pursued by the Kennedy Administration.

### Naked Aggression Against Cuba

As soon as he took office, Kennedy slandered Cuba as being "under the rule of foreign and domestic tyranny" and "pledged" to "eliminate" such a "tyranny." He proposed the formation of an "alliance for progress" in an attempt to muster the other Latin American countries to cope with the Cuban revolution. While adopting further political and economic measures for intervention against Cuba and plotting subversive activities inside that country, the Kennedy Administration has put special emphasis on military preparations for the invasion of Cuba. It has greatly stepped up the training of the counter-revolutionary brigands and mercenaries it has gathered in Miami, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras, and directed the Cuban counter-revolutionary exiles to set up a so-called "Revolutionary Council" in preparation for the establishment of a counter-revolutionary regime after the landing in Cuba.

Early in April, the Kennedy Administration was confident that the time was ripe for the "elimination" of revolutionary Cuba by armed force. So the White Paper entitled *Cuba* was published. This is a counter-revolutionary programme showing how the United States plans to eliminate revolutionary Cuba. The White Paper openly called on the Cuban counter-revolutionaries to overthrow the Cuban revolutionary state power and indicated that the United States would give "all-round active support" to the counter-revolutionary regime to be set up by the Cuban counter-revolutionaries. On April 11, in his television speech, Kennedy openly clamoured that the Cuban revolutionary regime might become "a greater danger" than it is today, unless the United States "moved now." Following on this, the U.S. mercenaries invaded Cuba.

**Facts irrefutably demonstrate that the Kennedy Administration was the organizer, plotter and director of the recent armed aggression against Cuba.** Kennedy made every effort to hide his own bellicose, ferocious features and cover his bloodstained hands with white gloves. He claimed that "the basic issue in Cuba is not one between the United States and Cuba; it is between the Cubans themselves" and that this crime of U.S. aggression against Cuba had nothing to do with the United



Cuba on Guard!

Woodcut by Chao Chih-fang

States. He thought that this would serve to pull the wool over the eyes of the people of the world. But the salvos of the guns in the Caribbean were more eloquent than any cunning words. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, U.S. imperialism, in hastily launching this attack against Cuba, has once again revealed its true face before the whole world, and this proves that the Kennedy Administration can only be even worse, and not better, than the Eisenhower Administration.

### Universal Condemnation of U.S. Imperialism

The broad masses of people in the various countries of the world have unanimously condemned U.S. imperialism for its recent crime of aggression. Angry waves of protest demonstrations against this U.S. crime of aggression have raged throughout the socialist camp. The Latin American peoples have held vehement demonstrations of an unprecedentedly broad scope against U.S. imperialism and in support of their Cuban brothers. The peoples and public opinion of the Asian and African countries have also strongly condemned U.S. armed aggression against Cuba. A commentary of Radio Guinea said: "The people had thought that the Kennedy Administration would seek a peaceful means of normalizing relations between Cuba and the U.S.A. and that it would

not go to the length of launching this utterly vile attack." But, it continued, "the undeniable fact is that the U.S.A. has openly launched aggression against Cuba," and the Kennedy Administration has played a "very big and very disgraceful part" in this aggression against Cuba. *Depeche du Cambodge* refuted the Kennedy lies that this event was only "an issue between the Cubans themselves." The paper said: "It is true that the insurgents are Cubans, their arms and their money are not. It is U.S. dollars which have armed the hands of these insurgents; it is U.S. dollars which have permitted the recruitment of these mercenaries and bought the planes which are sowing death and destruction in Cuba."

U.S. armed aggression against Cuba is so clear a fact that even a great number of bourgeois newspapers and journals in West European countries, allies of the United States, have made some "unusual" comments. They hold that the Kennedy Administration cannot shift its responsibility for this criminal act and ridicule the United States for its "folly" and "losing face." The *Daily Mail*, a British Conservative paper, wrote: "Make no mistake about it — the U.S. contribution and commitment to the operation is immense." The paper said that the counter-revolutionaries had American-made uniforms and American-made weapons. It added that the uniforms came from the factories that clothed the U.S. soldiers and the weapons were so new in design that even the American soldiers had not yet seen some of them. The extent of the recruiting, financing, arming and training of the mercenaries on the soil of the United States had been an open fact for months, the paper said. The British Labour journal *New Statesman* said that despite the efforts of the United States to "exculpate" itself "from responsibility," "there is no doubt that international opinion holds the Kennedy Administration to be morally and legally guilty of a barefaced attempt to overthrow a neighbouring government by force." The French paper *Le Monde*, ridiculing Kennedy, said that "within a few hours President Kennedy compromised the capital of sympathy which had accrued to him from his promising start at the White House."

### U.S. Ruling Class Confounded

The failure of the U.S. mercenaries caused chaos among the U.S. ruling class. Many officials and bourgeois papers and journals consider that the Kennedy Administration has made a serious mistake. To calm the tumult, Kennedy was compelled to admit that he was alone responsible for the recent events. Thus, this president who had been in office for less than 100 days found himself in a more isolated and difficult position than any other new president had ever been.

The Kennedy clique originally calculated that under cover of its naval and air forces, an invasion of Cuba by a gang of mercenaries under its command could defeat the Cuban people. It believed that once the mercenaries made their landing, counter-revolutionary riots would take place in Cuba, the Cuban revolutionary state power would fall or at least a counter-revolutionary regime could come into existence in opposition to the revolutionary state power, thereby providing favourable conditions for the United States to go on expanding its armed intervention.

But all these wishful calculations of U.S. imperialism proved to be day-dreams. *The New York Times* pointed out: "In calculating what went wrong, one must consider that three major elements were involved—the Castro regime, the Cuban exiles and the United States. Of these, it ought surely to be obvious now that the most misunderstood was the internal Cuban situation." The United States, the paper admitted, has always underestimated the resolute support given to the Cuban revolutionary state power by "the masses, especially the peasants."

### Washington Not Reconciled to Defeat

Can U.S. imperialism draw lessons from this failure? **Imperialism and all reactionaries always overestimate their own strength and underestimate that of the people. They can never learn from their failures and give up their anti-popular policies. The Kennedy Administration is at this moment still engaged in intensifying its activities, and plots new aggression and military adventures against Cuba.** The revolutionary Cuban people, however, are invincible. In their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression, they have been steeled and have advanced from strength to strength. Their just and patriotic struggle enjoys the support of the Latin American peoples and all the other peoples throughout the world. No matter what aggressive measures U.S. imperialism may adopt, it can never prevent the advance of the Cuban revolution.

## II

**This swift victory gained by the Cuban people is, as far as Cuba itself is concerned, the outcome of the continued consolidation and deep-going development of the Cuban revolution.**

### Deepening of Cuban Revolution

Since the victory of their revolution, under the correct leadership of the Revolutionary Government headed by Prime Minister Fidel Castro, the Cuban people have waged unremitting, blow-for-blow struggles against U.S. imperialist intervention and sabotage, and resolutely suppressed the sabotage activities of the counter-revolutionary forces at home. At the same time, they have carried out a series of social and economic reforms. Cuba has carried out land reform, abolished the *latifundia* system, confiscated all the land usurped by U.S. monopoly capital, distributed land to the broad masses of impoverished landless and land-poor peasants and on this basis established people's farms and agricultural co-operatives. The Cuban people have confiscated all enterprises owned by U.S. monopoly capital in Cuba, big Cuban private enterprises and all the private banks and transformed them into state enterprises. They have also begun planned economic development. Fidel Castro pointed out on May 1 this year that a new leaf has been turned in the history of the Cuban people. The Cuban revolution, he said, is a socialist revolution. "The abolition of exploitation of man by man" is "the programme and the idea of the socialist revolution" pursued by the Cuban Revolutionary Government.

