

PEKING REVIEW

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Round the Week and Other Features

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS



SELECTED WORKS
OF
MAO TSE-TUNG
Vol. IV
English Edition

Published by: **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS** Peking, China

Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN** P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
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Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

March 30, 1962

Round the Week

National People's Congress In Session

The Third Session of the Second National People's Congress, China's supreme organ of state power, opened in Peking's Great Hall of the People last Tuesday, March 27. Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Vice-Chairmen Soong Ching Ling and Tung Pi-wu; Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C.; Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council and other Communist Party and government leaders attended the opening ceremony. When they mounted the rostrum, the whole hall resounded with thunderous applause.

At 4 p.m. that afternoon Chairman Chu Teh declared the session open. The band played the National Anthem, following which Premier Chou En-lai delivered a report on the work of the Government.

Of the 1,027 people's deputies who have registered, 1,016 attended the first day's session. Leading members of government departments, high-ranking officers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, members of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference now attending its Third Session in Peking, and over 800 representatives of all walks of life invited to attend the current C.P.P.C.C.'s session as observers were also present at the N.P.C.'s opening ceremony.

The Second N.P.C. convened its First Session in April 1959. Of its 1,226 people's deputies elected in 1958, 179, or 14.6 per cent of the total, are representatives of the national minorities and 150, or 12.2 per cent of the total, are women.

Elected for a term of four years according to the Constitution, the N.P.C. has power to amend the Constitution, enact laws and supervise the enforcement of the Constitution; to elect or decide on the choice of leading personnel of the state, and to

remove them from office. It has the final decision on all important matters affecting the life of the nation; it decides on the national economic plans, examines and approves the state budget and financial report. It exercises other functions and powers.

The historic First Session of the First National People's Congress was held in September 1954. The session unanimously adopted the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, and enacted the organic laws of the N.P.C., of the State Council, of the People's Courts, of the People's Procuracies and of the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils of the People's Republic of China.

Supreme State Conference. In conjunction with the current session of the N.P.C., Chairman Liu Shao-chi called a meeting of the Supreme State Conference on March 21. Soong Ching Ling and Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairmen of the People's Republic of China; Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C., and Premier Chou En-lai were among the 158 people of various fields concerned who attended the meeting. The conference discussed the main questions which would be taken up by the Third Session of the Second N.P.C. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai made important speeches on the present situation and on major aspects of the nation's work.

C.P.P.C.C. Meets. The Third Session of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference opened in Peking on March 23. Chou En-lai, Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C.'s National Committee, presided over the meeting; Vice-Chairman Chen Shu-tung gave a report on the work of the Standing Committee of the C.P.P.C.C.'s National Committee.

Besides the 888 members of the National Committee who attended the session, more than 800 representatives of many fields of activity were invited to the session as observers.



Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other leaders with other people's deputies

Among them were noted scientists, prominent figures in cultural, art, educational, medical and other fields, leading members of the democratic parties and people's organizations, and representatives of various national minorities, religious circles and overseas Chinese.

The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is the organization of the people's democratic united front, uniting all nationalities, classes, political parties, people's organizations and public figures without party affiliation in the country, and Chinese residents abroad. It is a consultative body of representatives who discuss state affairs and make suggestions.

As we go to press, both the N.P.C. and the C.P.P.C.C. are still in session.

Lambing Season

It is lambing time in Inner Mongolia. Tens of thousands of lambs are being dropped every day. To date, more than 2 million have been born. In spite of heavy snowfalls in some places, the survival rate is high — 90 per cent. This is largely due to the improved raising skills now practised on the grasslands.

The herdsmen prepared well in advance for the current lambing season. They built many new sheep shelters against the cold and got in ample stocks of fodder. Veterinarians took preventive measures against all possible animal diseases. These measures, coupled with lavish care for the

young animals, are responsible for the excellent results achieved.

It is a good year for other livestock too. The Inner Mongolian communes report the birth of about a hundred thousand calves and colts this spring.

Inner Mongolia, China's leading stockbreeding area and the first autonomous region to be set up, has increased its livestock considerably since 1957, the year before the establishment of the people's communes. New wells and other water conservancy projects built by the stockbreeding people's communes and state farms have improved watering facilities for cattle and sheep on large tracts of dry grazing grounds. The carrying capacity of the land has been greatly increased.

The region is becoming ever more important as a producer of draught animals, meat, wool, hides and other animal products. With the number of its sheep multiplying yearly, Inner Mongolia now ranks among the nation's leading wool and hide suppliers. Last year, besides sending millions of hides to Peking, Tientsin and other places, it shipped out well over 16 million *jin* of wool to woollen mills all over the country.

The area gives big help to agriculture too. Last year, as part of its contribution to the nation's agricultural drive, it provided the rural people's communes in over a dozen provinces with more than twice as many draught animals as it did in 1957.

Much has been done to improve the region's herds over the past few years. There has been a 14-fold increase in the herds of improved breeds of livestock. Today, Inner Mongolia's famed Sanho cattle and horses and improved pedigree sheep have been introduced to all the major stockbreeding centres across the land.

Museum on Tour

A miniature Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Museum recently completed a successful tour of Tientsin, Shanghai, Hangchow, Foochow, Amoy and other seaboard cities as well as many small islands just off the coast. More than 400,000 people, including workers, peasants, students and officers and men of the People's Liberation Army, have seen this mobile exhibition. They called it a "living history book" educating the people in Mao Tse-tung's teachings and the revolutionary traditions of the People's Liberation Army.

The Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Museum in Peking, which is itself an architectural monument to the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party, was opened to the public on August 1, 1960 — the 33rd anniversary of the founding of the P.L.A. It has a rich collection, beautifully displayed, of more than 20,000 exhibits, including unique historical documents and relics. These give a graphic picture of the revolutionary armed struggles waged by the Chinese people against their three great enemies — imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism — during the various stages of the revolution.

Over 2 million people have visited the museum since it opened. But millions more in other parts of the country are looking forward to an opportunity to see it. It was in answer to popular requests pouring in from all over the country that last August the museum organized this present mobile exhibition made up of hundreds of pictures of the relics and documents in the museum's collection. In Shanghai and Hangchow, many factories and people's communes on the outskirts borrowed part of the pictures for local exhibitions. In Foochow and Amoy, officers and men of P.L.A. units now on active service travelled many miles from the front to see this record of how their army fought and defeated the people's enemies in the past.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi on Disarmament Conference

"We hope that the current 17-nation disarmament conference in Geneva will achieve concrete results through the common efforts of the socialist and other peace-loving countries," said Vice-Premier Chen Yi in a speech made at the Pakistani National Day reception given by A.H. Khan, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Pakistani Embassy in Peking on March 23.

The Vice-Premier pointed out that "disarmament is an important question at the present time in the defence of world peace. The Chinese Government, which has always pursued a foreign policy of peace, has all along maintained a positive attitude towards the disarmament question. It has supported the proposals and measures for disarmament put forward on various occasions by the Soviet Union and repeatedly proposed that a peace pact

of non-aggression should be concluded by countries in Asia and around the Pacific, the United States included, to turn this whole region into one free of nuclear weapons."

"Of course," he stressed, "it is not easy to make the imperialists accept genuine disarmament. At present the United States, instead of showing any sincerity for disarmament, is actually expanding its armament in the name of disarmament, and is attempting to shift onto peace-loving nations the responsibility for the refusal to disarm."

"All peace-loving countries and peoples must maintain vigilance against these U.S. activities," declared Vice-Premier Chen Yi.

De Gaulle's Algerian Policy

by FENG LIN

THE Algerian people's victory in the recent Algerian-French negotiations is the result of their long years of national-liberation war. It was made possible by the head-on struggle they have waged against the French Government's military suppression and political deceptions; it came as a result of insisting on negotiations on an equal footing while at the same time carrying on the armed struggle. The French rulers certainly would not of their own accord bestow freedom on the Algerian people. In the past, the French colonialists not only refused to recognize Algeria's independence and sovereignty but went all out to crush the Algerian people's revolutionary struggle. But the defeat of their military suppression and public pressure compelled the French rulers to make concessions out of considerations for their own interests. Events in Algeria eloquently prove that unless the people put up a resolute struggle the imperialists will not give up their colonial interests. A review of the de Gaulle government's policy towards Algeria in the past four years makes this abundantly clear.

Sham Elections

When de Gaulle came to power in 1958, he promised a solution of the Algerian question and proclaimed his intention of realizing a "glorious peace" in Algeria. But, the meaning of his "glorious peace" was soon made clear in de Gaulle's "New Constitution" and his political programmes. The French Government simply ignored Algeria's independent status; it regarded Algeria as a permanent part of French territory. De Gaulle claimed that a political solution of the Algerian question could be realized only through "general elections," and that an "indispensable condition" for this was the "military pacification" of Algeria. De Gaulle's so-called "general

elections" meant nothing but that through sham elections in Algeria, a few more deputies of Algerian nationality under French control would be sent to the French National Assembly. At the same time, the French Government's military deployment against Algeria was stepped up. Shortly after de Gaulle's assumption of power, a further 80,000 French troops were sent to Algeria to reinforce the aggressive French army there. The French troops then started their attempt to wipe out the Algerian National Liberation Army (A.L.N.) by "encircling key points" and "pacification area by area." In August 1959, the French army massed 100,000 men to launch "mopping-up operations" against the A.L.N., which lasted nine days. In coordination with his political fraud and armed attack, de Gaulle put forward a phoney plan for economic development in Algeria. It is obvious that de Gaulle's "glorious peace" was never intended to mean giving complete independence to the Algerian people. On the contrary, de Gaulle hoped that Algeria's fight for independence could be crushed by military suppression and that by using political and economic tricks, the Algerian people could be induced to submit to permanent French colonial domination.

But events developed contrary to de Gaulle's wishful thinking. Boycotted by the Algerian people, the French-manipulated elections fell flat. At the same time, the French "encirclement" was smashed by the A.L.N. Along with the victory of the Algerian people's armed struggle, the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic was formally established in September 1958 to lead the national-liberation movement. This gave a new impetus to the Algerian national revolution. The Algerian people's righteous cause in fighting for independence was supported by the people of the world. Pressure for a

Algeria—Rich Land Impoverished by Colonialists

Algeria is a fertile land with rich resources. Nine-tenths of its people live in one-tenth of its territory—the northern plain that lies along the Mediterranean Sea coast. On this plain, with its sunny climate, plants and crops flourish. In the days of the ancient Roman Empire this area was called the “granary of the empire.” South of the coastal plain is the Atlas Mountain with its tablelands, basins and lakes, rich mineral deposits and forests and natural pasturelands. This is where the heroic Algerian National Liberation Army has built its base areas. South of the mountain area lies the Sahara Desert rich in natural resources. It is estimated that the oil deposits in the Sahara comprise one-sixth of the known deposits in the capitalist world. Output has continually increased, amounting to 16 million tons last year.

The French colonialists invaded Algeria in 1830. But owing to the Algerian people’s determined resistance, for a long time they only succeeded in occupying narrow strips along the coast and a small part of the hinterland. It was not until 1905 that all Algeria was occupied.

Of Algeria’s total population of 10.93 million, more than 1.1 million, or 10 per cent, are European settlers, most of them Frenchmen. The upper strata of the French settlers are ultra-colonialists, enjoying all kinds of economic and political privileges. Out of the 20 million hectares of arable land in Algeria, they are in possession of 11 million hectares of the most fertile. French financial and industrial oligarchies have monopolized all of Algeria’s mines and banking, over 90 per cent of its big commercial enterprises, foreign trade, modern transport and a

large part of its light processing industries. These have been the source of staggering profits to the French colonialists. Between 1947 and 1953, the profits grabbed by 23 French colonial companies jumped from 462 million francs to 6,579 million.

