

# PEKING REVIEW

33

August 17, 1962

## The Sino-Indian Boundary Question

A factual survey (p. 5).

## China Hails New Soviet Spaceships

(p. 9).

## Yugoslavia's Economic Troubles

(p. 11).

## The Chinese Revolution and Armed Struggle

Concluding instalment of a *Hongqi* article reviewing  
valuable experience gained in the Chinese revolution  
(p. 14).

## Mei Lan-fang: His Life and Artistic Activities

In commemoration of the first anniversary of the death  
of China's great stage artist (p. 17).

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報

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

## A NOVEL . . .

# *Sanliwan Village*



By Chao Shu-li

Sanliwan is an out-of-the-way village in a mountainous area of north China. Water is scarce there. To lay the basis for a prosperous future, the local farmers' co-operative mobilizes the people to dig an irrigation canal. A struggle over land rights results and develops into a struggle between the new and old ways of thinking. Interwoven with this central conflict are the personal stories of three young couples and their loves. The whole village is involved in one way or another. The ensuing events are depicted with humour and sympathy.

The building of the canal opens the eyes of the Sanliwan villagers to the tremendous prospects which socialism offers them. They strengthen and enlarge their co-operative.

Written in 1955 by one of China's outstanding novelists, **Sanliwan Village** gives a vivid picture of the agricultural co-operative movement at that time, and the socialist enthusiasm and creative spirit of China's peasant masses that carried it forward.

*Illustrated*

*276 pages*

*Hard board cover*

## A PLAY . . .

# Steeled in Battles

A three-act play by HU KO

The action of the play covers many eventful years of China's history from 1935 to 1948. The fate of a poor peasant family is depicted within the frame of the heroic struggles of the Chinese people against landlord oppressors, Japanese invaders and Kuomintang reaction.

When a landlord grabs his last plot of land, Chao Lao-chung, driven to despair, commits suicide. His son, Chao Kang, to avenge his father's death, sets fire to the landlord's house. He is forced to flee from the village, leaving his wife and young son behind. He joins the people's army and eventually becomes battalion commander. After thirteen years the Chao family is dramatically reunited.

This drama of one family is inseparably bound up with the history of the people's forces in their struggle to liberate the peasants from their oppressors. This play brings us the fighting men of the people, simple and heroic. We share their jokes and dreams, their eagerness to fight on to victory.

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

August 17, 1962 Vol. V No. 33

## CONTENTS

<b>ROUND THE WEEK</b>	3
Thriving Farms by the Ili River; In Memory of Mei Lan-fang; Fruit Time in Peking; Capital Wines	
<b>ARTICLES</b>	
The Sino-Indian Boundary Question — Chang Chi	5
Vital Questions for the Peace Movement — Renmin Ribao Editorial	8
Twin Soviet Spaceships in Orbit	9
What Happened at the Tokyo Con- ference	10
Yugoslavia's Economic Troubles — Liao Ching	11
The Chinese Revolution and Armed Struggle (II) (Concluding Instalment) — Hsiao Hua	14
Mei Lan-fang — Yen Yung	17
<b>CHINA AND THE WORLD</b>	21
Chairman Mao Receives Latin American Guests; Korea's Lib- eration Anniversary; Chinese Delegate Speaks at I.O.J.; Un- breakable Solidarity	
<b>CHINESE PRESS OPINION</b>	22
Asanuma's Statement Cannot Be Erased; West German Provoca- tions Condemned	
<b>WHAT'S ON IN PEKING</b>	23

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## ROUND THE WEEK

### Thriving Farms by the Ili River

The Sinkiang Production and Construction Army Corps, which is known throughout the nation for its pioneering role in opening up wasteland, reports fresh successes.

The farms it set up along the Ili River in northwest China are doing well. The crop-growing farms have raised both wheat yields and output compared with last year. The new ranches have increased their herds of sheep and cattle by 10 per cent. All the autumn crops are in good shape.

Fed by the streams of melting snow and ice from the Tianshan Mountains and several tributaries, the Ili flows westwards and empties its waters into Lake Balkhash in the Soviet Union. The land along its 400-kilometre-long course in northwestern Sinkiang is eminently suitable for reclamation both for crop raising and stockbreeding, and units of the Sinkiang Production and Construction Army Corps set about opening up this land back in 1952.