The steady consolidation and deep-going development of the Cuban revolution have steadily raised the level of political consciousness of the Cuban people. During the struggles against a series of U.S. imperialist intervention, threats and armed aggression, the Cuban people's patriotic united front against U.S. imperialism has grown steadily stronger. The Cuban people have flocked to join the militia to defend the fruits of their revolution. This powerful militia and the long-tested armed forces of the Cuban uprising constitute strong forces for resisting foreign aggressors and suppressing counter-revolutionary rebellion at home.

**To win national independence, democracy and thorough economic emancipation, the Cuban people have every right to do anything they like on their own territory in accordance with their interests and wishes and to choose the social system they need; there is no justification whatsoever for anyone to deprive them of this right.** The Cuban people overthrew the dictatorial rule of Batista, liberated themselves from enslavement by U.S. imperialism and the big Cuban estate-owners and steadily pushed forward the revolution after they had gained their national independence and democratic rights. They did all this in order to lead the sort of life they desire. They will not threaten others, nor will they tolerate others forcing them to do this or not to do that. U.S. imperialism has adopted an extremely hostile attitude towards the revolutionary activities of the Cuban people; it openly tries to use armed intervention to "eliminate" the legal rights enjoyed by the Cuban people and thereby place the Cuban people once again under its yoke of slavery. This, of course, is intolerable to the Cuban people. Prime Minister Castro said rightly: "If Mr. Kennedy does not like socialism, what can we do about it! We don't like imperialism and capitalism. If he thinks he has the right to protest against the existence of the socialist system 90 miles from the coasts of the U.S.A., then we have the same right to protest against the existence of a capitalist regime 90 miles from our coasts. We of course will not raise such protests inasmuch as only the people of the United States of America have the right to decide this question." "It is absurd for Kennedy to try to teach the Cuban people what social and economic system there should be."

### "Security" — Pretext for U.S. Aggression

Kennedy has repeatedly raised a hullabaloo about the Cuban revolution affecting "the security of the U.S." and constituting "a disaster that threatens the security of the whole Western Hemisphere." This is sheer shameless slander. Kennedy tries to deceive the people of the world by this imperialist logic, attempting to make people believe that the No. 1 imperialist country in the world is actually not an imperialist state but just a sufferer threatened by others. By such deception, the U.S. imperialists hope to be free to carry out aggression against Cuba. But this is a vain hope. **No one believes that a small country with a population of over 6 million and a territory of more than 100,000 square kilometres can "affect" the security of a vicious imperialist power with a population of more than 170 million and a territory of over 9 million square kilometres, let alone "threaten" the entire Western Hemisphere.** Fair-minded people throughout the world will agree with Prime Minister Castro who has said: "It is

false to say that Cuba's socialism endangers U.S. security. The Cuban revolution does not threaten the life of any American family. It is the aggressive Kennedy government which is aggressive by nature and which plays with atomic war that has jeopardized the national security of the United States and threatened the life of its millions of families. This government follows the policy of encroaching on the rights of the peoples, and this may lead to a world war."

The Associated Press admitted in a dispatch as early as last December that because the United States exploits Latin America and hinders its development, the broad masses of the Latin American people are deeply outraged by U.S. activities in Latin America. "Anti-Yankeeism is the rallying cry," it said. The U.S. journal *Nation* wrote last November: "Latin American ill-feeling toward the United States has been building up steadily... Each hour that our punitive blows hit Cuba, we lose support from the people of Latin America. . . ." These words show that even U.S. bourgeois public opinion has begun to see that, in carrying on aggression and intervention against Cuba, U.S. imperialism will inevitably be lifting a rock to crush its own toes. Even so, the very nature of U.S. imperialism determines that it never ceases aggression and so it has once again met with disastrous defeat.

### Latin American Peoples Firmly Back Cuba

The constant consolidation and deep-going development of the Cuban revolution reflects not only the aspirations of the more than 6 million Cuban people for complete liberation, but also the strong desire for liberation cherished by the Latin American peoples for more than a century. **The Latin American peoples regard the Cuban revolution as their own cause, and the victory of the Cuban people's struggle as the hope of their own liberation. They have a feeling of close mutual interdependence with the Cuban people and share their weal and woe.** The peoples of the other Latin American countries are still suffering from U.S. oppression and plunder; they are struggling to free themselves from enslavement. The Cuban people have for the first time in Latin America realized a genuine national liberation, making a breach in U.S. imperialist rule there. The Cuban people stand at the forefront in the Latin American peoples' struggle against U.S. imperialism, resisting and pinning down the common enemy of the Latin American peoples. The victory of the Cuban revolution shatters the fatalist view that nations situated close by the United States cannot achieve complete national liberation; it greatly facilitates the struggle of the people of other Latin American countries against U.S. imperialism, and strengthens their confidence in winning victory in their struggle. The United States wants to strangle the Cuban revolution and eradicate its influence in Latin America. This is an entirely vain and futile hope. On the contrary, this only arouses still greater indignation and resistance on the part of the Latin American peoples against U.S. imperialism. The fact that the latest U.S. armed aggression against Cuba once again stirred up a great wave of anti-U.S. demonstrations throughout Latin America and that people of some of these countries organized volunteers ready to fight in defence of Cuba, is convincing proof of this.

The struggle of the Cuban people against the U.S. aggressor constitutes an important part of the struggle of the world's peoples against imperialism. The great victory achieved by the Cuban people and the deep-going development of the Cuban revolution also constitute a victory for the world's peoples in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and to safeguard peace.

### Brilliant Example of Resistance to U.S. Aggression

Although Cuba lies in close proximity to the United States, the Cuban people dare to carry through their revolution, to win and consolidate victory, and in a fearless spirit, wage a blow-for-blow struggle against the biggest imperialism in the world. At the same time, they maintain a high degree of vigilance against U.S. imperialism's aggressive schemes and subversive activities, and have carried out adequate mobilization and organizational work and armed themselves in all earnestness. For these reasons, they have been able to give a brilliant example of how to fight against U.S. imperialist aggression, by relying on their own strength in dealing with the enemy under the condition of actively enlisting international support.

The fact that the Cuban people won victory in so short a time shows their great strength in struggle, the great strength of the unity of the Latin American peoples and the great strength of the world's peoples in support of the Cuban people; at the same time it points up the seeming strength and actual weakness of U.S. imperialism. The great victory of the Cuban people in repulsing U.S. aggression once more proves the following truth: the people are the decisive factor and by relying on the unity and struggle of the people, the imperialists and their running dogs can assuredly be defeated. Although the imperialists and all reactionaries are showing their vicious teeth and look powerful, they are in essence paper tigers. By strategically taking the enemy lightly while tactically taking him seriously, and by using correct methods in waging blow-for-blow struggles against him, the revolutionary people can win victory and consolidate it step by step. This is true of the Cuban people's revolutionary struggle. It also holds good for the revolutionary struggles of all peoples of the world.