Although Algeria is a fertile country, its people have lived in poverty and starvation. About 2 million are unemployed and 400,000 are compelled to eke out a living as labourers in France. Some 300,000 are refugees in Tunisia and Morocco. This is the direct result of French colonial domination.



peaceful settlement of the Algerian question by the world’s people and particularly by the French people mounted steadily.

The Fraud of “Self-Determination”

Defeats on the battlefield and the people’s demand for a peaceful settlement of the Algerian question forced the de Gaulle government, while continuing its military suppression, to turn again to political means in the hope of furthering its own ends. In September 1959, de Gaulle for the first time put forward the proposal for self-determination for the Algerian people, and indicated that the Algerian people would be allowed to “choose their own future freely.” He no longer insisted, as in the past, on excluding the Algerian Provisional Government from the “referendum on self-determination,” but gave it “the right to speak” on the matter. But he still stubbornly refused to recognize Algeria’s sovereignty and the legal status of the Algerian Provisional Government. French Premier Debre even claimed that “Algeria’s sovereignty simply does not exist and has never existed.” To carry through the “self-determination” fraud, the French Government made play with a “referendum” in Algeria. Its aim was to get a handful of flunkys, who would “co-

operate” as a servant does with a master, and then hold discussions with them on the “future political status of Algeria,” and use these to counter the Algerian Provisional Government. At the same time, France went ahead with its “military pacification.” De Gaulle declared to the aggressive French troops in Algeria that nothing could be done unless an unquestionable victory was won on the battlefield, and that only after France had won the war could something be built up. It is clear that this sort of “self-determination” meant only that the Algerian people should accept the decisions of the French authorities.

The Algerian people, on their part, never ceased their struggle because of de Gaulle’s sweet promises of “self-determination.” In the Algerian liberated areas, the A.L.N. continued to fight back against the French assaults, while in the French-occupied areas, the Algerian people, responding to the call of the Algerian Provisional Government, protested and demonstrated against the French-staged “referendum.” De Gaulle’s plot ended in fiasco.

Negotiations Started

To get itself out of this plight, in June 1960, the de Gaulle government was forced to agree to hold talks at Melun with the Provisional Government of the Algerian

Republic. Although circumstances had compelled the French Government to beat a retreat, in the negotiations it still tried to act the conqueror. It refused to recognize the equal status of the representatives of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and in more ways than one restricted their rights and freedom. The French Government also unreasonably laid it down that the talks could "touch upon the question of ceasefire" only and could not discuss the "political future" of Algeria at all. Even de Gaulle's "self-determination" formula could not be taken as the "basis and content of the talks." It is not difficult to see that ceasefire talks of this sort were designed to get the Algerian people to lay down their arms. This, of course, they refused to do.

After the breakdown of the Melun talks, the French Government conspired to partition Algeria in an effort to cut from Algerian territory the Sahara Desert rich in natural resources, and leave it permanently occupied by France. To this end, de Gaulle once more staged a "referendum" in Algeria, hoping to set up an Algerian administrative body to facilitate his sinister design of carving up the country.

Why Was Agreement Possible?

In spite of their desperate struggles, developments in the situation became steadily unfavourable to the French colonialists. The French monopoly groups realized that if they were to continue the Algerian war which they had no hope to win, their oil interests in Algeria and French colonial domination would go under altogether. That is why, while doing their best to preserve as much as possible their economic and military interests in Algeria, they were willing to reach some sort of political agreement with Algeria so as to get a peaceful solution of the Algerian question under conditions advantageous to French monopoly capital. A peaceful solution could improve France's plight of isolation in world affairs, ease the contradictions at home and help stabilize de Gaulle's regime. At the same time it would help strengthen

France's position as a big European atomic power and thus facilitate its scramble for hegemony with Britain and the United States in world affairs.

It was out of these considerations that in May 1961, the French Government agreed to hold new talks on an equal footing with the Provisional Government of Algeria on the question of Algeria's "self-determination" and made it known that it would not object to the Algerian people choosing independence in the "self-determination." But though the French colonialists were in a disadvantageous position, the French Government was still unwilling to give up its colonialist stand in the negotiations. As before, it refused to recognize Algeria's sovereignty over the Sahara, and, to achieve its purpose of partitioning Algeria's territory, threatened to break off the negotiations. Faced with this insolent attitude of France, the representatives of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic declared that self-determination and independence should be put into effect in the whole territory of Algeria, that the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity was sacred and inviolable and that the Algerian people were determined to fight on for their country's sovereignty and unity. Because the Algerian patriotic forces stood firm by this principle and used the revolutionary double tactics of combining armed struggle with negotiations to deal with the imperialist counter-revolutionary double tactics, the French plot to partition Algeria fell through. De Gaulle was eventually compelled to recognize the Algerian people's sovereignty over the Sahara. This attitude of de Gaulle's presented new possibilities for the Algerian-French peace talks.

Now the ceasefire agreement in Algeria has come into effect. De Gaulle's past performance on the Algerian question and particularly the ever more frenzied disruptive activities carried out by the "Secret Army Organization" of the French ultra-colonialists make it clear that the Algerian people will be confronted with a complex struggle in their continued efforts for the realization of complete independence.

Latin American Survey

Guatemala's Struggle Against Tyranny

by CHANG LU

THE Central American state of Guatemala is in the grip of an acute political crisis. Anti-government strikes and demonstrations by workers and students continue in defiance of the most brutal repressions. In Guatemala City, capital of the country, barricades have been set up by the people who have clashed with government troops and police sent to overpower them. The struggle is spreading to the hinterland where, a UPI dispatch admits, "disturbances" have reached "an unprecedented scale." The regime of the U.S. puppet Ydigoras has become very shaky indeed.

Guerrilla activities which have broken out in Guatemala in recent months have given a sharp impetus to the

patriotic struggle. The guerrillas supported by the people have repeatedly attacked government troops and fought several successful engagements. In conditions where a "state of siege" has been repeatedly extended and constitutional guarantees have been denied to the people, the taking up of arms constitutes a new and important development in the struggle against tyranny in Guatemala.

Old Scores to Settle

The Guatemalan people have many old scores to settle with the pro-U.S. ruling dictatorship and its U.S. masters. In 1954, U.S. imperialism financed and openly directed the traitorous Armas bandits in their invasion

of the country and the overthrowing of the popular and duly elected Arbenz government. The intervention was carried out under a smokescreen of fighting communism, but in fact all the Arbenz government ever did was to introduce a number of democratic reforms to develop the national economy. Outstanding among these was the agrarian reform which expropriated 159,022 hectares of the unused land held by the "United Fruit Company," the U.S. monopoly whose control over the country is so great that it is often described in Guatemala as "the state within a state." Once again, the experience of Guatemala provides irrefutable proof that the U.S. Government does not hesitate to resort to naked aggression against a Latin American country when it considers its imperialist interests are threatened.

Plunged Into Darkness

Under Armas, Guatemala was once again plunged into darkness. Not only did the people lose practically all the democratic gains made during the Arbenz government's administration, but numerous patriots were murdered in the bloodbath organized by the dictator. At the same time, all the expropriated land was promptly taken back from the peasants and restored to the United Fruit Co. However, the puppet-dictator Armas was so hated by the Guatemalan people that three years after he came to power he was killed by one of his own bodyguards. So, to ensure the continued domination of U.S. imperialism, another U.S. placeman, Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, was made president.

The Ydigoras government has followed the same traitorous policies as that pursued by its predecessor. As the U.S. tightens its grip on the country and intensifies its exploitation, Guatemala's economy steadily worsens and its people become poorer. From 1955 to 1960, total U.S. investments increased by another 22 per cent and the profits made by such U.S. monopolies as the United Fruit Co., the International Railways of Central America and the Electric Bond and Share Corp. became still more fabulous. United Fruit alone annually extracts U.S. \$100 million from Guatemala. It is calculated that U.S. monopolies and the local capitalists rob the Guatemalan workers of 2.48 quetzal per man per day. Since the Guatemalan peasants have to hand over from 50 to 70 per cent of their annual harvest to the latifundists, they are always on the verge of starvation. Small wonder then that the average life-span of a Guatemalan is only 22 years and two months, one of the lowest in the world.

U.S. Base Against Cuba

The Guatemalan people, of course, will not tolerate their increasingly hard lot. They demand change. But, as usual, Ydigoras' reply is intensified repression. He has also tried to use the bogy of "invasion" and "intervention" from Cuba to divert the attention of the people. In fact, it is Guatemala which on U.S. instructions has been turned into a base for aggression against Cuba. During the Giron Beach invasion last April, a large part of the U.S. mercenaries were Guatemala-based, as were the U.S. planes which bombed peaceful Cuban cities. Today,

Guatemala is studded with U.S. bases where U.S. mercenaries are readying for another attack against Cuba. This is no secret as Ydigoras himself openly boasted during a recent speech about Guatemala's role in the last invasion.

Ydigoras' policy of serving as a cat's paw of the U.S. against Cuba backfired, however. The Guatemalan people oppose intervention against Cuba; they look on the Cuban revolution as an example for their own country to follow. There have been numerous demonstrations of protest and strikes in support of Cuba and against Ydigoras' collusion with Yankee imperialism, and the more severe the regime's repressions, the stronger becomes the people's resistance. Today the patriotic movement against the puppet dictatorship has an even broader base and is more powerful than ever.

The "November 13" Guerrillas

The seeds of discontent have spread through the ranks of the government troops, which were the Ydigoras government's main prop. Already on November 13, 1960, an armed uprising of officers and men took place against the regime. But because it failed to rely on the people, it was put down by Ydigoras, helped by direct U.S. intervention in the form of U.S. aircraft and the pilots to man them. Some junior officers who had taken part in the uprising, however, withdrew to the mountains. They regrouped their forces and established the "Alejandro de Leon—November 13 Guerrilla Front" (named after the leader of this armed action who was killed by Ydigoras' secret police in 1961). This group has been very active recently. On February 6 this year, it attacked government troops in Morales and Bananera in Isabal Province. This was followed by the temporary seizure of two government radio stations in and near Guatemala City. It is clear that the guerrillas have succeeded in expanding their ranks despite government expeditions sent against them.

In a recent statement, the "November 13" Guerrilla Front declared that since it was impossible to change the government's policy through peaceful means, it was compelled to choose the only road open to the people at present, namely, armed struggle for the recovery of democratic rights and for progress. The Front also announced its programme as: economic independence for the country; agrarian reform; gradual industrialization; severe punishment of those guilty of corruption in the government and establishment of a government composed of honest people; remoulding the army into a defender of national sovereignty and people's freedom; reorganization of the police and other reforms. The Revolutionary Patriotic Front (composed of representatives of patriotic officers and soldiers taking part in the armed struggle and other democratic forces) and the Labour Party of Guatemala have also called on the people to strengthen their revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the Ydigoras regime. There can be no doubt that, with close unity and persistent struggle, and by constantly expanding the revolutionary forces, the Guatemalan people will eventually overthrow the U.S.-supported Ydigoras puppet regime and re-establish a democratic government.

U.S. and the Common Market

by YANG CHAN-LIN

EARLY this month, after tough and prolonged bargaining, the United States and the six West European Common Market countries, Britain and some twenty other states finally reached agreement on mutual tariff reductions.

Washington, putting on the pressure, got something of what it wants, but there was no question of the West European countries "giving in." Professor Erhard, the Bonn economics minister, has just proclaimed that "Europe is no longer a junior partner, but an equal partner of the United States."

The growth of the socialist camp and the advance of the national-liberation movement in the former colonies and dependencies of the imperialists have steadily narrowed down the capitalist world market. The cut-throat competition and scramble among the monopoly groups of the capitalist countries for that shrinking market is becoming more intense. The tensions between the United States and the European Common Market are just one aspect of that competition.