Now, ten years after, they have 14 mechanized farms and four stockbreeding ranches here. They have brought more than a million *mu* under cultivation and raised 200,000 head of livestock. Since their establishment, these farms have sold to the state hundreds of millions of *jin* of grain and tens of millions of *jin* of soya beans and vegetable oils, pork, mutton, beef and milk powder, as well as large quantities of wool and other animal products.

Like pioneering units in other parts of Sinkiang, China's largest national minority autonomous region, the farms had to overcome many difficulties before achieving these remarkable results. Since the subsurface water table here is rather high, the land was heavily alkaline when first reclaimed. This seriously affected yields. Considerable efforts and much ingenuity were invested before effective measures were devised to cure this alkalinity.

The Ili River basin has a low temperature and plenty of rain and snow, but only a short frost-free period. Besides wheat, rapeseed and other crops well suited to the area, special

attention is given to maize which gives particularly high yields here. So, in recent years, more and more maize is being grown.

With the summer harvest in, efforts are concentrated on the autumn crops. But many of the farms are opening up still more virgin soil, cutting new irrigation canals and ditches, making compost and engaging in other activities that will boost agricultural and livestock production in the future.

Solidly set on their own feet today, these farms are also playing a very important role in helping the Kazakhs, Mongols, and other minority peoples living in the area to develop their agriculture. These peoples in the recent past were almost exclusively nomad herdsmen. The farms have sent many experts to help them with more advanced techniques bringing in more grain.

### In Memory of Mei Lan-fang

Leading artists of the theatre, playwrights, producers, critics and writers gathered at a meeting in Peking on August 8 to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of Mei Lan-fang, that great genius of the Chinese stage. Many spoke of the loss the theatrical world had suffered through the death of this great artist; others paid tribute to him in warm speeches as an example for all to learn from — as a stage artist, as a tireless teacher and as a man.

"Mei Lan-fang's death was a great loss not only to China but to the whole world," said Tien Han, Chairman of the Union of Chinese Dramatists. "Let us," he exhorted, "all learn from the legacy of Mei Lan-fang to make up for the great loss caused by his death and raise the Chinese school of drama both in theory and practice to greater heights."

Vice-Minister of Culture Chi Yen-ming praised Mei Lan-fang's devotion to his art, his creativeness, his tireless efforts in introducing innovations, and his progressive political outlook which he held throughout his life. He expressed the hope that China's stage artists would follow Mei Lan-fang's fine example and, by making persistent efforts to achieve



Apple Harvest

Woodcut by Li Chun

the perfection that was characteristic of his art, attain still greater artistic successes.

The noted novelist and playwright Lao Sheh spoke of the days he had spent together with the late artist. No one, he said, who came in touch with Mei Lan-fang could fail to be impressed by his endless endeavours to perfect his art, his modesty towards both veterans and tyros and his readiness to help others.

Among the many others who spoke at the meeting were Chiang Miao-hsiang who since 1915 had co-operated with Mei Lan-fang in many of his best-remembered performances; Hsu Lan-yuan who had played the Chinese *huqin* accompaniment for Mei Lan-fang for many years; and Ma Lien-liang, the well-known actor who had also appeared together with the late artist on many occasions. Mei Lan-fang's daughter Mei Pao-yueh and his son Mei Pao-chiu also addressed the gathering. They thanked everyone present and expressed their gratitude to the Communist Party and Government for the care and solicitude given them and their family.

This meeting in Peking and similar gatherings in Shanghai and elsewhere were only one aspect of the many commemorative activities. Theatrical performances by actors and actresses of the Mei Lan-fang school have been held in every major city. Leading newspapers and periodicals have carried special articles, poems

and reminiscences by his old friends and admirers and reprinted stage photographs showing him in his favourite roles.

The whole nation is paying homage to his memory. All feel the great loss: his colleagues who cherish the memory of working with him for many long years; his students whom he never failed in advice and guidance and who are today carrying forward the fine tradition he established; his vast audiences whom he served so devotedly from the moment he began his stage career and from whom, particularly in the years after liberation, he constantly drew inspiration to refresh and invigorate his art. This is what Mei Lan-fang wrote about his post-liberation audiences: "I've never had such big audiences, who are so knowledgeable and who watch my performances with such concentrated attention. These lovable audiences have given me immense inspiration and greatly stimulated me in improving my art."