### III

**This instance of U.S. armed aggression against Cuba once again demonstrates to the world that to safeguard world peace, it is necessary to wage serious, complex and protracted struggles.**

The socialist countries are constantly developing and enhancing their might and steadfastly pursuing a foreign policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems; the peoples of all countries are waging extensive mass struggles against the imperialists and their lackeys, and strengthening and expanding the movement to defend peace on a worldwide scale—all this is of great significance to the safeguarding of world peace. The Statement of the 1960 Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties points out

that "world war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces." Because the world balance of forces is turning more and more in favour of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, the prospects for safeguarding world peace are becoming ever brighter and it is becoming increasingly difficult for the imperialists to unleash a world war.

The bloody crime perpetrated by U.S. imperialism in launching armed aggression against Cuba cannot but arouse the keen vigilance of all peace-loving peoples of the world: **the danger of war is not yet over though it is becoming more and more difficult for the imperialists to start a world war. Local wars are an important weapon of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, for carrying out their policy of aggression.** They have been constantly looking and will continue to look for what they consider to be an opportune moment and advantageous place for unleashing aggressive local wars.

To safeguard peace, if and when the imperialists launch an aggressive local war, the people of the country subjected to aggression should take up arms unhesitatingly, wage a just war against aggression, defeat the imperialist aggressor, defend the independence of their country and safeguard world peace. The victory of the heroic Cuban people's patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism provides a brilliant example of this. It made a great contribution to the cause of world peace.

### Historical Experience

Historical experience shows that when imperialism imposes a local war on the people of a certain country, world peace can be effectively safeguarded only if the people of the country subjected to aggression unite, and if all forces safeguarding peace in the world close their ranks and wage unremitting, blow-for-blow struggles against imperialism and stamp out the flames of the local war started by imperialism. If the imperialists are allowed to start a local war and achieve their aim in such a war, the result would be the weakening of the strength of the world's peoples defending peace and the strengthening of the imperialist forces of aggression and war, facilitating their starting a world war.

Therefore, **Communists and all fighters for peace not only firmly oppose the launching of a new world war by imperialism, but also firmly support all revolutionary wars waged by the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples so as to bring about their victory, and firmly oppose and check every counter-revolutionary local war unleashed by imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries so as to bring about its defeat. This is the sacred internationalist duty of the people throughout the world in their common struggle to defend peace.**

The peoples of all lands still clearly remember the history of World War II. During the 1930s, German, Japanese and Italian imperialism first of all launched local wars and carried out territorial annexation by armed force in China, Abyssinia, Spain, Austria and Czechoslovakia. It was in this way that these imperialist countries accu-

mulated and augmented their strength, step by step extended the scope of their aggression and so succeeded in launching World War II without much difficulty.

Following World War II, imperialism headed by the United States, in order to maintain its colonialist rule, successively launched aggressive wars or instigated its lackeys to start counter-revolutionary civil wars in many places. As the balance of forces in the world struggle has already undergone a basic change, imperialism, headed by the United States, is no longer able to have its way in these local wars as German, Japanese and Italian imperialism did before. In the series of local wars fought during the postwar years, imperialism and its lackeys have met with resolute resistance from the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples, and in most instances, these wars ended with the defeat of imperialism and its lackeys. The more notable examples of this were the Korean war from 1950 to 1953, the war in Indo-China from 1946 to 1954, the Anglo-French-Israeli war against Egypt in 1956 and the recent U.S. armed aggression against Cuba. War is still going on in a number of places. **Facts have shown that the revolutionary wars waged by the peoples of various countries in self-defence and against the counter-revolutionary local wars launched by imperialism, are tremendous contributions to the cause of the defence of world peace; they have been playing an extremely important role in preventing imperialism headed by the United States from launching a new world war.**

"Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again. . . till their doom" — this is the logic invariably followed by imperialism and all reactionaries till their death. Imperialism headed by the United States will never abandon its policy of war. Cuba is facing the threat of fresh armed aggression by the United States. The struggle to oppose imperialist aggression and defend world peace remains a serious and arduous task.

### Cuba Is Sure to Win

The Cuban people, rallying around their Revolutionary Government headed by Prime Minister Castro, are determined to defend their sacred fatherland and safeguard their righteous revolutionary cause; they are prepared to carry forward indomitably a long-term and arduous struggle against U.S. aggression. Prime Minister Castro has firmly stated: "We prefer to die gloriously in the defence of our fatherland than to live enslaved by the imperialists." The peoples of Latin America and all the countries of the world are concerned about and pay close attention to the Cuban people's valiant struggle. The Cuban people, with the support of the peoples of Latin America and all the countries of the world and relying on their own close unity and unflinching struggle, will assuredly continue to win fresh victories in their struggle against U.S. aggression and make even more brilliant contributions to the defence of world peace. Similarly, no matter how frenziedly imperialism and the reactionaries may engage in disruptive activities, no matter what difficulties the world's peoples may encounter in their advance, ever greater victories will be won in the great cause of opposing imperialist aggression and defending world peace by relying on the close unity and unremitting struggles of the world's peoples.

# Better Goods, Bigger Choice

by CHU CHI-LIN

**A**N important task of China's industry today is to strive for better quality and a wider range of products. The record of Shanghai's light industry sheds light on how this task is being fulfilled.

Shanghai is one of China's light industrial bases with a history of a full century of growth. But before liberation its consumer goods industry was technically backward and semi-colonial in character. It produced few products of its own design. It relied on imported equipment and raw materials to keep itself in operation.

In the ten years after liberation, Shanghai's light industry, retooled and supplied from domestic raw material sources, registered a nearly seven-fold increase in output value. Today, producing 3,000 types of light industrial products (not including textiles) with a total range of over 20,000 different designs, Shanghai leads the country in quality and variety of consumer goods.

Shanghai-made goods are sold far and wide both at home and abroad. For many a buyer with discerning taste, "Made in Shanghai" is almost a synonym for "superior quality." Its smooth writing "Shanghai" or "Hero" fountain pens; all-wave, high fidelity, high sensitivity and high selectivity four-speaker radio receiver sets; "Forever" cycles and "Invincible" sewing machines . . . have all won praise for their excellent performance, styling and workmanship. It came as no surprise that seasoned players who took part in the recent 26th World Table Tennis Championships in Peking were well satisfied with the "Double Happiness" table tennis balls and other equipment made by Shanghai's workers for the championships.

Since the big leap forward in 1958, there has been a particularly marked improvement in the quality of well-known Shanghai products. Many new lines have been added to its long list of manufactures. These include wrist watches, cameras, colour films, concert grand pianos, acid-resistant enamelware, optical glass and a wide range of plastic products. In 1960 alone, Shanghai manufactured more than 7,800 new products or new models of old products; 366 of these were high-grade and precision-made goods. A survey at the end of last year showed that 87 per cent of the city's major light industrial products were of improved quality or maintained their former high standards; 81 of these goods attained or approached the highest quality levels reached in this country or elsewhere in the world.

Live production centre that it is, Shanghai has always paid great attention to improving the quality and increasing the variety of its light industrial products. It has paid even more attention to this since modern light industries began to grow apace in other parts of the country. Since other cities, which used to depend to a greater or lesser extent on Shanghai for their consumer goods, began to produce larger quantities of the more ordinary types of consumer goods, Shanghai has turned

its technical experience to better advantage by concentrating more on high grade and precision products.