Why the U.S. "Backs" the Common Market

As the economic arm of the aggressive NATO bloc, the West European Common Market enjoys Washington's enthusiastic backing. U.S. policies of aggression and expansion are in line with the economic integration sought by the Common Market Six (France, West Germany, Italy and the three Benelux countries). Washington, by supporting this "European integration movement," seeks to strengthen the imperialist camp in opposition to the socialist camp. It aims to bring about first the economic and later the political integration of all the West European countries under its own control as its European bulwark against socialism. But, of course, that is not all there is to it. The U.S. imperialists want European integration; there is a certain measure of agreement among the West European monopolies and also the United States on such integration, but there are also marked differences between the West European countries on the Common Market question and also between them and the United States. Besides, the U.S. imperialists have ulterior aims that are pretty well known now. They seek to tighten U.S. political and economic control over Western Europe and to improve their chances of stepping into the shoes of the old imperialist countries so as to plunder their ex-colonies. Last, but most important, there are the masses of the European countries who have no wish to be pawns in these imperialist schemes. The current "love affair"

between the United States and the Common Market, therefore, has more than one "lovers' quarrel" to settle.

Economic Motives of U.S. Drive Into Europe

Soon after assuming office, Kennedy took measures to press ahead with the creation of a "unified Western Europe" under U.S. leadership. He put heavy pressure on Britain to force her to join the Common Market even at the cost of severing old Commonwealth ties. At the end of last year he also forced the reorganization of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (O.E.E.C.) into the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development to include the U.S.A. and Canada. Early this year he asked Congress to pass a new "Trade Expansion Act" (see *Peking Review*, No. 7, p. 12) to be used by the United States as a means of forcing its way into the Common Market while proposing the formation of a "North Atlantic Common Market." Kennedy was in a hurry. The economic reasons why the ruling clique in the United States is so anxious to force its way into the West European Common Market have become increasingly urgent.

The economic development of the Common Market Six has been rather swift in the last three years. The gross value of national production within the Six has grown at an average annual rate of 5.4 per cent, twice as fast as that of the United States. Today the West European Common Market with its population of 170 million has become the biggest import market in the capitalist world. In 1960 the value of its imports amounted to \$30,000 million. In the last three years following a reduction of 30 per cent in tariffs in the Common Market in accordance with the Rome Treaty, trade among the Six increased by 50 per cent. Their gold and foreign exchange reserves increased fast, too, and are now over five times as large as they were in 1950. At present they total \$16,000 million as against \$3,100 million in 1950, and are now only slightly less than the gold reserve of the United States. At the same time, the short-term foreign indebtedness of the Six, amounting to only \$2,000 million, is much smaller than the United States' foreign debt of \$19,400 million. So, when short-term foreign debts are deducted, the gold and foreign exchange reserves of the Six are actually much larger than those of the United States. The economic position of the Six has been relatively strengthened, while that of the United States has been relatively weakened.

There is, of course, nothing miraculous about this economic spurt of the Common Market. It is partly due to post-World War II rehabilitation spurred by U.S. dollar injections. However that may be, Western Europe in its

boom has been the biggest and most profitable market for U.S. exports in recent years. It has absorbed one-third of U.S. exported industrial goods and nearly one-half of its exported farm produce. But with their growing economic strength the Common Market Six have been getting increasingly independent in their attitude to Uncle Sam economically as well as politically. If this trend were to continue unchecked, as it is already becoming apparent, it would become more and more difficult for U.S. industrial goods to find a ready market in Western Europe.

Kennedy put the heat on Britain to join the Common Market, but if Macmillan's Britain does join, this would still more seriously affect the sale of U.S. industrial goods in Western Europe unless counter-measures are taken.

On January 14 this year, the Common Market entered its second stage as envisaged by the Rome Treaty, when it moved to extend the Market to include farm produce. Although full implementation of the agreements on this phase will take time, it will, sooner or later, affect U.S. exports of surplus farm produce to the West European Six. Moreover, if and when the other members of the European Free Trade Association (the Outer Seven) follow Britain into the Common Market, increased quantities of farm produce from countries such as Denmark and Portugal are sure to arrive to make the competition still tougher for U.S. farm exports to Western Europe.

To counter these adverse trends Kennedy is now seeking to get Uncle Sam's boot firmly planted in the front door of the Common Market mansion. His current mutual tariff arrangements are a key part of this strategy.

New Factors

The U.S. has been forced to shift its attitude to the West European countries and the Common Market in recent years. When Western Europe lay exhausted in the immediate post-World War II years, the U.S. was unquestioned top-dog there. Britain, France and West Germany, the biggest European powers, all lived on U.S. handouts given on the most onerous terms. The advance of the Common Market countries, and the change in the relative positions of the U.S. and the West European states has created a new situation.

The United States has recently had to beg West Germany to take over some of the burdens of its big expenditures abroad on so-called "aid to underdeveloped countries" in pursuit of its imperialist policies of aggression and expansion, and to counter the influence of the socialist world and the national-liberation movements. To stop the outflow of gold from the United States that results from its huge adverse balance of international payments, Washington had to beg Bonn to repay a debt of \$587 million earlier than it was due and also to increase the value of the West German mark. Hoping to stabilize its currency with the help of the gold and foreign currency exchange reserves of the West European countries, the United States has concluded an agreement with West Germany, France, Canada and seven other capitalist countries under which these undertook to provide a loan of \$6,000 million to the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund to be drawn on to protect the dollar and pound sterling in the event of a crisis. West Germany, France and the Netherlands, however, saw to it that this loan should not be solely handled by the I.M.F. but be

used under the supervision of the creditor nations and that only when there was financial trouble caused by speculation. The U.S., therefore, failed to get its way fully.

Its European partners have been quick to take advantage of their new and stronger position vis-a-vis the United States. Washington is manoeuvring to occupy fresh positions from which to exercise its waning control. It has, for example, abandoned its old method of playing off the Common Market Six against the Outer Seven headed by Britain with itself as arbiter and forced Britain to approach the Paris-Bonn axis to join the Common Market so as to help control the Six from within. Britain, considering its own political and economic interests—its political isolation from the West European continent and economic weakness in competition with the Six—took the plunge last July to apply for admission to the Common Market.

The U.S. monopolies are in two minds about these developments. They regarded the weakness and disunity of Western Europe in the past as a weakness of the whole position of the imperialist camp. But the strengthening of Western Europe as a "third force" is also fraught with danger to U.S. hegemony in the imperialist world. It is in an attempt to establish the U.S. leadership of Europe on a new basis that Washington negotiates tariff reductions and other economic measures of "partnership" with the Common Market.

U.S. Terms

The terms put forward by the United States for this partnership are that (1) its partners should remove their tariff walls and "liberalize" trade and (2) establish a "North Atlantic Common Market."

Just as it used the bogey man of the "menace of communism" to force through the NATO "joint action programme" in military affairs so it is using the same "threat from the East" to force through its plans for a North Atlantic Common Market. A bitter struggle is now on concerning these terms with Britain and France leading the opposition.

The "Trade Expansion Act of 1962" which Kennedy presented to Congress, is the weapon with which he hopes to breach the trade walls of the Common Market. This act enables him to negotiate with the European Common Market countries for a 50 per cent cut in tariffs and for reduction or elimination of all tariffs on those commodities in which the United States and the Common Market countries together account for 80 per cent or more of the trade of the capitalist world.

Before this new trade act was presented, the U.S. Government had alternated between tough and soft means in dealing with the West European Six, bringing pressure to bear upon them while also making some "concessions." After protracted talks, on January 16 this year, agreement was finally reached to reduce the tariffs for industrial goods of all parties concerned by 20 per cent. A similar agreement on farm produce was not reached. In the course of the negotiations the United States hoped, but failed, to obtain guarantees from the Common Market bloc that the latter would continue to import U.S. farm produce. The Six only promised to reduce tariffs on certain farm imports.

The latest March agreement reached under American pressure is to the advantage of the United States. Under this agreement, the West European Common Market countries will reduce their common tariffs against outsiders on most industrial goods by 20 per cent. The United States, in return, will reduce the tariffs on motor vehicles and other items it imports from the West European Common Market countries. The concessions made to the United States will involve transactions amounting to \$1,600 million, while those made by the United States to the Common Market countries involve transactions amounting to \$1,200 million. In addition, the United States has also obtained concessions described as "compensatory adjustments" from the Common Market countries on business amounting to \$2,700 million. The Common Market countries have also agreed to take steps to ensure that most of the present exports of U.S. farm produce will continue to retain their position in the Common Market countries. In its negotiations with Britain, the United States has obtained lowered tariffs on 320 items while itself agreeing to lower tariffs by 20 per cent on only 135 items. Kennedy has expressed satisfaction with U.S. gains in these talks and his Secretary of the Treasury has also declared that these tariff reductions were beneficial to the United States.

But this does not mean that contradictions among these "partners" have lessened; it is just that the field of battle has shifted. Kennedy has also stressed the "competitive" challenge presented to the United States by the Common Market countries. He said, "all this is still ahead, and will always be beyond our reach to reverse the effects it will have on our economy."

Mutual Blows

U.S. exports to Western Europe have increased in recent years, due mainly to the growth of industrial production in these countries. But since the beginning of last year, the economic boom in these countries has begun to sound a bit hollow. Their economies have slipped in varying degrees. Industrial production in both West Germany and France has showed signs of instability with faltering sales on both the home and foreign markets. At home, France is facing strong competition from other Common Market countries, notably West Germany. In the United States, France's chief export market, French cars, a big export item, are being edged out by the American automobile industry which is staging a fresh drive against competition from foreign cars. West Germany's steel industry is also having a hard time both at home and abroad where the competition from low-priced French steel is stiff. To strengthen their respective positions in the battle for markets, the West German and French monopoly groups are all increasing their investments in plant and equipment. Now that the United States, by means of trade "liberalization," is increasing its exports to Western Europe, with the capitalist world market diminishing, the contradictions between the U.S. monopoly groups and the West European monopoly groups will inevitably be aggravated further.

It is also doubtful how long or how much these tariff reductions will help stabilize the U.S. economy. As mentioned above, Washington aims to increase U.S. exports

to improve its balance of trade and alleviate its growing international payments crisis. It is true that mutual tariff reductions may boost U.S. exports to Western Europe, but under circumstances where the economy of all Western Europe is unstable, more West European products, especially those hitherto discriminated against in the U.S. market, West German and French motor cars for instance, will certainly be poured into the United States to take advantage of U.S. tariff reductions. The greater amount of goods coming into the United States will tend to offset the benefits resulting from increased exports, thus negating the U.S. monopoly groups' attempt to alleviate their international payments crisis.

"Liberalization" of trade will adversely affect the U.S. economy. Owing to inflation which has caused prices to soar and the high monopoly prices due to the greed of the monopoly groups for super-profits, costs of many U.S. goods are comparatively higher than those of goods produced in other countries. High production costs and prices lessen the competitive power of U.S. goods on the West European market. To get around this the U.S. monopolies will transfer more of their capital to West Europe to exploit cheap European labour and get in under tariff barriers. The result of such large outflows of capital into foreign countries will be: (1) a steady reduction in the number of enterprises at home, with a consequent steady rise in the number of unemployed and still greater instability in the U.S. economy and social unrest among all those who are excluded from the benefits enjoyed by the ruling group of U.S. monopolists: the mass of workers, employees, farmers and the small capitalists; (2) there will be fewer salable goods for export, consequently, the U.S. balance of trade will also become still less favourable. A smaller favourable balance of trade and bigger exports of capital (though this will, of course, also increase returns from overseas investment), will inevitably aggravate the development of its international payments crisis.

Kennedy's "Trade Expansion Act" is also aimed to protect the interests of the U.S. monopolies at the expense of other countries. When the West European Six increase their exports to the United States, damaging American interests, Washington hopes to use its built-in escape clause — the "peril points" clause (the provision that U.S. domestic industries are considered in danger if imported goods exceed certain limits), to impose restrictions once again on certain products from its West European "partners." But it is not to be doubted that the West European countries in such cases will take retaliatory measures. Under these circumstances, the so-called "liberalization" of trade will evidently not go very far.