### Fruit Time in Peking

Since summer set in, the capital's fruit stores have been well stocked with pineapples, coconuts and other tropical fruits from the warm southern provinces, honeydew melons from Sinkiang in the northwest and melons from Hopei. About a thousand tons of these fresh fruits have been available daily on the market since July. Many temporary stalls

have been set up in various parts of the city. Retail prices average some 10 per cent lower than last year.

The bulk of Peking's fruit supply, however, comes from the orchards on its outskirts and in its environs. Peking has a good fruit-growing climate and soil but at the time of liberation it had very few orchards. Since liberation, the people of the city—workers, students and office employees—and peasants of suburban farms and market gardens have gone in for planting trees, including fruit trees, in a big way. The capital boasts some 27 million fruit trees now, more than four times as many as it had 13 years ago.

Peking's fruit crop has been unusually good this year. Hundreds of tons of its melons and peaches have been shipped to Harbin in the northeast and to Tatung, the coal centre in the neighbouring province of Shansi. Peking's own inhabitants, after first getting a good supply of water-melons, are now enjoying one of the richest peach crops in years. Sweet and juicy, Peking peaches run to as many as 180 different varieties. Most of the million and more peach trees grown on the city's outskirts were planted in or after 1958, the year of the great leap forward. Now they are yielding their first bumper crop. One large variety is a treat to look at: yellow-green tipped with purple and red, looking like the legendary peaches of immortality in the New Year pictures. It's delicious, this fruit of the great leap forward.

### Capital Wines

Peking grapes are yielding a good harvest this year too. Large quantities are going daily to a brisk market. Peking's vineyard acreage has trebled since 1958. The vast vineyards around the city grow as many as 200 types of grapes, most of which are suitable for making wine. The Peking Winery's vineyards are experimenting with dozens of good strains of grapes, some cultivated locally, some imported from Bulgaria, France and other countries. The change has been so quick that many people hardly realize that the nation's capital city is becoming one of the leading wine-producing cities in China. Some of the best champagne, port and white wine produced in the country are made here.

# The Sino-Indian Boundary Question

by CHANG CHI

**T**HE Sino-Indian boundary question is attracting world-wide attention. The Chinese people, for their part, regard it as most unfortunate that a dispute should have arisen over the Sino-Indian boundary. The Chinese Government has all along done its best to bring about a friendly settlement but such a settlement does not depend on the Chinese side alone. The present article examines various aspects of this question: its historical background and current situation.

## The Current Situation

The present tense and grave situation along the Sino-Indian boundary is solely the creation of the Indian authorities.

Since the thaw set in along the border last spring, Indian troops have stepped up their military intrusions into Chinese territory. They have crossed the "McMahon Line" on the eastern sector of the boundary and intruded many times into Longju in the Migyitun district of China's Tibet. They have renewed their intrusions into the Wuje district in Tibet on the middle sector. And on the western sector they have even pushed into Chinese territory all along the border. It is reported that since last spring, Indian troops on the western sector have set up 22 military strongpoints within Chinese territory while building entrenchments, roads, and clearings for air-drops with the clear intention of digging themselves in permanently. Indian planes have also made frequent flights into Chinese air space to carry on reconnaissance and harass Chinese frontier guards and to support the Indian ground forces that have intruded into Chinese territory.

Particularly serious is the fact that the intruding Indian troops have on occasion closed in on Chinese frontier guards and posts in an effort to intimidate them and have even provoked armed clashes. In early July this year, they penetrated as far as the upper reaches of the Galwan River in Sinkiang; here they set up aggressive strongpoints to cut the rear land communications of the Chinese post, which had been set up on the lower reaches of the river at a much earlier date. These Indian forces also engaged in provocations against a Chinese patrol. On July 21, disregarding the repeated exhortations of the Chinese frontier guards, Indian troops which had intruded into the Chip Chap valley area in Sinkiang, launched a surprise armed attack on a Chinese post, causing another unfortunate armed clash. Up to the present moment, Indian troops are making continued and intensified intrusions on the western sector.