## Inter-City Emulation

But to keep Shanghai ahead in the campaign for quality offered a real challenge to the city's workers. With the other cities coming up fast on its heels Shanghai has found it quite a job to hold its lead. Not the least of the obstacles was a smug feeling of complacency among some which naturally stemmed from the city's long-standing reputation for quality. To overcome this complacency, many of the city's light industrial enterprises and branches organized exhibitions of technical data and actual specimens of outstanding products made in other parts of the country and abroad. This was an eye-opener to many, not only showing which products were being challenged but that there was still a lot to learn. The exhibitions showed that as early as 1958, Shanghai already lagged behind Canton in the quality of its torches and batteries, Talien (Dairen) in paint, Tsingtao in cotton yarn and cloth, Yentai (Chefoo) in alarm clocks and Tsinan in red-and-blue office pencils. Strenuous efforts had to be made to recapture the lead in these fields.

Even where Shanghai used to head the list it turned out to be no easy task to hold that lead. At a national fountain pen quality contest in 1958 sponsored by the Ministry of Light Industry, Shanghai made a clean sweep of all three top honours. A year later, although its "Hero" pen still held first place, the city yielded second and third places to Antung's (Liaoning Province) "Gold Dragon" and Peking's "Gold Star" respectively. And at a contest held early last year, the "Gold Dragon" came up on top. It was only by assiduously learning from the others' strong points and a big push to improve quality further that the "Shanghai" and "Hero" pens staged a comeback late last year.

In learning from others, Shanghai spares no efforts. When it found its enamelware was falling behind Sian's in lustre and polish, its enamelware industry sent a special group composed of leading cadres, technical personnel and rank and file workers to Sian "for scriptures" as the current saying goes. That is, they sought advanced technical processes as piously as the famous Tang monk Tripitaka sought for scriptures on his journey to the West. These "pilgrims" took part in the actual production of enamelware at the Sian plant and carefully studied its raw material control and production methods. On their way home, they also visited enamelware plants in Hofei (Anhui Province) and Wusih (Kiangsu Province) and picked up tips on expanding their range of products and rationalizing the use of the labour force. Meanwhile an emulation campaign for higher quality was launched among Shanghai's enamelware plants. Within a single month, the industry adopted more than 100 important technical measures to improve its output. These, combined with advanced experience learnt from Sian and



elsewhere, helped raise the quality of Shanghai enamelware to a new, high level.

This process of learning from and catching up with the advanced is, of course, a two-way affair. Shanghai, which is ahead in many fields, is naturally often the example that other cities try to emulate. Back in 1958, Canton's Bureau of Light Industry set the goal of catching up with and surpassing Shanghai in the quality of all the major branches of light industrial products. Textile mills in Peking, Nanking and Soochow have pledged to overtake Shanghai in the shortest possible time. Even plants much more modest in size and equipment have undertaken to emulate big Shanghai works. The great metropolis, for its part, does its best to help its challengers. Watch and clock works and paper mills in Shanghai have signed contracts with their counterparts in other cities for technical co-operation and established a regular system for exchanging experience. The Shanghai Wrist Watch Factory, for example, regularly publishes descriptions of its new techniques and distributes them to other watch factories in the country. The aim of socialist production is not profit, but the better satisfaction of the people's growing needs; socialist ownership by the whole people provides the basis for co-operation and emulation, not selfish rivalry. There are few cities in China which have not yet sent "pilgrims" to that great light industrial centre for "scriptures."

### Consumers — the Arbiter

The consumer, in the last resort, is the judge of quality. Shanghai goes out energetically to solicit the opinions of consumers and improve quality and design accordingly. Many Shanghai light industrial enterprises have organized visiting groups, again composed of leading cadres, technicians and workers, to call on department stores and other distributors of their products and consumers themselves to get their views at first hand. No less than 2,000 calls were made in 1960 alone to get consumers' opinions. In that year too, more than 500 exhibitions, quality contests, concerts and demonstrations were arranged for the express purpose of giving the public an opportunity to pass judgment on the quality of products and subject such things as musical instruments and sport goods to the test of use.

Distributors and consumers have given invaluable help in the drive for quality. Trial manufacture of cameras and films, for example, went on in close co-operation with the local photo studios and shops handling photo supplies. Workers and staff of the Lixing Thermos Bottle Factory learnt that consumers were well satisfied with the heat-preserving quality of their bottles, but felt that there was still room for improving the designs on the casings as the bottles were often placed on the table and so should be pleasing to the eye. Fresh and attractive new designs were found for the bottles as a result of these comments. The new products sold like hot cakes.

Canvassing consumers' opinions has become an established practice of Shanghai's light industry.

### Better Use of Raw Materials

The price of high quality is eternal vigilance and top-notch technical and organizational work. The quality of a finished product depends to a considerable extent

on the quality of the raw material in it. Shanghai's light industry sets and observes exacting standards for the raw and other materials it uses and sees to it that the better materials go into the making of the more exacting products. This too involves an active attitude in controlling and improving raw materials. Thus, the clock-making industry succeeded in improving the malleability of a certain type of hard sheet iron by repeated punch-pressing and annealing. This, enabled the industry to keep up the quality of its clocks. As the workers say: "Quality depends 30 per cent on materials and 70 per cent on workmanship."

The use of new and better raw materials is another way of improving quality and increasing the variety of products. The chemical industry making soap, toothpaste and perfume is a case in point. Within the past year, it has found a score of valuable new raw materials. By replacing vegetable oils with a synthetic fatty acid made from a certain mineral, the cleansing qualities of its soaps have been improved; and they are now harmless even to fine woollen fabrics. Last year, Shanghai's light industry also extracted chromic acid and a hundred other kinds of materials from waste water, waste gas and other residues. Many of these also helped improve the quality of products and cut costs.

To ensure steady supplies of all types of materials, Shanghai's light industrial plants have set up 66 factories and workshops specializing in the manufacture of materials for more than 200 types of consumer goods.

### Technical Innovations

Improvements in quality often entail the reform of old and the adoption of new designs and technological processes. The movement for technical innovations and technical revolution that surged to a new high last year in Shanghai aimed not only at raising the level of mechanization and automation, but also at improving quality and increasing the variety of products. More than 10,000 innovations put into effect that year directly concerned quality and variety. They helped enhance the precision of tools, dies and fixtures, expedite chemical reactions and improve technological processes, with the result that the accuracy of watches, the precision of cameras, the quality of perfumes, the smoothness of fountain pen nibs and the tensile strength of paper were all considerably improved.

Well-planned, Shanghai's technical innovation movement developed rapidly and systematically. First, key technical problems were defined and the strongest technical forces that could be mustered concentrated their attention on the toughest bottlenecks. The fountain pen industry, for example, set out to tackle ten key technical problems last year. It organized a special group of seasoned workers and technical innovators to work on them together with the regular technical staff. One problem was that of leakage, a problem of 30 years' standing. Repeated experiments resulted in the development of a new technological process which has solved this problem and produced a new pen which does not leak even when subjected to a change in temperature of 40 degrees Centigrade and more. A high quality pen has also been produced that does not leak even at an altitude of 3,000 metres.

New processes often call for more highly skilled workers. Last year, Shanghai light industry, besides giving systematic technical training to workers in spare-time schools, arranged for exchanges of experience and demonstrations by outstanding workers, encouraged veterans to coach new hands, and organized no less than 100,000 technical training games. The results show how immediately effective were these lively activities.