As the general crisis of capitalism deepens, the problem of markets becomes ever more acute and the competition ever sharper. Neither "free trade" nor protection can save U.S. capitalism.

U.S. relations with the West European Common Market have entered a new stage since Kennedy put forward his "Trade Expansion Act of 1962." U.S. monopoly capital is trying to throw an economic noose around the neck of its "partners" and tighten its control over them. The contradictions between the United States and the West European countries will further sharpen; new fierce struggles are shaping up in the imperialist camp.

"Welfare State" for Whom?

by WANG YU-CHUAN

SINCE the 1930s, bourgeois economists have been trying to make out that state monopoly capitalism has laid the foundations of the "welfare state." More recently, the Kennedy Administration in the United States and the British Labour Party have had a great deal to say about this. But, what is the reality of this so-called "welfare state"?

"Welfare State"—Instrument of Monopoly Capitalism

Between 1929 and 1933, the entire capitalist world was engulfed in an economic crisis. Bourgeois economists then began to realize that neither the economic panaceas of such "neo-classical" economists as Marshall and Pigou nor the prevailing *laissez-faire* ideas of the time, could solve the problems of mass unemployment and the increasing impoverishment of the working class in capitalist countries. On the other hand, socialist ideas were gaining ground among the people at large. An ever larger mass of people were getting organized politically and taking direct strike action demanding protection and improvement of their conditions of life. It was at this juncture that a number of political reformists and economists appeared waving the banner of social reform, and seeking to introduce minor reforms with the help of capitalist governments. Their purpose was to paralyse the militant revolutionary spirit of the working class, hold back the proletarian revolution and save dying capitalism. Prominent among them was J.M. Keynes.

The development of state monopoly capitalism on an unprecedented scale in the post-World War II years has sharpened the internal contradictions of the capitalist system. The achievements of the triumphant working class in the socialist countries in ending unemployment and in bettering the conditions of the masses and in socialist construction, were exerting an ever greater attraction for the masses in the capitalist countries. This forced the ruling clique and the monopoly capitalist groups in the leading capitalist countries to adopt a policy of appeasement. The capitalist state, to cover up its role as an instrument of class oppression, hypocritically assumed additional public welfare functions in regard to education and public health, running public utilities, sponsoring social insurance, taking part in setting wage rates, limiting monopoly prices and so on. The apologists for capitalism have made great play with these petty favours, inflating them into the concept of the "welfare state." In actual fact, such "relief welfare" is a product of the capitalist system and it has been won by the working class only through hard, tenacious struggle against the resistance of the monopoly capitalists. As a consequence of the advance of capital accumulation and the increase in the organic composition of capital, a huge industrial reserve army has been created. To preserve the capitalist system, the bourgeois states find themselves compelled to institute some measures of relief for the masses to ease the worst

abuses. But the cost of even these petty benefits, in the end, mostly falls on to the shoulders of the working class. In Britain and the United States, for instance, social insurance and unemployment relief funds are, for the most part, made up of deductions from the workers' own wages. Kept men of the capitalist rulers as they are, the paid scholars, reformists and revisionists have been developing pseudo-theories of the "welfare state" and "democratic socialism" to sabotage and split the workers' movement.

In their attempt to conceal the fact that the state apparatus is the tool of the monopolies, modern bourgeois economists baldly deny the class nature of the modern bourgeois state. They describe it as standing "above-class," as a neutral institution, concerned solely with the welfare of the people as a whole and with no other purpose than to secure social harmony. They explain the merging of the state with the monopolies as a process through which the bourgeois state contains the growth of monopoly influence. They try to make out that this state, which is dedicated only to the interests of the monopoly capitalists, safeguards the interests of all classes and all citizens. By fabricating theories of this kind, both the opportunists and reformists hope to prove that the nature of the capitalist state is changing, and that the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are being eliminated. Right-wing Socialists, including the British Labour Party, are thus propagating the idea that capitalism can grow peacefully into "socialism" through the "welfare state." At the same time in the United States a number of Keynesians brag about the economic prosperity and full employment which a "welfare state" can bring.

The "welfare state" theory in the present-day United States is zealously advocated among others, by A.H. Hansen, a leading Keynesian and a loyal servant of monopoly capital. Hansen, one-time adviser to the U.S. State Department, the Social Security Advisory Committee and the Federal Reserve Board, has written that the "welfare state is primarily a redistributor of income and a big buyer of the products of private enterprises."* According to him, the "welfare state" also provides a solid foundation upon which to build a full-employment programme. The steady increase in government purchases of the products of private enterprise—actually a means of putting huge profits into the pockets of the monopolies—is described by Hansen as the development of a "mixed public-private economy." In his opinion, although there is no significant growth of government state ownership of the means of production or of public enterprise in this "mixed economy," the "welfare state" is growing steadily. Fully committed to capitalist private ownership, Hansen emphasizes that it is the government's part to

* A.H. Hansen, *American Economy*, McGraw-Hill, N.Y., 1957, p. 149.

spend heavily. For him production is exclusively the job of private enterprise. He boasts of the high level of "prosperity" and "full employment" achieved in the U.S.A. since World War II. He contends that certain "welfare state" measures (such as the progressive income tax, social security payments, farm-support programmes, and the like) have greatly contributed to stabilization of the economy. According to him measures of the bourgeois state designed to pacify the workers such as government-sponsored housing programmes, rural electrification, government credit and loan operations and social insurance, are features of the "welfare state."

This "theory of the welfare state," which has wide currency in bourgeois academic economic circles in the United States, has also evoked a response among the revisionists. In a series of anti-Marxist articles published in October 1957, Alexander Bittelman, a Right opportunist, renegade from the Communist Party of the U.S.A., praised such "welfare state" measures to the skies and advertised the idea that the "welfare state" is the stage of peaceful transition from monopoly capitalism to socialism. He declared that internationally, the present stage is one of peaceful coexistence, and nationally, of the "welfare state." With this absurd argument, he evidently hoped to refute the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian dictatorship and socialist revolution.

For Whose Welfare?

As capitalism develops, the contradiction between socialized production and private capitalist appropriation becomes ever greater. Capitalist production is closely accompanied by economic crises and unemployment. Flying in the face of reality, Hansen and his set boast that a "welfare state" brings about full employment. But facts speak otherwise. According to the unemployment figures released recently by U.S. official agencies, ever since 1953, the total number of completely unemployed has never been less than 5.5 per cent of the labour force. The

average number of unemployed in 1958 was actually 4.63 million, or 6.8 per cent of the whole work force. Even in 1959, a relatively prosperous year, the number of unemployed still amounted to 3.81 million, or 5.5 per cent of the labour force. In the first ten months of 1961, the number of unemployed even exceeded the 5 million mark, constituting 7 per cent of the entire work force and reaching the peak of unemployment since America's severe crisis in the thirties. Towards the end of 1961, the number of unemployed totalled 4 million and 7.5 million people were living on relief. It must be noted that the official figures are much smaller than the actual ones. These government statistics on unemployment do not even include the semi-employed, new school and college graduates seeking jobs, those on leave or sick leave, those laid off temporarily or demobilized servicemen. But even so, and with the government engaged on an unprecedented arms drive and war preparations the number of unemployed still remains critically large. Kennedy has now decided that a "reasonable" rate of unemployment is 4 per cent of the labour force. But in the last ten years the number of unemployed in that "welfare state" of his has never once dropped to that "reasonable" figure, and it remains a big headache for the Kennedy Administration.

The measures of a "welfare state" based on Keynes' theories aim, in addition to ensuring full employment, to redistribute incomes through taxation policy. This, without changing the capitalist mode of production, is a vain hope and a deception. Under capitalism, the taxation system serves the bourgeoisie. By tax evasions and otherwise shifting the burden to others, the capitalists see to it that the working people shoulder most of the main load of taxation. In the United States, individual income tax, mostly deducted in advance from wages, increased from U.S. \$27,000 million in the fiscal year 1958 to \$33,000 million in 1961, an increase of 22 per cent. During the same period, indirect, or excise taxes, which

For Your Reference

Who Bears the Brunt of the Tax Burden in the United States?

TAXES in the United States, both federal and state, are of many kinds. But the individual income tax and corporation income and profit taxes are the main ones. Before World War II, the tax on the income and profit of corporations yielded more revenue than the individual income tax. In the postwar years, however, this position has been reversed. In the last 20 years the yield from the individual income tax has grown 44.8-fold while that from corporation taxes has grown only 17.3-fold.

Individual income taxes are paid mainly by all wage earners, workers, clerks, teachers, etc., whose income reaches a taxable level and by all self-employed persons. It is true that the amount paid is fixed on a progressive scale, but those in the higher income brackets have all sorts of ways of getting round the law (through extra bonuses, for instance). The American workers, besides paying individual income taxes, also contribute along with their employers dollar for dollar to the employment tax. This is also known as the social security tax and old-age pensions and unemployment relief are paid out of it.

By such means as raising prices, "speed up" or longer working hours, the owners of big businesses shift the **corporation income and profit taxes** as well as their share of the employment tax onto the shoulders of the working people. Monopoly capital interests are thus little affected by increases in the rate of the corporation income and profit tax. U.S. corporation profits are increasing every year. Their net profit of \$16,800 million in 1954 increased to \$23,700 million in 1959, an increase of \$6,900 million in a matter of five years.

Excise taxes, the third largest source of revenue for the U.S. Treasury, also fall mainly on the American people at large. These taxes amounted to \$1,680 million in fiscal 1940 and reached \$11,865 million in 1960, an increase of more than sevenfold. To date, excise taxes constitute one-third to two-thirds of the retail price of a commodity but to millionaires and high-salaried executives are a mere trifle. A man with an annual income of one million dollars pays only 0.02 per cent of his earnings in excise taxes.

are the most unfair type of tax since they indiscriminately and mainly hit the masses, also went up from U.S. \$10,800 million to \$12,100 million, a 12 per cent increase, while corporation taxes levied directly on company profits, increased only from \$20,500 million to \$21,800 million, a mere 6 per cent increase. While this taxation policy operated, wages and salaries increased from \$239,800 million in 1958 to \$271,300 million in 1960, giving just a 1 per cent increase in the amount of total disposable personal income. But capitalist income from dividends and interest rose from \$33,400 million in 1958 to \$40,300 million in 1960. This is a 10 per cent increase in the amount of total disposable personal income.* This makes it crystal clear that taxation policies in the present-day capitalist United States, instead of leading to a more equal distribution of wealth and incomes, only widens the gulf between rich and poor.

According to Hansen, as we have previously noted, besides providing full employment and redistributing incomes, a major task of a "welfare state" is to purchase huge quantities of the products of private enterprise. It is true that the Federal Government does buy equipment and certain other supplies for its health, educational and public housing projects, but its main purchases fall into the category of military orders. This can be shown by the following figures on federal expenditure:**

Fiscal Year	Total Expenditure	Military Expenditure	Labour & Welfare Expenditure
1958	71,369	44,142	3,447
1959	80,342	46,426	4,421
1960	76,539	45,627	4,419
1961†	81,503	47,402	4,949

(unit: U.S.\$ million)

Annual labour and welfare expenditure as shown above, except in 1961, does not even amount to one-tenth

of military expenditure, and makes up only about 4-5 per cent of total government outlay. According to Kennedy's 1962 budgetary message, although there is a slight increase in U.S. expenditure on health, labour and welfare programmes (estimated at U.S. \$5,100 million) for the fiscal year 1963, military expenditure, by contrast, has risen sharply to U.S. \$52,700 million, and is 10.3 times as much as welfare expenditure.