## Historical Background: Positions of the Two Sides

The Sino-Indian boundary question has a complicated historical background. More than a century ago, British

imperialism brought India completely under its control and the Indian people were unfortunately no longer masters in their own house. With India as its base, British imperialism began expanding into the Tibet and Sinkiang regions of China. In the course of this expansion, it continuously and stealthily altered the existing traditional, customary Sino-Indian boundary line and plotted an illegal boundary line that would bring large tracts of Chinese territory into the Indian domain. This is the root cause of the current disputes over the Sino-Indian boundary line.

The Chinese Government has always hoped to settle the boundary question in a friendly way. The whole Sino-Indian boundary, it points out, has never been formally delimited and since there is a divergence of views between the two countries on this question it is necessary for the two sides to delimit their common boundary formally through friendly negotiations and the conclusion of a boundary treaty in order to eliminate these divergences; pending a settlement through negotiations, it proposes that the two sides maintain the status quo of the boundary. This proposal of the Chinese Government, based on actual facts and international usage, is perfectly reasonable and feasible. If the Indian Government had agreed to this proposal, the Sino-Indian boundary question could have been settled in a friendly way and, pending settlement, tranquillity would have reigned the border. There would have been no incidents. The successful settlements of the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese boundary questions are proof positive of this.

The Indian side, however, has taken up an entirely different attitude. Following the defeat of the Tibetan slave-owners in the armed rebellion which they staged in 1959, the Indian side has been deliberately exacerbating the boundary question to create tension between China and India. It insisted that China accept the boundary which it one-sidedly claimed, and this was the very illegal boundary line that British imperialism had plotted. On the other hand, it pushed its forces forward towards this line. It also threatened that unless China withdrew completely from the large tracts of Chinese territory India has claimed, it would not be possible for the two sides to enter into negotiations and there would be no peace on the border. In short, the Indian attitude is simply to refuse to settle the dispute through negotiations, and to refuse to maintain the status quo of the boundary in an attempt to realize its claims on Chinese territory by force and by intimidation.

It is precisely this unreasonable stand of India that has made fruitless all the efforts undertaken by the Chinese side since 1959 to settle the boundary question and to maintain tranquillity along the border.

Following the two armed clashes which Indian troops provoked in August and October 1959, the Chinese Government immediately proposed that the armed forces of the two sides withdraw 20 kilometres from their respective sides of the border and stop patrolling. This proposal, which is clearly conducive to safeguarding tranquillity along the border and will help create a good atmosphere for the settlement of the boundary question, was, however, turned down by the Indian side. When China unilaterally ceased patrolling, the Indian side, regarding this as a good opportunity, stepped up its intrusive activities.

In April 1960, seeking a settlement of the boundary question, Premier Chou En-lai personally visited New Delhi to hold talks with Prime Minister Nehru. These talks failed to achieve what was expected of them because the Indian side showed no sincerity in this matter. The prime ministers of the two countries only agreed that officials of the two countries should meet to examine the factual materials on the boundary.

The meetings of Chinese and Indian officials took place between June and December of that year. The Chinese side produced strong evidence and factual materials to show that the position of the Chinese Government is correct; it also reiterated the Chinese Government's stand for a settlement of the boundary question through negotiations. But the Indian side still persisted in its unreasonable position, refusing to consider negotiations for a settlement of the question.

Following the meetings of the officials, in spite of the intensified Indian intrusions into Chinese territory, the Chinese side has not relaxed in the slightest its efforts to get a peaceful settlement of the boundary question through friendly negotiations and to improve Sino-Indian relations. The Chinese Government has repeatedly expressed its hope for boundary negotiations. On its own initiative, it also proposed that the two sides negotiate and conclude a new agreement on trade and intercourse on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence to replace the 1954 Sino-Indian agreement on trade and intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India which was due to expire on June 3, 1962, hoping that this would help improve Sino-Indian relations and promote the settlement of the boundary question. These friendly proposals were, however, all rejected by the Indian Government.

Although the Indian Government has lately expressed its readiness to discuss the boundary question further on the basis of the report of the officials of the two countries [for a summary of this report, see *Peking Review*, No. 18, May 4, 1962], it nevertheless still clings to its unreasonable pre-condition, namely, that China should withdraw from large tracts of Chinese territory on the western sector. In its note of August 4 [see our last issue], the Chinese Government expressed its approval of further discussions on the boundary question on the basis of the report of the officials of the two countries. At the same time, it pointed out that there need not and should not be any pre-conditions for such discussions, and that the

Chinese Government will, as in the past, give no consideration to the Indian Government's demand that China make a one-sided withdrawal from large tracts of its own territory. The Chinese Government suggested that such discussions be held as soon as possible and that the level, date, place and other procedural matters for these discussions be immediately decided upon by consultations through diplomatic channels. This once again shows the sincerity of the Chinese Government in striving for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question.