### Quality Control—The Mass Way

Shanghai's light industrial enterprises have devised a strict system of quality control by the masses. This combines centralized top-level control with active participation by rank and file workers. Mass control takes the form of quality inspection teams that work under the guidance of special inspection offices. They carefully check goods at all stages of production—raw materials, goods in process and finished products. The work of inspection is done according to a well-established system of analytical checks. The fact that the producers are at the same time inspectors proves most effective. Any defect is immediately detected and all become quality-conscious. Professional inspectors, of course, also play an important role. They check the first items of a batch of products or samples, give assistance to the worker-inspectors and do educational propaganda work that keeps everyone on their toes. And all this is inspired by a deep sense of responsibility to the consumer.

In answer to the call of the Communist Party issued early this year for a bigger range of better quality goods, Shanghai's light industrial workers have launched a new mass movement for higher quality. In the first four months and more of this year, they have further improved the quality of those products which already enjoyed a good reputation such as fountain pens, cycles, enamelware and thermos bottles; the quality of those other products that fluctuated from time to time in the past or was not as good as it should be, was also improved. Consumers today already have a bigger choice of better goods from Shanghai, and the drive for more and better goods goes on.

## SIDELIGHTS

**The March Fair.** Those who enjoyed the international prize-winning *Five Golden Flowers*, that gay screen romance of the Pai people in China's Yunnan Province, will surely remember the scenes of the colourful March Fair with which it opens and ends. The March Fair is the traditional annual bazaar of the local people.

Dali, Yunnan Province, held its five-day March Fair this year from April 30 to May 4—still in the third month according to the Chinese lunar calendar. Well in advance state trading companies brought in stocks of farm tools, brocades, ornaments, thermos bottles, galoshes and other articles of daily use. Commune members of many nationalities in the province brought embroideries, herbs and spices, cart-wheel strawhats, bambooware. . . .

Sales of farm tools were especially brisk this year. Commune members also did a lively trade in livestock and poultry, favourite sidelines.

As usual the stalls of jewellery and trinkets were crowded with couples as young wives tried on jade and silver bracelets, ear-rings and necklaces.

There is always heavy buying at the March Fair. The peasants this year happily loaded their carts and boats with new purchases. Most of the things they bought are sold in regular stores all the year round, but somehow it's much more fun to save up and have a grand shopping spree at the fair.

**In His Brother's Footsteps.** "But isn't Chen Ching-kai in the feather-weight class? Why is he in this event now?" someone asked at the recent regional weight-lifting championships in Taiyuan.

"This is his brother, Chen Man-lin," a man beside him explained, and added, "I often confuse the two myself though I'm a keen weight-lifting fan." At that moment Chen Ching-kai, who had seven times broken world weight-lifting records, himself stood up to give his nervous 19-year-old brother a few words of encouragement. One could see how alike they looked, even to the way they walked.

That night young Man-lin from Canton pressed 90 kg., snatched 80 kg. and jerked 120 kg. to win second place in

the bantam-weight class of the Taiyuan regional championships. He had given an impressive performance by any standard. Two years ago in 1959 when he first took up weight-lifting seriously ("because of my brother") his total of three lifts was only 150 kg. This time, his second appearance in a national championships, he lifted 290 kg. Maybe this is not very spectacular, but it surely qualifies as big-leap progress.

**Thoughtful Reader.** Sold out again! This was the third time that Tan Liping hadn't been able to get a copy of *People's Literature* at the bookshop. Annoying though it was, come to think of it, it wasn't surprising. More and more people are getting interested in literature, and though editions have increased, there just aren't enough copies to go around.

A few days later, at a second-hand bookshop, Tan came across the very number of *People's Literature* he had wanted. It was in very good condition. Happily, Tan took his treasure home and sat down to read. As he turned over the pages of the journal, a slip of paper fell out. On it was written:

"This is an excellent issue. I've taken this to the bookshop again so that more lovers of literature can have a chance to read it. I hope whoever buys this copy will pass it on too.—A P.L.A. soldier."

On the other side of the slip, Tan found that three other people had already preceded him. They too had left word seconding this P.L.A. soldier's wish.



At the Fair Woodcut by Huang Yung-yu

# THEATRE

## Shanghai Balladry Captivates Peking

When a visiting Shanghai troupe recently put on 12 performances of *pingtan* in Peking, it captivated the capital.

But what is *pingtan*? *Ping* is the abbreviated form of *pinghua*, storytelling without musical accompaniment; *tan* is from *tanci*, a sung and recited story with musical accompaniment on a *pipa* (balloon guitar) and a *xianzi* (a three-stringed instrument) — in a word, balladry with or without musical accompaniment.

### A Mobile Art

*Pingtan* originated in the beautiful city of Soochow in the seaboard province of Kiangsu, and so comes in the lilting Soochow dialect. One or two artists usually perform a piece. They sit in a chair at each end of a table decorated with an embroidered cover reaching to the ground on the side facing the audience; a player may hold a folding fan, and use a tiny, solid rectangular piece of wood for "special effects"; if the ballad is sung to music, then instead of the wooden rectangle, the singer uses a handkerchief. *Pingtan*, as can be seen, is essentially a mobile art, and it has made its way into the remotest villages. Since liberation, it has become increasingly popular among the 15 million people who live in southern Kiangsu and the neighbouring areas of northern and eastern Chekiang.

The Shanghai *Pingtan* Troupe which toured Peking played to packed houses studded with the capital's literary and artistic lights. The *Renmin Ribao* and the press in general gave the performances the most extensive coverage; analyses of *pingtan's* artistic method, extended critiques of various items on the programmes; details of new developments since liberation and highlights of its several hundred years old history. A series of discussions were organized at which well-known artists, musicians and literary critics exchanged views on many aspects of this balladry art. Yang Yin-liu, Vice-Director of the Institute of National Music of the Central Conservatory of Music, announced at one such discussion that his institute will call a meet-

ing to deal particularly with the musical aspect of *pingtan*.

### "The Grain-Carrying Boat"

*The Grain-Carrying Boat*, a fragment from a traditional full-length story, *The Scarlet Gown*, serves as a good sample of a *pingtan* ballad. It tells the story of Hai Jui, a ranking official of the Ming Dynasty, who makes his inquiries disguised as a private citizen and brings a gang of local racketeers to justice.

The two artists, singing, reciting, gesturing, bring us to Soochow where the Feng Bridge spans a river on which boats busily ply. They build up the scene and the atmosphere, with riverside banter and jokes, showing how boats are rowed in a typical southern manner and baggage is carried on shoulder poles—all this with the aid of the fan which works like magic in the hands of a real *pingtan* artist. The players rarely rise and never move far away from their chairs. Without costume or make-up, one performer plays several roles sometimes seemingly all at once—male or female, using facial expressions, postures, and tones to characterize people of different temperaments and social status. Like a novelist, the player by turn uses straight description, narration, the direct quote, the aside, lyricism, dialogue and soliloquy, etc., to tell his story.

We learn that Hai Jui's servant is to hire a boat from boatman Chou. Hai Jui is himself going to sail to the Feng Bridge. It was here that one Sung Lung fell into the trap of a local gang leader and eventually died in prison. To extort money from passing boats, the gang parked their boats here athwart the river and pick quarrels with likely victims. With the local officials on his side, the gang leader set on Sung Lung and then brought a false accusation against him, saying that the latter's boat had rammed theirs and caused damage to two thousand *jin* of imperial grain. Boatman Chou is to take Hai Jui to Feng Bridge so as to expose the gang.