So it turns out that the development of the "welfare state" which Hansen advertised in his *American Economy* is just a synonym for the rapid growth of a "warfare state"! Today, capitalism has already developed into the stage of state monopoly capitalism, and the state apparatus is now completely subordinated to the monopoly capitalist class; by sending its direct representatives to key positions of control, that class makes full use of the "state" as its tool in acquiring wealth for itself; and military expenditure is the very source from which they get the bulk of their huge profits.

When Kennedy assumed office last year, he talked on the one hand a great deal about "promoting the general welfare" but, on the other, he has engaged in a frenzied arms drive and preparations for war. Today, militarization of the national economy has become the main content of that "general welfare state" of which the Kennedy Administration boasts. The ultimate result of this "general welfare state" and of "adjustments in economic life" is, as Lenin pointed out, the emergence of *military labour camps* for the workers, and also for part of the farmers, and a *paradise* for the bankers and other capitalists.

* Taxation figures are from the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, September 1961; income figures are from *Survey of Current Business*, August 1961.

** *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, September 1961, p. 1073.

† Estimate.

Report From Hupeh

Doubling Cotton Output in Four Years

by CHU YI-FAN

THE last few years have provided examples of a number of places where the peasants have succeeded in boosting farm output even in the teeth of bad weather which, under pre-liberation conditions would have led to disaster or near disaster. In each case salvation and advance was due to the fact that the peasants made good use of the rural people's commune system and courageously pressed ahead with their efforts to improve their farming methods.

The five people's communes in Hsinchang, Yitu County, Hupeh Province in central China, well illustrate this point. In 1961 they suffered the worst drought they have had in the last fifty years, yet they not only kept up cotton output but improved it and harvested 8.4 per cent more cotton than in the year before.

These five Hsinchang farms have been increasing their output of cotton at a steady average of 20.3 per cent a

year over the past four years. The area under cotton has remained fairly stable, so the increases have come almost entirely from higher yields per *mu*. About one-third of the production brigades in these communes reaped 100 *jin* of ginned cotton per *mu* last year. (Figures on cotton in this article all refer to ginned cotton.) That is, they have already reached the highest target of per *mu* yield set for cotton in the National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-67).

It must be remembered that in 1955 the national average yield for cotton was only 35 *jin* per *mu* and even in this traditional Yangtse valley cotton region, a yield of 100 *jin* per *mu* was regarded as quite successful. Even as late as 1954, it was headline news throughout the county if a farmer raised such a yield even on a small plot. Now this yield and over is raised on huge tracts amounting to thousands of *mu*.

These exceptional cotton yields were not got at the expense of other crops, grains and oil-bearing crops, animal husbandry or other rural sidelines. On the contrary, the five people's communes made considerable advances in all these other activities as well. As a result of these all-round advances the five communes have been able to put aside large sums to capital reserves and also bought themselves five tractors, 23 engines and a large number of carts, sowers and sprayers. Individual commune members have received larger incomes and many enlarged their savings bank accounts.

Overcoming Difficulties

Hsinchang had to work hard and wisely to get these results. It had to overcome big natural difficulties and irrational social-economic conditions left over from the past. Lying on the north bank of the Yangtse River not far below the river port of Ichang, its farmlands, in general, slope downwards towards the north and contain five small lakes and many ponds. In the past it was no unusual occurrence for the Yangtse to flood, breaching its dykes and inundating a large part of the Hsinchang farms. In pre-liberation years the dykes were badly neglected by the warlord and Kuomintang authorities and floods were frequent. The low-lying nature of the Hsinchang terrain and inadequate drainage resulted in prolonged waterlogging; usually as much as half of the Hsinchang lands were affected by such floods.

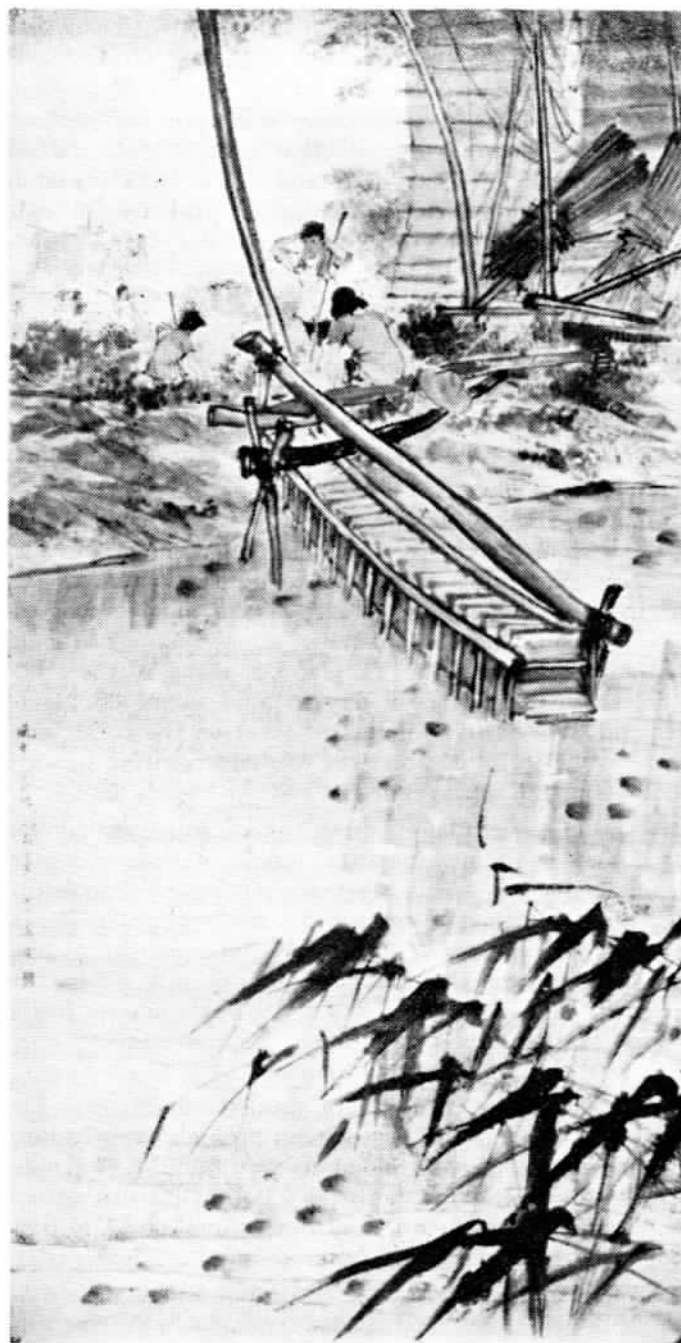
The individual, small-scale and scattered nature of the private farms added to the difficulties. There were constant arguments among the farmers about drainage. Those who farmed the upper lands naturally wanted to drain off their fields to the low-lying fields as soon as possible, but the peasants owning the low lands naturally wanted to get their fields drained and back under crops as soon as they could, so they in their turn would do all they could to prevent fresh water coming down into their fields from the higher level farms. Under the conditions of those days it was a vain counsel of perfection to suggest that the lowland farmers should agree to some sacrifices and share losses with their less fortunate neighbours.

Troubles caused by too much water or too little water, the limitations of the small-peasant economy and all sorts of other evils under the Kuomintang regime reduced the Hsinchang peasants to dire straits. The cotton situation alone indicated how serious things were. In 1949 the Hsinchang farms had 45,000 *mu* planted to cotton, but one-quarter of this area failed to produce full-grown bolls and the remaining area yielded only 20 to 30 *jin* a *mu*.

The flood problem was basically solved by the advent of the People's Government in 1949. One of the first things it did was to raise and strengthen the Yangtse dykes. But as long as the peasants worked their own individual plots it was impossible to solve the drainage problem. This was hardly tackled even when they began to form mutual-aid teams. It was only when they formed co-op farms and began to pool their fields and manage large tracts of land collectively that a certain number of new drainage channels were cut and cotton yields began to increase somewhat.

Communes Tackle the Problem

The next big change came with the organization of the five people's communes in 1958. They put the cutting of drainage channels in a top place in their plan of work.



Resting by the Windmill

Traditional Chinese painting by Wu Kuei

Their first draft plan was a pretty ambitious one which proposed to use the larger channels for navigation as well as drainage. This, however, was found too big to be finished in the few months before the spring sowing of 1959. The communes then had to do some fast thinking. Either the plan should be pushed through even at the cost of delaying or postponing other regular farm work or it should be left half completed and a year lost before reaping any benefit from it.

Some people also pointed out that if navigation was to be ensured large amounts of water would have to be left in the channels the year round, and since the channels were mainly for drainage purposes the wisdom of this was doubtful. The channels would have used large areas of fertile land if the full scheme were to be carried out. The area was already short of land for lack of space for reclamation, so this loss of good land was certainly a question to be reconsidered.

Finally it was agreed to reduce the scale of the drainage system. The communes set to and were able to complete the revised new plan by the spring of the new year. The drainage system was soon put to the test: it successfully handled the run-off from the big cloudbursts in the summer of 1960. The water that was stored in them played a big role too in beating the prolonged drought of last year.

Rational Land Exchanges

Another of the changes introduced by the communes that had very big results in improving the living and working conditions of their members and raising output was the big-scale exchange of plots between the production brigades to unify their holdings. This was much appreciated by members.

In fact some 20,000 *mu* in tiny plots lay considerable distances from the co-ops which cultivated them and were mixed up with plots belonging to other co-ops. In one extreme case, for instance, most of the members of the former Changjiang Co-op (now a production brigade) lived on an island in the Yangtse but many of them had to cross the river twice a day to tend their 860 *mu* of farmland situated five kilometres away on the north bank of the river. A lot of time was wasted in getting to work and 48 sampans were regularly tied up on this job.

On the other hand, five co-ops (now production brigades of communes) north of the Yangtse owned 1,000 *mu* on the island. This also necessitated much needless journeying by their members as well as other inconveniences. As the island fields were not so well protected against floods, the Changjiang Co-op, despite all the inconveniences, had not been willing to exchange its fertile north bank fields for nearer plots. The communes, however, were able to solve this tangle.

Guided by the principle of mutual benefit, the five former co-ops and the Changjiang Brigade jointly built dykes to protect the farmland on the island. The main obstacle to exchange of the plots was thus eliminated and the exchange was done. This deal alone saved a large amount of labour for the communes which was put to good use.

Education

East China Textile Engineering Institute

by WEN PAO-CHUN

THE East China Textile Engineering Institute has grown from rather modest beginnings a little over ten years ago to become a very important adjunct of China's textile industry. Opening in Shanghai in 1951 with just a few hundred students it made steady progress in its early years. But since 1958, it has literally jumped ahead; half of its 5,000 graduates completed their training in the last four years. Set up to train textile technicians and administrators, it is now well equipped in every sense to fulfil its task. Besides the usual administrative buildings, classrooms and spacious, comfortably furnished dormitories for students, the institute has 25 laboratories, eight ex-

The Hsinchang peasants had heard considerable talk about the benefits of intercropping: in this case the planting of cotton in the spaces between the wheat plants before the wheat is harvested. But in 1955-56 this had been tried out and hadn't recommended itself. In the autumn of 1955 they had sowed some fields with wheat (sowing by the traditional broadcast method) and then interplanted with cotton in the following spring. But due to lack of experience and the big labour force that was needed for the wheat harvest, neither was this done properly nor were the cotton plants tended as they should have been. The result was that yields suffered. The cotton yield declined slightly. Even when the communes were formed, although there was talk about trying out this method again, there was little real enthusiasm for it and some even hesitated about trying it out again on an experimental basis.

Pang Shu-yin, secretary of the Hsinchang Communist Party committee, however, is a stickler. Having discussed the matter with veteran farmers and pooled their ideas, a way of interplanting was devised that promised good results: sowing the wheat by drilling in rows and leaving more space between the cotton rows even at the cost of fewer rows of wheat. Pang and his advisers reckoned to make up for the fewer rows of wheat by closer planting, proper manuring and better field management. To test out these ideas a 1.9-*mu* experimental plot was set aside: the good results obtained convinced all the doubters and the acreage under wheat and cotton interplanted swiftly increased.