### Indian Claims and Historical Facts

India has persisted in its contention that the boundary line it claims is the genuine boundary line and that this is supported by much evidence. It says that this boundary line is "well known" and was formed by nature geographically as far back as one or two thousand years ago, that it is supported by tradition and custom and has been "confirmed" by treaties. This by no means tallies with the facts. Neither Chinese maps nor internationally authoritative maps support this Indian statement. Even the official maps published by India, for instance, do not support its statement. Early Indian maps are basically identical with Chinese maps in their delineation of the Sino-Indian boundary. That is to say, the Sino-Indian boundary was delineated by and large in conformity with the real traditional customary line as described by China. In the ensuing hundred years, maps published in India generally all acknowledged that the western and middle sectors of the boundary were not delimited and no boundary line was marked and drawn in these maps at all. The "McMahon Line" on the eastern sector did not appear on the Indian maps until 1936. It was only in 1954 that the boundary line now claimed by India was first marked and drawn in the official maps published by India as delimited. Such a process of change in maps of India not only negates the Indian statement that the line it claims is "well known" but provides the very proof that it is a result of British imperialism's illegal and stealthy alteration of the real traditional customary boundary line.

Nor is there any treaty basis for the line claimed by India. The "McMahon Line" on the eastern sector was stealthily delineated in an exchange of secret letters in 1914 between British imperialism and the officials of the Tibet region of China; the Chinese Government at that time did not even know of this, let alone accept it. Besides, all previous Chinese Governments insisted that this line was illegal, and null and void. The Indian claim to the illegally drawn boundary line on the western and middle sectors is not even backed up by a phoney secret exchange of any kind. As to the statement that the boundary line claimed by India was formed naturally as far back as one or two thousand years ago, this is all the more untenable. In actual fact, this theory of a geographical principle pre-determining a boundary is the very "theory" concocted by the imperialists to justify their territorial expansion. This has long been recognized in the works of noted experts in international law.

The indisputable fact is that the 125,000 square kilometres of land disputed by the Indian side are all Chinese territory. Although British imperialism marked out the illegal "McMahon Line" in 1914, the local Tibetan government for quite a long time after this exercised jurisdiction over the vast areas south of this line. It was not until the forties of this century that British imperialism started intruding into that area in a planned way. As to India, it started pushing on a large scale towards the "McMahon Line" only as late as 1951, at a time when China at that time was preoccupied in resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea and was engaged in its peaceful liberation of Tibet.

As to the western sector, it has been, and still is, under effective Chinese jurisdiction. During the rule of the Ching Dynasty, the Chinese Government already set up Karens (check-posts) there to patrol the area and between 1891-92 also sent officials to make an inspection tour of that area as far as the vicinity of the Kongka Pass. During the period of Kuomintang rule, the Chinese Government also made surveys in that area. A Chinese patrol in September 1941 arrested 11 Indians who illegally crossed into the Aksai Chin area, and the Chinese side lodged a serious protest against this with the British Consul-General in Kashgar, Sinkiang. After liberation, the People's Government continued to exercise administrative jurisdiction and control over this area. In 1950, the Chinese People's Liberation Army entered western Tibet from Sinkiang via this area; between 1954 and 1957, the Chinese Government constructed the Sinkiang-Tibet motor road which runs across this area. Up to the winter of 1958, the Indian side had made no dissenting remark regarding the exercise of jurisdiction over this area by the Chinese side. The Indian Prime Minister Nehru, moreover, openly admitted that India has never exercised administrative control over this area. This area, he said on September 10, 1959, "has not been under any kind of administration." "Nor were there any outposts" in this area, declared Nehru on November 23 of the same year.

This shows that there are no grounds whatsoever for the boundary line claimed by the Indian side and that this boundary line is purely a product out of its own imagination.

### **Causes for Tension on the Border and Why This Question Remains Outstanding**

Why did the Sino-Indian boundary situation suddenly grow tense in 1959 and why has this question dragged on down to the present?