What the audience actually hears is the episode of the hiring of Chou's boat by Hai Jui's servant. Neither the lawsuit nor the subsequent revenge is recounted but the whole affair is made plain through many interesting details and incidents. By the time Hai Jui's boat is approaching the so-called grain-

carrying boats, the artists are bowing their thanks for your attention. The background of the conflict has been admirably introduced but nothing is said about the solution of the conflict. This seems needless. Everybody can guess the outcome.

The audience gets the whole picture—Hai Jui, the good official, daring to fight against the local tyrants for the sake of the people; the corrupt local officials working in collusion with the gangsters to mulct and terrorize the common people; and the determination of those who are bullied and pushed around, to get justice. But all this is revealed through many infinitely incisive sidelights.

### "Humour Is the Jewel"

The story is interspersed all through with humorous touches, jokes and witticism. The passing boats do their best to get by the bridge without touching the grain boats. Outraged by the gangsters' accusation that they have damaged the grain boats the boatmen hotly argue: "How can I have rammed your boat since there is water in between your boat and mine?" To which the gangsters reply: "You steam rice with water in between don't you? So you can damage our boat even though there is water in between!" And in their laughter, the audience visualizes the utter, frustrating unreasonableness of the lawless gang. This is, of course, exaggeration. But it is soundly based on the firm ground of reality.

Humour is an important feature of *pingtan* art. There is an old saying among *pingtan* artists "Humour is the jewel in a story," or "You can't make a good story without humour." But, it is not cheap jokes they are after. Their motto is: It is not enough just to make the audience laugh as they listen to you. You want them to laugh when they think of it later.

A good *pingtan* artist must be versed equally well in singing, playing his own musical accompaniment, storytelling and acting. Singing is considered so important that a variety of styles have been developed, classified according to the special characteristics of the voices of the best artists and named after them. Praising the art of Shanghai *pingtan* artists, many who attended the Peking discussions pointed out that it wields such power that one is spell-bound, indeed "once you hear it, you cannot take your ears back and



Two pingtan ballad artists

your eyes are rivetted on the performers."

### Growth Since Liberation

The discussion recalled too the growth of pingtan since liberation. When the troupe was first set up in 1952, many pingtan artists went to work alongside the peasants on the Huai River project. It was on their return that they composed *The Huai River Must Be Tamed*, their first piece reflecting the contemporary life and struggles of the people. This was performed to audiences totalling more than 300,000 people. It proved to be enormously popular. With this encouragement, they went on to create two other well-received pieces: *Heroes on the Sea* and *Wang Hsiao-ho* (a real-life worker-revolutionary who was killed by the Kuomintang just before the liberation of Shanghai), and adapted to pingtan form *Liu Hu-lan*, a story about the famous girl revolutionary in Shansi. Portraying the big leap forward, they put on several new works including the celebrated *First Spring of the 60s*, and then set to music Chairman Mao Tse-tung's poem *The Immortals*.

They have not neglected their popular traditional items such as *Stories from the Water Margin*, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, *The West Chamber*, *The Pearl Pagoda* and others. These have been carefully studied and re-edited. After being "cleaned of their feudal dross," they sparkle with a brighter lustre than ever before.

### New Forms

Big changes in form too have been introduced. For the convenience of

worker and peasant audiences, short stories that can be finished in one performance have been composed. In the old, somnolent days the traditional full-length stories used to take weeks to finish. Teashop habitués dreamt away hours listening to them. Now they have been re-arranged so that each separate episode can be performed as a practically self-contained

item and a listener can enjoy one or several parts if he does not have the time to listen to the whole work. These changes in content and form all have a positive bearing on the development of new styles.

All these important changes stem from the new outlook of the artists fostered by the new socialist society of China. Hsu Li-hsien, creator of the well-known *Li* style of melody, has this to say about her art today. "A daughter of a poor peasant, I was sold when very young to a gang leader as his 'adopted daughter.' At an early age, I went on to the pingtan stage as his 'money-bearing tree.' Even when I was not fully recovered from an illness, I was not allowed a rest but was forced onto the stage. I blamed my evil fate for all this and only hoped that my miserable life would be a short one. Is there any wonder then that there has always been a touch of sadness and dejection in my voice? I have learnt a lot since liberation. I have come to realize the truth that the oppressed and exploited must fight to liberate themselves. Now, how could I wish my life to be short? In the past, when I performed such roles as the wronged girl in *The Courtesan's Jewel Box*, I poured out my own feelings when expressing her sufferings. Now I know I should do more. I should also give expression to whatever feelings of struggle these poor women were capable of in their time. My singing, I hope, retains whatever was good in it, but it is undergoing a change along these lines. Dealing with new subjects, I am even trying some tunes which are rather light and gay

and it makes me feel fine when I sense the positive reaction of my audience."

### For a Still Better Art

The Shanghai Pingtan Troupe has now returned to Shanghai crowned with success and with a wealth of new ideas gained from the constructive criticism they heard in Peking. They are giving a fresh polish to their new items on contemporary themes and continuing their work on their traditional repertoire with its more than 90 full-length stories. They are also expanding this repertoire with items which up to now live only on the lips of hoary-headed veterans. Artists in a wide range of other forms of balladry all over the country are doing likewise. The Peking Quyi (Ballad) Troupe has just announced that it is presenting a second group of "newly unearthed traditional items." This is an aspect of the drive to carry on and further develop the fine traditional theatrical arts as part of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," "to weed through the old to let the new emerge," a policy which has set theatre life on its present flourishing course.

### SHORT NOTES

**Inner Mongolia's New Theatres.** Two new theatres were established on May 5 in Huhehot, capital of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. One, the Inner Mongolian Art Theatre, comprises the region's modern drama troupe, song and dance ensemble, experimental opera troupe and acrobatic troupe. The other, the Inner Mongolian Opera Theatre, includes the local Peking opera, Hopei opera and quyi (balladry) companies.

**Shanghai's New Widescreen Film.** *Red Sun*, a recent novel by Wu Chiang on the Chinese People's Liberation War, is now being made into a widescreen film by the Tienma Studio in Shanghai. The leading role will be played by Chang Fa, a veteran of 20 years experience on the stage and screen. The director is Tan Hsiao-tan, who has a long list of war films to his credit, including *Reconnaissance Across the Yangtse*, describing an episode of the 1949 crossing of the Yangtse River, and *Light Cavalier at Sea*, showing the growth of New China's young naval forces.

# CHINESE PRESS OPINION

## ***U.S. Quickens the Pace of Its Venture in South Viet Nam***

U.S. Vice-President Johnson arrived in the Far East leaving a murky trail behind him at the very time when the world's peace-loving people were eagerly looking forward to the speedy convening of the enlarged Geneva Conference to solve the Laotian question peacefully and contribute to peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. Commenting on Johnson's visit to south Viet Nam, "the first leg" of his journey, *Renmin Ribao's* Observer writes (May 16) that the eight-point programme announced in the Johnson-Ngo Dinh Diem joint communique is designed "to step up U.S. intervention and extend its aggression in south Viet Nam militarily, politically and economically, to further expand the reactionary armed forces of south Viet Nam, to intensify suppression of the south Vietnamese people's just, patriotic struggle against the U.S.-Diem clique and turn south Viet Nam completely into a U.S. base for aggressive war and a U.S. colony of a new type."

Each item in the eight-point programme is a flagrant violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements, Observer notes. In taking this action, U.S. imperialism not only further aggravates the situation in south Viet Nam, but also poses a new, serious threat to peace in Indo-China and throughout Southeast Asia.