These are some of the concrete ways in which the Hsinchang peasants have raised yields and output. In the first place they put their efforts into solving the flood and drainage problem. Until those problems were worked out, better farming and farm tools could do little to raise more crops. Then, it was the big advance in the key cotton crop that stimulated efforts on all other fronts. They all agree that it was the organization of the communes that brought about the really radical change in recent years that has enabled them to double their cotton output in four years.

perimental workshops, five specialized research offices and a well-stocked library.

With a present enrolment of some 4,300 students, the institute offers training in nine specialities: textile engineering, textile fibres, dyeing and finishing of fabrics, textile machinery design, manufacture of textile machinery, electrification of textile mills, automation of processes in textile mills, textile-chemical engineering and the recently introduced man-made fibres speciality in which a fair number of technicians have already graduated for China's young and growing man-made fibres industry. Within this framework further specialization can be undertaken

in cotton, woollen and silk textiles, knitwear, printing and dyeing, business administration, etc.

From Bench to Classroom

The institute, like other higher educational institutions in New China, differs radically from its pre-liberation prototypes.

Most of its students come from working-class or peasant families, or families of working intellectuals. Nearly one-fifth of all students are textile workers or veteran cadres who showed exceptional ability in the workshop or at their jobs and were given the opportunity to get a higher education because of their outstanding work in their field. One such student is Ho Chien-hsiu, a model worker of national fame, who in 1951 evolved a standard method for tending spinning frames known as the "Ho Chien-hsiu Method" which drastically cuts down roller waste. It has since been widely popularized in China's textile mills. Ho is doing fine work in her final year at the institute. She will get her diploma this coming summer. Huang Pao-mei, another national model worker, did not even finish primary school before liberation; she has made up for her lack of an elementary and secondary education at the institute's preparatory courses for workers and is now successfully finishing her first-year courses.

Tuition and lodging are free for all students, and stipends of varying amounts are given.

Production Practice

Like all other cadres and students in China, those of the institute each year spend some time working at the bench in the industrial textile mills (there are, of course, many finely equipped ones in Shanghai) or doing farm work in the rural people's communes. Naturally they learn skills from the workers in the factories or from the farmers but what is more important is the appreciation which they learn for the key role of the working people in the national effort, and the deep satisfaction of comradeship in useful collective labour; they are educated in the spirit of organized, disciplined endeavour and the way of life of the industrial working class. While doing productive labour, future designers or constructors, for instance, also get to know machines from the operator's point of view; this is of great help to them later in their professional practice.

Most of the time during semesters, of course, is devoted to classroom and experimental work. But rigorous theoretical training at the institute is never divorced from but always bound up with practice. The students get first-hand knowledge of actual conditions in textile mills and in production and management through "production practice" either in the institute's own workshops or, again, in industrial plants. They learn to apply their theory to specific problems. Many instances can be cited of how they have succeeded in this. Assisted by their teachers, students specializing in mechanical engineering designed and installed an automated line for processing parts for spinning frames. They succeeded not only in greatly raising the efficiency of such installations and producing better-quality parts at reduced cost, but worked out a novel principle for designing that has been applied in other industries with excellent results.

Students' graduation designs are often of real practical utility. The Hongmian Silk Factory in Kwangtung

Province, complete with printing and dyeing processes, and the Chuhsiung Silk Factory in Yunnan Province were designed by the institute's students as graduation theses.

Because of its down-to-earth approach of combining theory and practice the institute has been able to make several notable contributions to furthering the science and technique of the textile industry. Among other things it has compiled a complete set of textbooks for textile schools. The first to be produced in China, these books have been recommended by the Ministry of Textile Industry for use throughout the country.

Some Outstanding Graduates

That the training given the students is sound is proven by the excellent results its graduates achieve when they get out on the job. Chu Liang-keng of the class of '54, for example, after two years' service became a shop foreman at the July First Cotton Mill in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region in the far northwest. His training enabled him to solve many important problems that had held up production at the mill. At the same time the quality of the cotton yarn made there was greatly improved too. He has been cited as a young activist in socialist construction of the city of Urumchi.

Chien Lan-ying of the class of '57 was one of those who had been a textile worker before she came to the institute. After graduation, she went to work at a cotton mill in Chengchow, a rising textile centre in Honan Province, central China. During the technical innovations campaign there she, with the help of veteran workers, successfully designed and manufactured a new loom twice as efficient as those in use at the mill at that time.

The Handbook for Designers of Silk Factories compiled by Huang Tsu-hsing, a graduate of the class of '58, gives valuable information on the design of small silk factories. His classmate, Ni Chun, proved such a competent tutor at a spare-time technical school in Shanghai that he was elected a delegate to the national conference of outstanding workers in culture and education in 1960.

There are many more such young men and women doing good work in their chosen field. They are to be found in textile mills in more than 20 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities, including Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Kweichow, Shensi, Liaoning, Shantung and Peking.

The institute has not trained technicians for the Chinese industry only. In 1954 it opened its doors to foreign students, and youngsters from the Soviet Union, Rumania, Korea, Viet Nam and Mongolia have come and studied there at one time or another.

In its ten years of existence, the institute increased the numbers of both its student body and faculty fivefold and it has trained 5,000 technicians and administrators for China's textile industry. In the whole of the country at the time of liberation in 1949, there were only some 10,000 trained technical personnel all told working in the industry. In all the 40 years before liberation Nantung College in Kiangsu Province, whose department of textile engineering was the best known in pre-liberation China, trained only 1,400 graduates.

A knowledge of this background makes clearer the importance of the contribution that the East China Textile Engineering Institute has already made to China's socialist construction and its potentialities for the future progress of the nation's textile industry.

LITERATURE

Chinese Novels of 1961

As 1961 drew to its close, some impatient critics, anxious to draw up a literary balance sheet of the year, rather prematurely characterized it as "a year of prose-sketches and other forms of non-fictional prose-writings." In the last two or three months of the year, however, a number of new novels were published almost simultaneously. And when the year actually ended, counting those which had appeared in instalments in literary magazines and newspapers, there was a total of forty-two new novels. This was a good crop. While it didn't quite make it "a year of the novel"—for prose-sketches still dominated the literary field and last year's non-fictional prose-writings showed an unusual diversity in style and in content—the 1961 picture for the novel was definitely a bright one.

For one thing, alongside those of well-established veteran authors, more than twenty new names appeared among last year's novelists. These newcomers were either veteran revolutionaries, some in civil, some in military life, including some high-ranking officers of the People's Liberation Army, or young cadres working for central or local state, Party or public organizations. Almost all of them took up serious creative writing some three years ago, inspired by the seething life resulting from the big leap forward, encouraged by the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom in art and literature, and spurred by the tremendous popular enthusiasm for amateur endeavours in art and literature. Their efforts, though some were begun earlier than others, just happened to yield publishable results last year. The appearance of so many new authors in one year is a heartening sign of the immense potentialities which exist in the sphere of the novel.

Not surprisingly, the new writers have brought a new content and new subjects to the novels. Some of their subjects have never been treated in novel form before such as, for instance, the struggle for farmland waged by peasants in the Chinese Soviet regions during the 1930s after the main forces of the Red Army had left on the historic Long March (*O Dear Land* by Yao Ting-sheng); the

life and struggle of the Uighur people in Sinkiang in China's far northwest and their liberation (*Along the Tolang River* by Chou Fei), and life of New China's college students (*March Into the Future With Confidence* by Han Shui). Others are on subjects which have not been dealt with so frequently in novels of the past such as the pioneering of the northern wasteland in China's far northeast (*Wild Geese Fly Northward* by Lin Yu); and the building of a big reservoir in 1953 (*Rolling Waves* by Shao Hua).

As in all previous post-liberation years, the themes of life in China's countryside and the revolutionary struggle of past years made up a prominent part of the year's novels. But these two fields are infinitely rich in content, and our novelists found many new aspects to treat of. *Fragrant All the Year Round* by Chen Tsan-yun tells the story of the revolutionary drive of Chinese peasants in the big leap forward; *Red Cliff* by Lo Kuang-pin and Yang Yi-yen deals with the stubborn struggle waged by Communist-prisoners in the concentration camps operated in the 1940s by the SACO (the so-called Sino-American Co-operation Organization of the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique); *Tidal Waves* (Part Three) by Li Chi-jen and *Sixty Stirring Years* (Part Two) by Li Liu-ju, both deal with events in the 1911 Revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionary activities of the Chinese Communist Party during its early years. These subjects are either entirely new to novel-writing in China or were seldom treated of before.

Particular mention should be made of *Red Cliff*. This won immediate and widespread attention and has been eagerly read and discussed since it went on sale. Its long-term popularity seems assured. The novel actually takes its material from *Eternal Life in Burning Flames*, the



Illustration to "Red Cliff" by Li Shao-yen

well-known memoirs written by the same two authors themselves a few years ago. Here they have cast their memories in the form of fiction; the story line is better developed and they have also succeeded in creating a number of boldly drawn and unforgettable fictional characters. The action is set in Chungking, Szechuan, in 1948 and 1949 on the eve of the liberation of the whole of the Chinese mainland. Those were the years when the Kuomintang reactionaries were making frantic efforts to save their regime from its impending collapse. They were prepared to try anything to suppress the advancing revolutionary movement. In the SACO concentration camps, which the people called the "devil's palaces" or "living coffins," the whole arsenal of fascist terror was employed—starvation, torture, mass killings—against the political prisoners who, with indomitable spirit, fought back with whatever means they had. In these pages, we meet men of exceptional courage, whose devotion to the revolutionary cause has made them infinitely ingenious in fighting back against their torturers. The menace of death looms large, but it proves to be powerless in the face of revolutionary optimism. Life in the concentration camps is skilfully projected against

the broad background of the time when events in China's southwest are taking a rapid turn and the People's Liberation Army is pushing forward victoriously on all fronts. The struggles inside the concentration camps epitomize and is also closely linked with the larger struggle of the people in the city of Chungking. They foreshadow the irrevocable doom of the Chiang Kai-shek gang. Descriptive detail is tellingly added to build a vivid picture of places and events. Profound ideological content is united with great artistic skill. This is a convincing work. I think it is the finest novel produced in 1961.

In *Sixty Stirring Years* (Part Two), veteran revolutionary Li Liu-ju brings his story up to the triumphant start of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27) and its defeat. As one who took a personal part in the revolutionary activities of the time and who heard many first-hand stories from his fellow comrades, the author is able to give a fascinating account of this important stage in China's new-democratic revolution. There is also an intimate glimpse of some of the early activities of the young Mao Tse-tung. One of China's oldest writers, Li is now working on the third part of his trilogy.

In contrast to several other novels which have recently treated the same subject of the struggle in the countryside between the socialist and capitalist roads, *The Fen River Flows On* by Hu Cheng has the merit of having a well-constructed story and good characterization. *Along the Tolang River* by Chou Fei which tells about the sufferings, the revolutionary resistance, and growing political awareness of the national minorities in Sinkiang and *Little Soldier Chang Chia* by Hsu Kuang-yao, a short novel about a youngster who joined the revolutionary army during the War of Resistance Against Japan, are also generally considered happy results of last year's efforts in novel-writing. They give a vivid and truthful representation of life and have a strong "local flavour."