All the world knows that although the Sino-Indian boundary question existed long ago, relations between the two countries were friendly. In 1954, the prime ministers of the two countries jointly initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which greatly consolidated and promoted friendly relations between the two countries. Facts have borne out that the existence of the Sino-Indian boundary question should not affect, and had actually never before affected the growth of the friendly relations

between the two countries. It is India, not China, that must be held responsible for the daily deterioration in relations between the two countries because of the boundary question.

The Chinese Government consistently pursues a peaceful foreign policy, abides by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, upholds Sino-Indian friendship, and strongly advocates a fair and reasonable settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations. This policy of the Chinese Government has from first to last never changed and cannot possibly change.

The fact is that the policy of the Indian Government has gradually changed from the stand of Sino-Indian friendship. Particularly serious is that the Indian Government, after the 1959 rebellion in Tibet was quelled, openly betrayed the Five Principles. The Indian Government provoked armed clashes on the border and continuously stirred up anti-Chinese campaigns on the boundary question, thus exacerbating all aspects of Sino-Indian relations. This is what the Indian Prime Minister Nehru said on December 9, 1959: "Even if we are 100 per cent friendly with them [China], the fact remains that here is a mighty power sitting on our borders. That itself changes the whole context, the whole picture. . . . So, we face each other there and we face each other in anger at the current moment, and we are going to face each other, not today or tomorrow but for hundreds and hundreds of year." Judging from these words, the reason why India is so keen on pursuing an unfriendly policy towards China cannot be sought after at the Chinese side but in certain needs of India's internal and external affairs.

One thing is worthy of note: since India's anti-Chinese campaigns began, U.S. "aid" has been pouring into that country. According to a report to the Indian parliament made by India's Finance Minister Desai on March 14 this year, "aid" for India provided by the United States and U.S.-controlled international financial institutions amounts to a total of 22,290 million rupees. Together with that part of U.S. "aid" not included in Desai's report but promised by the United States and the World Bank in May last year for the first two years of India's Third Five-Year Plan, the total amounts to 28,170 million rupees, or an equivalent of U.S. \$5,630 million. Also worthy of note is the fact that between 1947 and 1959, that is, in the 12 years from the day of India's independence to the time when India started its anti-Chinese campaigns, "aid" to India from the United States and U.S.-controlled international institutions amounted to less than \$2,000 million, but in the short span of the ensuing three years and more, this "aid" registered a sharp increase of about \$4,000 million. So the more anti-Chinese India is, the greater is the increase in U.S. "aid."

Although the Indian side attempts to keep the Sino-Indian boundary question unsolved to be made use of at any time, the Chinese side, proceeding from the fundamental interests of both countries, has held and still holds that this question should be settled peacefully through negotiations. As far as the Chinese side is concerned, the door of negotiation is always open. But, of course, it will never do for the Chinese side to be asked to submit to the unreasonable demands of the Indian side.

# Vital Questions for the Peace Movement

*What is the root cause of the threat of nuclear war? Who is the enemy of peace? How to prevent a nuclear war from breaking out? What is the relationship between the national-independence movements and the struggle in defence of world peace? These key issues of the peace movement were discussed at the 8th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Prevention of Nuclear War held in Tokyo in early August. "Renmin Ribao," in its editorial of August 9, greeted the success of the conference, and gave its views on these questions. Following is an abridged translation of this editorial. — Ed.*

**T**HE 8th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Prevention of Nuclear War has ended successfully in Tokyo. A Japanese delegation of more than 10,000 persons and 86 foreign delegates from 10 countries and 9 international organizations took part in it. After heated discussions, the drafting committee adopted by majority votes the Tokyo Declaration and Recommendations for Joint International Action. When these two documents were read out to the conference, the overwhelming majority of the delegates indicated their approval by hearty applause.

These documents point to imperialism as the enemy of peace and the root cause of the threat of nuclear war. They affirm the great contribution made by the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial national-independence movements to the prevention of nuclear war and the defence of world peace. They demand that all nuclear powers immediately and unconditionally sign an agreement to ban nuclear tests and that atom-free zones be established in various parts of the world, particularly in the Asian and Pacific regions. They call for the dissolution of all hostile military blocs, the dismantling of all military bases in and withdrawal of all troops from foreign soil. They oppose the arming of West Germany and Japan with missiles and nuclear weapons and demand that the United States not be allowed to continue to revive Japanese and West German militarism. They recommend that powerful international solidarity action be taken between September and November this year to realize the militant aims set forth by the conference.