Observer notes that the 1954 Geneva agreements explicitly bar the introduction into Viet Nam of any troop reinforcements, additional military personnel or reinforcements in the form of any type of arms, munitions or other war material. The agreements also provide that "no military base under the control of a foreign state may be established." The U.S. has consistently violated these provisions during the past six years. Now the eight-point programme further declares that the U.S. will "extend its military assistance programme" and "increase and accelerate" the shipment of arms and war material into south Viet Nam. It calls for active support to the Ngo Dinh Diem clique in expanding its "regular armed forces," as well as "military assistance" to the Diem clique's "civil guard forces."

The eight-point programme also contains the implicit threat that the U.S. might take "more far-reaching measures" with regard to south Viet Nam. As to the provision about the U.S. "use of military specialists to assist and work with the Vietnamese armed forces," Observer adds, it means in fact letting U.S. military personnel directly join Diem's troops in suppressing south Viet Nam's patriotic people.

The 1954 Geneva agreements stipulate that the participating countries must undertake to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam and refrain from any interference in its internal affairs, Observer recalls. In the eight-point programme, the U.S. attempts to describe its aggression and intervention in south Viet Nam as measures to cope with "Communist guerrilla attacks" and "Vietnamese Communist guerrillas." This is a clumsy trick, Observer declares. The Geneva agreements provide that each participating country should guarantee that the people of Viet Nam enjoy "fundamental freedoms" and "free expression of the national will." The rising of the south Vietnamese people to safeguard their national independence and sovereignty is precisely an expression of their fundamental free-

doms and of their national will with which U.S. imperialism has no right whatsoever to interfere, Observer stresses.

Peace-loving governments and peoples in Southeast Asia are longing for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question; they also universally desire a further expansion of the peace zone in Southeast Asia, Observer points out. Prince Sihanouk and the Burmese Government have expressed such desires on more than one occasion. But U.S. imperialism, aggressive by nature, has defied worldwide opposition and is quickening the pace of its venture in Southeast Asia.

Nevertheless, it is beyond the power of imperialism and the reactionaries to turn back the wheel of history, Observer says. U.S. bayonets cannot save the rotten, reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem clique. The downfall of Syngman Rhee and Menderes has testified to this. U.S. imperialist aggression in south Viet Nam, Indo-China and Southeast Asia have educated increasingly large numbers of people, impelling them to awaken and unite and plunge with ever greater resolution into heroic struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

In conclusion, Observer declares: "The 1954 Geneva agreements must be upheld and no sabotage of the new Geneva Conference will be tolerated. U.S. imperialist activities to extend its aggression against south Viet Nam must be halted."

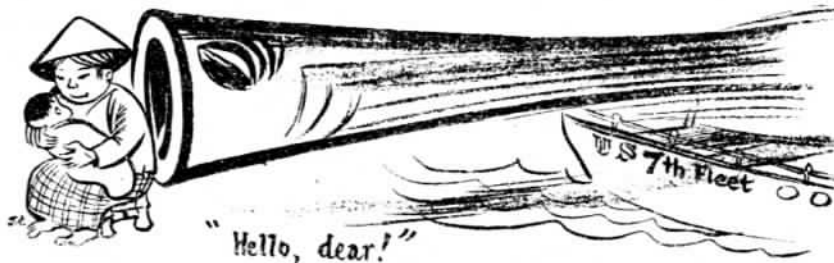
## THE PASSING SHOW

### What Next? The Forks?

Having announced several times already that "the situation in Angola is well in hand," the Portuguese colonialists, armed with U.S.-made and NATO-supplied guns, aircraft, warships and all kinds of other modern weapons, have nervously proclaimed a new law banning the sale of bush-knives to the Angolan population.

### "People to People"!

"The role of the U.S. Navy's Seventh Fleet is not limited to military defense," declares the United States Information Service, quoting eloquent Vice-Admiral Griffin, its commander who, in Malaya on a "goodwill visit," declared that "the Seventh Fleet... was also part of the U.S. people-to-people program."



# CHINA AND THE WORLD

## **40th Birthday of Czechoslovak Communist Party**

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has sent a message of greetings to the Czechoslovak Communist Party, on its 40th anniversary. The message, addressed to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, reads in part:

"The founding of the Czechoslovak Communist Party was a turning point in the history of the Czechoslovak people. Under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and with the assistance of the Soviet Union and the support of the international communist movement, the Czechoslovak people have achieved national liberation and won great victories in socialist transformation and socialist construction. At present, they are working full of confidence for the realization of the Third Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy. We wish the Czechoslovak people new achievements in carrying out their new five-year plan.

"A profound friendship exists between the Chinese and Czechoslovak peoples. We are convinced that the friendship and unity between the peoples of our two countries, our friendship and unity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and under the great banner of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, will be further strengthened and developed."

## **French C.P. 16th Congress**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has warmly greeted the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of France.

For 40 years, the message says, the French Communist Party, following the great revolutionary tradition of the Paris Commune, has led the working class and working people of France in a steadfast and unremitting struggle for the great cause of defending the

independence of France and striving for a people's democracy and socialism. It has won great successes in the struggle against monopoly capitalist rule, against the danger of fascism and personal autocracy, for the restoration and renovation of democracy and for a really independent, democratic and peace-loving France. Because it enjoys the trust and confidence of millions of men and women in France and has complete unity within its ranks, it is bound to set going by its confident, militant action a new, democratic tide among the French people, thereby advancing the struggle of the French working class for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Communist Party and the people of China, the message states, have always cherished a profound friendship for the French Communist Party and people. "We have always thought of you and followed your struggles with close attention, considering them and your successes as our own," it declares.

A fraternal delegation sent by the Chinese Communist Party and led by Ulanfu, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau, was unable to attend the Congress because the French Government refused to issue visas to its members.

## **Laotian National Day Messages**

On the occasion of the national day of the Kingdom of Laos, Premier Chou En-lai sent warm greetings to Premier Souvanna Phouma. Wishing the Kingdom of Laos and the Laotian people prosperity and well-being as they advance on the high road of national independence, peace and neutrality, Premier Chou said that Premier Phouma's recent visit to China and the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Laos have brought the traditional friendship between the two countries to a new stage on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. This development, he added, completely accords with the long-standing desire of the two peoples for good-neighbourly relations and friendship and benefits peace in Indo-China and throughout Asia.

Premier Souvanna Phouma in reply thanked the Chinese Government and people for these congratulations, for the expressions of sympathy extended him during his recent visit to China, and for China's aid to the Laotian Government and people. "This aid will

enable us to bring to a good end our struggle for a neutral, independent and unified Laos," stated Premier Phouma.

## **Sihanouk-Chou En-lai Plywood Factory**

The Sihanouk-Chou En-lai Plywood Factory, one of the fruits of Sino-Cambodian economic co-operation, was officially inaugurated on May 10 in Dey Eth.

Prince Sihanouk, who officiated at the ceremony, thanked the Chinese Government and people and Premier Chou En-lai personally for this valuable, disinterested aid.

Chinese Ambassador Wang Yu-ping speaking at the ceremony congratulated the Cambodian Government and people on the completion of the plywood factory as one of the achievements of the Sihanouk Five-Year Plan. China and Cambodia, he said, are strengthening co-operation in the political, economic and cultural fields, and will always live together in friendship.