Last year, magazines and newspapers carried instalments or excerpts of the sequels of such popular favourites as *Keep the Red Flag Flying* by Liang Pin, *The Builder* by Liu Ching, *Three Families Lane* by Ouyang Shan (an English version of the first has been published by the Foreign Languages Press in Peking; it will

soon put out English translations of the other two), and *Tidal Waves* (Part Three) by Li Chi-jen. The sequel of *Keep the Red Flag Flying* has led to the story of the risings in Kaoyang and Lih sien, both in Hopei, and their defeat. This nears the end of the novel, but the fate of the hero Chu Lao-chung and several other main characters is still in suspense. In the chapter "Hard Battle," the author of *Three Families Lane* is describing struggles following the defeat of the revolution in 1927. Chou Ping, hero of the novel, has returned from Shanghai to Kwangtung where he carries on the work of organizing rural Red Guards. Several chapters of *Tidal Waves* (Part Three) by Li Chi-jen, another veteran writer, were published last year and the whole book will soon come off the press. Just a few chapters were published from the sequel to *The Builder*. These are mainly about the early stages of the co-operative farm led by the young peasant Liang Sheng-pao.

Several others of the novels of the year which appeared in instalments or excerpts have already attracted the attention of keen readers. They promise well, but it is too early as yet to say much more, so we shall leave them for future review.

— YEN KANG

SHORT NOTES

Tu Fu Anniversary

Preparations are in full swing in Peking for the commemoration of the 1,250th anniversary of the birth of China's great poet Tu Fu. As one of the world's great cultural figures, his memory will be honoured this year all over the world in accordance with a decision made by the World Peace Council at the meeting of its presidium held in Stockholm last December.

In April, the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace, the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, and the Union of Chinese Writers will jointly sponsor a commemorative meeting in Peking. The commemorative activities will include showings of a documentary film, *The Poet Tu Fu*, made by the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio; the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications is issuing a set of commemorative stamps; the People's Literature Publishing House will publish a new edition of *The Complete Works of Tu Fu* based on a careful collation of texts in the most

authoritative editions of Sung and Yuan times together with extensive notes and comments on the variants; the Chung Hua Book Company will publish an anthology of essays on Tu Fu and other scholarly data on the poet, his work, life and times.

Cuban Singer in Peking

The warm and genial voice of Ignacio Vila Fernandez (Bola de Nieve, or Snowball), famous Cuban Negro singer currently touring China, won the hearts of Peking audiences. In two concerts given in the Capital Theatre earlier this week, he brought audiences the colourful songs of the peoples of Cuba and other Latin American countries. Included in his programme were *Peanut Vendor*, *Pregon* (Peddling Sweets) and other humorous songs to which he gives a rich Latin American flavour. He evidently enjoyed singing them and he certainly delighted his listeners. Negro songs like *Ay, Mama Ines* and *Drumi Negrita* (a lullaby) were rendered with sympathetic charm. He also sang a number of European and North American songs in English, French and Italian (sample: the ironic *Monsieur Julien* in French).

At fifty, Bola de Nieve is a singer, poet, composer and pianist in one. He plays his own piano accompaniment. *You Will Love Me* and others of his own compositions were warmly applauded. Among his several encores were his own arrangements of *Siboney* and *La Paloma* for the piano. Earlier, he scored a similar success in Canton.

Shanghai Fine Arts Exhibition 1949-61

Shanghai is currently holding a comprehensive exhibition of works of fine arts done locally during the last twelve years. The 400 exhibits on show include traditional Chinese paintings, oils, water-colours, graphic art, cartoons, posters, New Year pictures, stories in picture, examples of industrial art, pictures for animated cartoon films, as well as examples of stage decor and sculptures. About one-third of the exhibits are works done in the last three and a half years. Several of the 240 contributing artists are amateurs only recently admitted to the Shanghai branch of the Union of Chinese Artists. During the exhibition, lectures were given by artists and special forums were held on how to cultivate an even more flourishing garden of the arts in Shanghai.

CORRECTION: In the article "Szechuan's Bronze Age" in our last issue (No. 12, March 23, 1962), on page 22, paragraph one, 3rd column, the 4th line should read: "tombs bears a cast decoration."

SIDELIGHTS

The Old School Janitor. Although Chang Chien-jang, the old janitor of the No. 3 Middle School in Hsuehchow, has never spoken in front of a class, students say he has taught them as much as any teacher in the school.

Early at dawn Chang quietly dusts the school offices, sweeps up the grounds, rings the "getting-up" bell, waters the garden; then he distributes the mail, posts up the notices and bulletins. When the day's work is done and he could have some time to rest he starts going over in his mind: which light needs fixing, which office should have its windows shut, what needs repairing in the canteen. . . . Ladder on one shoulder and tool bag in hand, he tours the school premises from end to end. Students doing homework of an evening hear him pottering and hammering away in his room, fixing a hundred odds and ends for the students and the school. When everyone is in bed he goes along the corridors seeing that doors and windows are shut, lights are out and there were no dripping taps.

Day by day, year by year, Communist Party member Chang does his work lovingly, wholeheartedly, scrupulously, making ordinary humdrum routine a matter of warmth and love, making the school a real home for its students. Students are hard put to it to describe in so many words just what it is in him that wins him such love and respect, but his image has a firm place in their hearts. Somehow it always crops up in their compositions when they write of a socialist attitude to work, and his name frequently occurs when speaking of heroes of our time. . . .

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••• **And They Lived Happily Ever After.** "When will you get yourself a wife?" Chen Teh-chih's married sister asked him for the nth time. "Oh, one of these days," replied her brother jauntily. Past 30, a skilled mechanic at the irrigation machinery works in Yangchow, Kiangsu Province, and a Communist Party member, he was a "confirmed bachelor," and his heart had hitherto been touched only by the hum of machinery.

"Well, be sure to come to dinner this Sunday. And spruce yourself

up!" His sister had come to a decision: if he wouldn't do anything about it himself, she'd try her hand at finding a wife for him. She thought of that very nice girl at the commune pumping station—Chang Mei-yu, pretty and a fine worker. She'd invite her to dinner on Sunday too. As a matter of fact, she'd already done a little spade work in that direction, often mentioning what a fine man Teh-chih was, and how he had been elected a model worker year after year.

* * *

Chang Mei-yu, carrying a broken oil pipe, jumped off the night bus and went into the first lighted repair works she found in the darkened town. It's really urgent, she told the young worker who was just putting on his coat to go home. Would he please do something about it? Chen Teh-chih looked the pipe over. It needed welding. But the shop's oxygen supply had just given out, and the new cylinder wouldn't be delivered until tomorrow. "No matter," he told the anxious girl with the big, serious eyes, "we'll get it fixed."

The two went out into the silent streets. They were disappointed at the first place of inquiry, also at the second. The girl exclaimed in dismay: "We've got to get those fields irrigated by tomorrow. . . ."

"We'll get it fixed if we have to go around the whole town," came the reply.

Looking gratefully at him, the girl said in consternation: "Comrade, you won't get any sleep tonight. . . ."

"Neither will you," he returned.

At the third try they were luckier. Chen borrowed a welding torch and started to work.

Watching the young worker's shining face as he bent over the torch, the girl said warmly: "How can I—the commune—ever thank you?"

"By the way," she added suddenly, "do you know of a Chen Teh-chih? He's a mechanic too."

Chen paused for a second. "Yes, why?"

"What sort of a person is he?"

"Nothing special."

"I hear he's an advanced worker."

"Far from it. But—why do you ask?"

"I know his sister," the girl answered—"in fact, I'm seeing her this Sunday."

"Why, so am I," said Chen slowly, his face lighting up. . . .

•
The Clay Menagerie. Visitors go to the Shanghai zoo to see not only its carefully tended animals but a second "little zoo" in two exhibition rooms—a menagerie in clay. Its creator is Chou Ching-ting, a professor at the Chekiang Art Academy. Thirty years ago, a poor Chinese student in Paris, Chou had often lingered in front of the cages at the zoo observing the animals, his fingers itching to cast their likeness in clay. Back in China under the Kuomintang regime he was caught up in the treadmill of earning a living. There was no time for clay modelling. It was only in 1953 after he had become a professor at the art academy that he ventured to voice his fond hope of devoting time to his youthful hobby. His suggestion received immediate and full support from the school Communist Party committee. Facilities were made available to him and he was given assistants to speed the work.

Prof. Chou spends long hours observing the animals. In the country you'll find him on the poultry farms and in the sheep pens. Before the crack of dawn he is out at the zoo watching the wolves at their liveliest hour. His acute observations of the animals are embodied in his works. Each sculptured animal has a characteristic gesture or expression which makes it vividly lifelike—the lovable giant panda, the meek lamb, the cunning fox, the beautiful pheasant. . . .

Prof. Chou has published his first volume of *Notes on Animal Sculpture* and carries on a lively correspondence with sculptors, architects and cartoonists all over the country.



CHINESE PRESS OPINION

U.S. "Special Warfare" in South Viet Nam

An ever more serious threat to peace in Southeast Asia is posed by increasing U.S. armed intervention in south Viet Nam, writes *Renmin Ribao's* Observer on March 24.

Since the establishment of the U.S. "Military Assistance Command" in south Viet Nam on February 8, Washington has stepped up its supply of arms and military personnel to south Viet Nam in flagrant violation of the Geneva agreements. On March 15, U.S. Defense Secretary McNamara admitted that the U.S. air force has taken part in the war against the south Vietnamese people.

At the same time further U.S. acts of aggression in south Viet Nam and in other parts of Southeast Asia are in the making. At the "Far Eastern Regional Operations Conference" held in Baguio from March 10 to 14, U.S. top brass and diplomatic officials discussed measures to suppress the national-liberation movement in south Viet Nam and other regions, and mapped out new aggressive plans in Asia. Right after the Baguio Conference, Harkins, head of the U.S. "Military Assistance Command" in south Viet Nam, and Nolting, U.S. Ambassador to south Viet Nam, went to Honolulu for secret talks with McNamara. Recently, the U.S. Naval Commander in the Philippines, David J. Welsh boasted more than once that U.S. marines could land in south Viet Nam within a few hours.

U.S. armed intervention has made a living hell of the southern part of Viet Nam. U.S. forces and the troops of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique under U.S. command, brutally slaughter the

patriotic people in south Viet Nam fighting for independence and freedom. The hideous crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists in south Viet Nam today are comparable with those perpetrated by German and Japanese fascists during World War II.

But the U.S. imperialists have perpetrated killing, arson and looting in south Viet Nam under the name of "special warfare." It is evident that U.S. armed intervention in south Viet Nam is designed not only to wipe out the armed forces of the patriotic people of south Viet Nam but to use south Viet Nam as an experimental ground for this "special warfare." U.S. imperialism hopes that its "special warfare" will be the "deterrent" that will stop the Asian, African and Latin American peoples from carrying through their struggle against colonialism and for national independence. It is also hoped to further the aggressive U.S. policy of neo-colonialism by this means. No peace-loving country and people can remain indifferent to this grave situation.

U.S. military aggression against south Viet Nam, Observer says, must be halted immediately. The Soviet Union and Britain, as Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference, bear the heavy responsibility for upholding the

Geneva agreements and peace in Indo-China. On March 15, the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam sent a note to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, demanding that steps be taken to check U.S. aggression in south Viet Nam. On March 17, the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union issued a declaration condemning U.S. armed intervention in south Viet Nam, demanding that the U.S. stop sending arms and mili-



— I can't understand what the President is talking about.
— You'll understand all right if you just look around.
Cartoon by Cheng Wen-chung

tary supplies to south Viet Nam, and that it immediately withdraw its military personnel and abolish its military command in south Viet Nam. The Soviet note also asked Britain as one of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference to take prompt action together with the Soviet Union to stop U.S. aggression. The Chinese people, declares Observer, fully support the just demands of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Soviet Union.

The Chinese people, together with all countries and peoples who cherish peace and uphold justice, fully support the people of south Viet Nam and will ceaselessly struggle to check U.S. armed aggression there and to safeguard the 1954 Geneva agreements and peace in Indo-China, concludes Observer.