By giving expression to the common will of the Japanese and all other peace-loving peoples in the world and condemning the policies of aggression and war followed by the imperialist countries headed by the United States, these documents stand as a glorious banner for the fight against imperialism and for world peace. They are the common programme for the people of the world in their struggle against nuclear war.

U.S. imperialism tried by every possible means to split and sabotage the conference. However, the schemes of the saboteurs were defeated by the traditionally militant and increasingly awakened Japanese people repre-

sented by the Communist Party of Japan, by the joint struggle of the great majority of the conference participants. Thus, the conference scored brilliant successes after overcoming numerous obstacles. This will, without doubt, greatly stimulate and encourage the struggle waged by the people of Japan and other countries of the world against imperialism and for national independence and world peace. It will also help to make certain muddle-headed people to draw the necessary conclusions.

## The Enemy of Peace and National Independence

U.S. imperialism is the enemy of peace and national independence. This fact could not be clearer to the Japanese people. Japan has been under American occupation for 17 years. The U.S. imperialists are not only guilty of massacring Japanese people with atom bombs, but have also, in the past 17 years, violated Japanese territorial integrity and sovereignty, subjected the Japanese nation to innumerable humiliations, fostered the Japanese militarist forces which have proved to be such a scourge to the nation, and turned Japan into a U.S. base for aggressive wars in the Far East and a breeding ground for world war. They have also tried to turn the Japanese people into cannon fodder for their reckless scheme for world domination. All Japanese patriots with a sense of national honour realize that U.S. imperialism is the enemy of the Japanese people and the common enemy of the peoples of Asia and the other parts of the world. Mr. Inejiro Asanuma, the late outstanding leader of the Japanese Socialist Party, said that "U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples." No one can deny this statement of the truth.

U.S. imperialism is not only the enemy of the people of Japan, but also of the peoples of Asia and all other countries of the world. These include the American people to whom U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war have brought very great harm. That is why the American people are opposing war with increasing vigour and demanding peace with ever greater insistence.

Since U.S. imperialism is the source of the threat to world peace and of nuclear war, it is imperative that the people of the various countries should firmly expose and oppose U.S. imperialism and wage a blow-for-blow struggle against it in order to prevent nuclear war and defend world peace. The broad masses of the people can be rallied and mobilized to wage effective struggles in defence of peace only if the enemy of peace and the source of war threats is identified. If, on the other hand, this fact is concealed and the line of distinction between the enemy and ourselves is blurred or, if only goodwill for peace is expressed without pointing out the aim of the struggle, the peace movement will be weakened and lose its bearings. Such a line is therefore absolutely wrong and most detrimental to the cause of world peace.



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# Twin Soviet Spaceships in Orbit

THE Chinese people are elated at the successful launching of the Soviet manned spaceships *Vostok III* and *IV*. Everyone is talking about Man's first group flight in space. The exciting news flashed through the nation in no time. For several days now it has been prominently frontpaged in all the papers. It is a top item in radio news broadcasts.

Soong Ching Ling, President of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, sent congratulations to N.V. Popova, President of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and to A.A. Andreyev, President of the Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association. She said that the successful launching of the spaceships furnishes another powerful proof that in the cause of Man's conquest of outer space, the Soviet Union is by far in the leading position.

The Chinese democratic parties in a joint message to the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association expressed confidence that this brilliant achievement of the Soviet Union would greatly inspire the peoples of the socialist camp and of the whole world in their struggle to oppose imperialist policies of aggression and war and to defend world peace.

Organizations which sent messages of greetings to their Soviet counterparts include the China Peace Committee, the Chinese Scientific and Technological Association, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and organizations of youth, students and women.

Noted Chinese scientists have been discussing the significance of this astonishing Soviet scientific achievement.