The plywood factory is one of the four Cambodian factories being built with Chinese aid. Thirteen Chinese technicians were decorated for their outstanding services in the construction of the factory.

## **Tagore Centenary in Peking**

A commemorative meeting on May 15 climaxed many activities in Peking marking the centenary of the birth of the great Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore. Addressed by Mao Tun, Vice-Chairman of the Federation of Literary and Art Circles, Professor Chi Hsien-lin, head of the Department of Eastern Languages in Peking University, and the Indian Ambassador G. Parthasarathi, it was attended by a large gathering widely representative of the capital's artistic and literary circles.

"Tagore, the great Indian poet" was the title of Professor Chi Hsien-lin's report on Tagore's life and works. He recalled that Tagore from his early youth showed a great interest in China, twice visited China and advocated the study of Chinese civilization. Like Tagore, Professor Chi said, the Chinese people have always treasured the 2,000-year-old friendship and cultural ties between the Chinese and Indian peoples, and they hold Indian civilization and Indian arts and literature in high regard. There is no doubt that the seeds of friendship sown by Tagore and

many others will blossom and bear fruits, he stressed.

An exhibition opened on the same day also attracted wide interest. It displayed many paintings and gifts presented by the poet to his Chinese friends as well as Chinese studies and translations of the works of Tagore. The latter included a ten-volume collection of Tagore's poems, short stories, novels and plays, especially prepared and published for the centenary.

Tagore is well-known in China as an Indian poet of genius, a great patriot and a great friend of the Chinese people. His works were first introduced into China as far back as 1915. With the founding of the People's Republic, the work of introducing and translating Tagore's writings has proceeded on a still larger scale. To mark his centenary, literary periodicals carried special articles on his life and work. Recitals of his works were broadcast.

#### **Sino-Ceylonese Airline**

Officials of the Chinese Civil Aviation Administration and Air Ceylon recently concluded negotiations in Canton on detailed arrangements for air communications between China and Ceylon. In accordance with an air transport agreement between the Chinese and Ceylonese Governments, they have drafted a protocol to be signed by the two sides. An Air Ceylon aircraft has already made a successful trial flight between Colombo and Canton, via Singapore.

#### **Sino-Nepalese Boundary Survey**

Joint Sino-Nepalese teams have begun the work of boundary investigation and survey in accordance with the agreement reached at the Second Session of the Chinese-Nepalese Joint Boundary Committee. The teams arrived in regions along the boundary between the last days in April and the early part of May.

#### **Joint Statement on Sino-Japanese Relations**

A joint statement issued by the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and a visiting delegation of the Japan-China Friendship Association declares again that the militant friendship built up between the Chinese and Japanese peoples on the basis of their common struggle against U.S. imperialism cannot be destroyed. It calls for increased

contacts between the people of the two countries.

The Kennedy Administration, the statement emphasizes, by continuing the U.S. occupation of China's Taiwan and Japan's Okinawa, has proved that U.S. imperialism remains the main obstacle to improvement of Sino-Japanese relations and is the common enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples.

Specifically, the Chinese side points out the U.S. imperialist plot of creating "two Chinas" has become more and more brazen while at U.S. instigation the Japanese reactionaries are playing the role of U.S. menials in trying to carry through this plot and are spreading around such absurd concepts as the "independence of Taiwan." "The Chinese people," it declares, "firmly oppose all underhand activities of the U.S. imperialists and Japanese reactionaries designed to create 'two Chinas' or 'one and a half Chinas.'"

The Japanese side indicates that the struggle to smash the Japanese Government's policy of hostility towards China and its "two Chinas" plot, to abolish the Japan-Chiang Kai-shek treaty and to restore Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations has become more than ever an extremely important responsibility for the Japanese people. It holds that "it would be impossible to improve Sino-Japanese relations without shattering the 'two Chinas' plot."

The Chinese side points out that as the Japanese Government continues to follow U.S. imperialism in carrying out a policy of hostility towards China, the Chinese side must make a distinction between the Japanese people and government. By strengthening friendly contacts between the two peoples in all fields, a heavy blow is dealt against the plot to create "two Chinas" and undermine the solidarity between the Chinese and Japanese peoples.

\* \* \*

There has indeed been a noticeable increase in exchanges between the Chinese and Japanese peoples. Several Chinese groups, such as the Chinese women's, writers' and lawyers' delegations, have recently visited Japan. Besides the Japan-China Friendship Association delegation, recent visitors from Japan include: a delegation of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, a calligraphers' delegation, a delegation of the Japanese

Liberation League of "Outcast" Communities, a delegation of members of Japanese Local Assemblies and a delegation of the Patients' Union of Japan.

#### **Chinese Trade Delegation In Brazil**

President Quadros receiving in Brazil the visiting Chinese trade delegation headed by Nan Han-chen, expressed great interest in the development of trade relations with China. The Brazilian President spoke of the establishment in Brazil of a Chinese trade mission having a non-official character and raised the question of the signing of the necessary agreements. He said he would send an economic delegation to visit China. He also agreed to the holding of an exhibition in Brazil to show the economic achievements of New China.

Nan Han-chen expressed gratification with the policy and measures adopted by Brazil with regard to the promotion of trade relations between the two countries. He said that there exist great possibilities for developing mutual trade as long as both sides have a sincere desire to do so and follow a friendly policy. Nan Han-chen welcomed President Quadros' decision to send a delegation to China which, he said, could discuss in detail the relevant questions.

#### **Visiting Niger and Upper Volta**

A delegation of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association was given a warm welcome during its recent visit to Niger and Upper Volta as guests of their Governments.

In Niamey, capital of the Republic of Niger, Niger President Hamani Diori gave a banquet in honour of the delegation and also discussed with Liu Changsheng, head of the delegation and President of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association, ways and means of developing friendly relations between Niger and China.

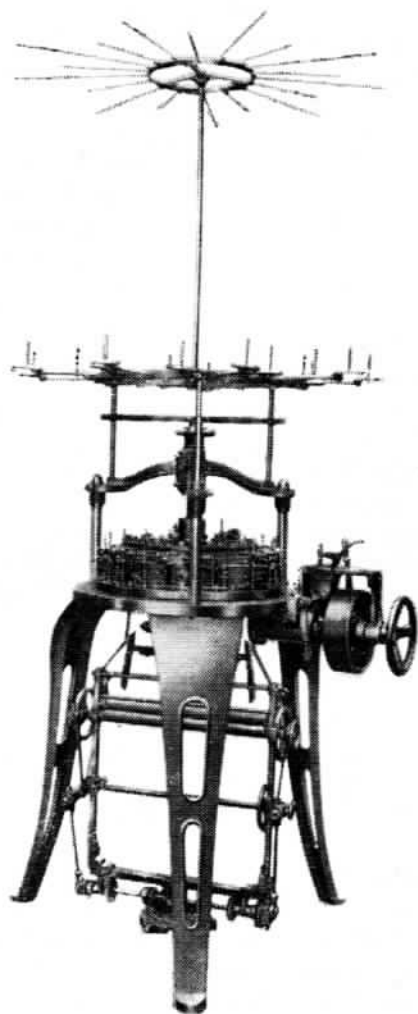
In Ouagadougou, capital of Upper Volta, Acting President Denis Yameogo of the Republic of Upper Volta gave a reception for the Chinese visitors through whom he conveyed the best wishes of the Upper Volta Government and people to the Chinese Government and people.

In both countries, the Chinese delegation met many government ministers and visited economic, cultural and social establishments.

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