THE PASSING SHOW

Cultured Washington

On rainy days, up in the attic of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, is a man patiently watching and emptying 100 dishpans. Pride of U.S. art lovers, this gallery, reports UPI, "has two and a half acres of roofing, all of it porous," so one employee is assigned to full-time duty in the attic to man the dishpans used to catch the water before it drips down on the priceless paintings below. The gallery is driven to this old-fashioned solution for the simple reason that it can't afford the \$200,000 needed to repair the roof.

Down the road from the gallery the U.S. Congress this year is voting \$72,800 million for making war.

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Sino-Czechoslovak Friendship

The 5th anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation on March 27 was marked by an exchange of warm greetings between Party and government leaders of the two countries. The Chinese message, signed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Premier Chou En-lai, says:

"The signing of the Sino-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation five years ago marked a major development in Sino-Czechoslovak friendship and co-operation. It has further consolidated and developed the friendly unity and mutual co-operation between the people of the two countries; it has played, and will continue to play in the future, a positive role in promoting the two countries' common cause of building socialism, consolidating the unity of the socialist camp and upholding world peace.

"The fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Czechoslovak peoples, founded on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is lasting and unbreakable. The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people have always treasured the friendship and unity between the two countries. In the days to come, we shall steadfastly devote our efforts to consolidating this friendship and unity."

In Peking, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Hsi Chung-hsun and other government leaders attended the anniversary reception given by the Czechoslovak Ambassador. The China-Czechoslovak Friendship Association and the China-Czechoslovak Friendship People's Commune also celebrated the occasion.

Renmin Ribao in its editorial (March 27) marking the anniversary says: China and Czechoslovakia are fraternal countries in the big family

of the socialist camp. Their two governments have steadfastly carried out a foreign policy of peace. The peoples of the two countries have always supported and co-operated closely with each other in the struggle in defence of world peace and in opposition to the imperialist policies of war and aggression. The Chinese people have resolutely supported the Czechoslovak people in their struggle against U.S.-fostered West German militarism and for the defence of European security and world peace. The Czechoslovak people, on their part, have also energetically supported the Chinese people in their struggle to safeguard their country's territorial integrity and sovereignty and to oppose U.S. aggression and intervention.

The unity of the socialist camp, the editorial says, is a primary condition not only for the growing might and invincibility of the socialist camp but also for world peace. The Chinese people have always protected this unity like the apple of their eye, and together with the Czechoslovak people will make a common effort to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, oppose imperialism, defend world peace and foster human progress, concludes the editorial.

Algerian People's Victory

"The struggle and the victory of the Algerian people prove that the strength of the people is invincible, and that imperialism, appearing to be strong, is actually weak. Provided a revolutionary people unite, dare to struggle and persevere in struggle, they are fully able to defeat imperialism," declared Vice-Premier Chen Yi at a reception given in Peking on March 26 by Guinean Ambassador, Camara Moussa Sanguiana, in celebration of the conclusion of the ceasefire agreement between Algeria and France.

The Vice-Premier said that the agreement and the fact that the French Government had been compelled to recognize the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence are great victories for the Algerian people. This is a tremendous victory for the African peoples on the road to national liberation and the common victory of the peoples of all countries in their struggle against imperialism and against old and new colonialism, he said.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi pointed out that the Algerian people have made correct use of the two tactics of armed

struggle and struggle through negotiations. They have carried on a blow-for-blow struggle against the French imperialist counter-revolutionary tactics of military attack and trying to provoke political disruption. Thus, they have consistently held the initiative and kept the advantage.

He further pointed out that U.S. imperialism has all along supported the French colonialists' dirty war against Algeria and itself has ulterior designs upon the country. For those fighting for independence and freedom against old and new colonialism, to keep U.S. imperialism out is of first importance.

Of course, Vice-Premier Chen Yi continued, imperialism will never lightly abandon its colonial interests. Quoting Premier Ben Khedda, he said that a ceasefire is not peace and the French colonialist forces are still actively plotting disruptive schemes. However, said the Vice-Premier, we are confident that in the new circumstances, the united and well-steered Algerian people will certainly be able to strengthen their unity further, maintain vigilance and win new and greater victories in their struggle for the realization of Algeria's national independence, the unity of the people and territorial integrity.

Earlier, Vice-Premier Chen Yi while receiving the visiting Algerian writers, Mustapha El Ashraf and Malek Haddad, again extended warm congratulations to the Algerian people on their victory in the national-liberation struggle.

He described the Cuban victory and the Algerian victory as two great events of world significance in recent years and will exert a far-reaching influence all over the world.

Greetings to Fraternal Parties

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has sent messages congratulating the Brazilian Communist Party on the 40th anniversary of its founding and the 7th Congress of the Tunisian Communist Party.

The Chinese Communist Party paid tribute to the Brazilian Party for its 40 years' unremitting struggle in defence of Brazil's national independence, democratic freedoms and social progress, and wished it still greater successes in uniting the Brazilian people in that struggle; it also wished the Brazilian people, together with other Latin American peoples, brilliant

achievements in the cause of supporting the Cuban revolution, fighting for national liberation and defending world peace.

In its message to the Tunisian Communist Party, the Chinese Communist Party expressed the hope that the congress will mobilize still more broadly the patriotic and democratic forces of the country and that new successes will be gained in their struggle for complete national independence, defence of world peace and progress of mankind.

Pakistan's National Day

Chairman Liu Shao-chi sent on March 22 a message to Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, greeting Pakistan's National Day and wishing the country and its people all prosperity and well-being.

At a National Day reception on March 23 given by A.H. Khan, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Pakistani Embassy in Peking, Vice-Premier Chen Yi spoke of the current disarmament

conference and hailed the Algerian people's victory. Speaking about the friendly relations between China and Pakistan, he said that the two countries, participants in the 1955 Bandung Conference, have the noble duty of supporting the peoples of all countries in their struggles against imperialism and colonialism, promoting solidarity among the Asian and African countries and safeguarding world peace. The Chinese Government is firmly convinced that for China and Pakistan to handle problems between them in accordance with the spirit and principles of the resolutions of the Bandung Conference, and actively seek to promote friendly relations will not only be in the interests of their peoples but will help consolidate Asian and world peace, said the Vice-Premier.

Burmese Armed Forces Day

Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier, Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation

Army, and other high-ranking officers of the Chinese P.L.A. greeted the 17th anniversary of the Burmese Armed Forces at a reception given by Colonel Khen Za Moong, Military Attache of the Burmese Embassy in Peking on March 27.

At the reception both Colonel Khen Za Moong and Senior General Lo Jui-ching toasted the continued growth and consolidation of Sino-Burmese friendship and goodwill between the Burmese Armed Forces and the Chinese P.L.A.

Referring to the significant growth of friendly co-operation between China and Burma in the past few years, Senior General Lo Jui-ching spoke of the memorable spirit of friendly co-operation displayed by General Ne Win and other friends from the Burmese defence services in settling the Sino-Burmese boundary question. He declared that the Chinese P.L.A. will continue to do its utmost to promote Sino-Burmese friendship.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

The following programme scheduled for the coming week is subject to change.

PEKING OPERA

▲ **DRAGON KING'S DAUGHTER TENDING THE SHEEP** A colourful fantasy. It tells how a scholar Liu Yi helps the ill-fated Dragon Princess of Lake Tungting get away from the tyranny of her ferocious husband, the Dragon Prince of Chinghu River. It ends happily with the union of the Dragon Princess and her benefactor. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **THE "GATE OF HEAVEN" MILITARY FORMATION (Tien Men Chen)** A historical episode of the Sung Dynasty. Mu Kuei-ying, a brave warrior-maid, leads an attack against the Liao invaders and wins a decisive battle for the beleaguered Sung forces. China Peking Opera Theatre.

PINGJU OPERA

▲ **RETURN OF THE PHOENIX** A comedy of errors. A young man wins a bride despite the schemes of her wicked step-mother. China Pingju Opera Theatre.

KUNQU OPERA

▲ **LI HUI-NIANG** A rich official abducts Li Hui-niang and makes her his concubine. When in a chance encounter she shows her admiration for a patriot-scholar, the official kills her in a rage. Powerless in life, Li Hui-niang as a spirit helps the scholar escape the official's clutches. North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

▲ **SEEING OFF CHING-NIANG** One of a series of stories about Chao Kuang-yin, who later became the first Sung emperor. In this episode he rescues Chao Ching-niang from the hands of gangsters. The girl, grateful for this chivalrous act, falls in love with him. But Chao Kuang-yin, busy on a political errand, can only bid farewell to Ching-niang. Also **CHINSHAN MONASTERY** An episode from the *Tale of the White Snake*.

QUYI OPERA

▲ **YI HO TUAN** A new historical *quyi* opera about the patriotic anti-imperialist uprising in 1900. Peking Quyí Opera Troupe.

MODERN OPERA

▲ **SPRING THUNDER** A drama depicting the upsurge of the peasant movement in Hunan in the tumultuous spring of 1927, and the inner-Party struggle against the Right opportunist line. Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre.

▲ **THE HEAVENLY MAID AND THE MORTAL** Adapted from an old fairy tale. It tells the romance between a celestial princess and a brave young peasant. The Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre.

CONCERTS

The Central Philharmonic Society presents: March 31 At Peking Concert Hall

RECITAL

by

Wei Chi-hsien - Baritone

Arias by Hsien Hsing-hai, Beethoven, Schubert, Tchaikovsky, Borodin and others.

* * *

April 1 At Peking Concert Hall

A concert of choral music, vocal and instrumental solos. Programme includes *A Cantata of the Aini People*, *The Blue Danube*, *Bolero* and others.

Conductor: Yen Liang-kun

Soloists: Sun Chia-hsin (coloratura soprano); Yang Hua-tang (bass); Fang Kuoching (piano).

MODERN DRAMA

▲ **A FISHERMAN'S FAMILY** A play by Albanian playwright Suleiman Pitarka. It tells how the Party of Labour leads the heroic Albanian people to victory in their fight against the fascists. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **THE PEKING MAN** One of the plays written by the well-known contemporary playwright, Tsao Yu. It depicts the decline of a feudal family in Peking in the 1930s. Produced by the Central Broadcasting and Television Modern Drama Troupe.

▲ **COMRADE, YOUR ROAD IS WRONG!** A play set in the early period of the War of Resistance Against Japan. It describes the inner-Party struggle against the capitulationists' policy. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **YO YUN** Yo Yun, son of the patriotic general Yo Fei of the Sung Dynasty, is brought up to be a brave warrior and helps his father to defeat the Kin invaders. But he too falls victim to the schemes of the traitor Chin Kuei. China Children's Theatre.

FILMS

▲ **SMALL DAGGERS SOCIETY** A colour film version of a dance-drama based on a heroic people's uprising which occurred in Shanghai from 1853 to 1855. Shanghai Tienma Studio.

▲ **THIRD SISTER LIU** A colour film version based on a popular local opera of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. Clever and brave, the beautiful peasant girl Third Sister Liu uses songs to denounce and harry the grasping landlords. Changchun and Nanning Studios.

▲ **THE SUCCESSORS** A Soviet colour film. It tells how the younger generation of Soviet workers take the initiative in automating Soviet industry.

▲ **MAN-MADE WINGS** A G.D.R. colour film. How a veteran Communist re-educates his misguided young son, a pilot, and fits him to play his part in the socialist construction of his country.

▲ **RICHARD THE THIRD** A British colour film adapted from Shakespeare's play. In English with Chinese subtitles.

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **EXHIBITION OF PEKING SCULPTURE** Opens on April 1. Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. At Artists' Union Gallery.

▲ **EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS ON CUSTOMS AND HABITS OF THE CHING DYNASTY** Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. At Tienwang Hall in Beihai Park.

▲ **EXHIBITION OF SHELL-WORK ART** Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. At the Round City, Beihai Park.

(Above exhibitions closed on Mondays.)

BOATING

Boating on the lakes at Beihai Park, Zhongshan Park, Shih Cha Hai and the Summer Palace.

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