Chao Chiu-chang, Director of the Institute of Geophysics, noted some of the interesting features of the latest Soviet spaceships. Their large size provides the astronauts with sufficient room to move around. They can leave their cockpits, eat food and go to bed. In contrast, the capsule of the U.S. spaceman John Glenn was on the small side. It was such a tight squeeze that the astronaut had to crawl into it and could hardly turn around in the cabin. Another remarkable fact is that the orbit of *Vostok IV* lies in the high f-2 layer of the ionosphere and new techniques are being used for radio communication. Here again, he said, the U.S. is lagging far behind as evidenced by Glenn's loss of contact with the Earth for 17 minutes during his three revolutions around the Earth.

The Soviet group flight in space demonstrated a high degree of accuracy in computing techniques, said mathematician Su Pu-ching.

Chang Yu-che, Director of the Tzuchinshan Observatory in Nanking, pointed out that the latest Soviet achievements in space would make possible the launching of a series of spaceships to act as observation stations for astronomical and meteorological research. "This will be a tremendous contribution to science," he said.

Lin Jung, Vice-Director of the Institute of Biology, drew attention to the new Soviet spaceships' mission of studying the effects of space flights on the human organism and Man's ability to work in a state of weightlessness. He praised conditions in the space cabins. "They are well under control," he noted.

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The conference also held an animated discussion on the connection between the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist national-independence movements and the movement to prevent nuclear war and defend world peace. Many delegates addressing the conference pointed out that in order to prevent nuclear war and defend world peace, it is necessary to give firm support to all the struggles being waged by the oppressed nations and peoples against imperialism and colonialism and to win and preserve their national independence, the struggle for the abolition of foreign military bases and aggressive military blocs included.

## Links Between the Two Movements

Numerous facts have taught us that whenever national independence is violated, peace is inevitably disturbed; that there can be no real peace unless the independence of the peoples is safeguarded. Today, the threat to the independence of the peoples and to world peace comes from no other quarter than the imperialist and colonialist forces, and especially from U.S. imperialism. It is the United States which has dispatched over a million troops overseas and stationed them in over 70 countries and regions throughout the world. It is the United States which has established over 900 military bases in 35 countries and is now building and expanding 15 bases for launching intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Wherever there are U.S. troops or U.S. bases and whichever country has signed military treaties with the United States, there national sovereignty and the people's security are severely infringed.

Hence, the national-independence movements and the movement to defend peace have a common enemy and a common target—both must fight imperialism. This is the very reason why the national-independence movements and the movement to defend peace can and must support and inspire each other. The surging national-independence movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America after World War II, especially in the past few years, have proved to be a powerful factor in the cause of world peace and against the imperialist forces of war. The national-independence movements and the movement to defend peace, supporting and complementing each other, have greatly reinforced the forces of world peace and added to the might of the peace movement. It is therefore obviously wrong to maintain that the movement to prevent nuclear war and defend world peace should be separated from the struggle against military bases and for national independence.

## Class Stand on Possession of Nuclear Weapons

The Chinese people are firmly opposed to nuclear war and have consistently advocated the complete banning of

the testing, manufacturing, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government has repeatedly proposed that all countries in the Asian and Pacific region, including the United States, conclude a peace pact and turn this region into one free of nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government has also energetically backed up the efforts made by the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all other peace-loving peoples and nations to discontinue nuclear testing and ban nuclear weapons.

We hold, however, that when imperialism is stubbornly hindering and opposing agreement on the suspension of nuclear testing and the prohibition of nuclear weapons and is using such weapons to threaten the people of the world, the socialist countries, to ensure the security of the socialist camp and defend world peace, naturally

must possess nuclear weapons, and, moreover, nuclear weapons of better quality than those of U.S. imperialism.

The socialist countries love peace; nuclear weapons in their hands and nuclear tests conducted by them are entirely different in nature from nuclear weapons in the hands of the imperialist bloc and nuclear tests conducted by that bloc. The possession of nuclear weapons and the carrying out of nuclear tests by the socialist countries can only be a telling blow against the imperialist policy of the nuclear arms drive and nuclear blackmail and therefore helps to prevent nuclear war; it will help force imperialism to accept some kind of agreement on the discontinuance of nuclear testing and the prohibition of nuclear weapons and so will help the cause of world peace.

## What Happened at the Tokyo Conference

**T**HE 8th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Prevention of Nuclear War ended successfully in Tokyo on August 6 despite efforts by U.S. imperialism to undermine and split it.

At the closing session Kaoru Yasui, Director General of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, read out the Tokyo Declaration and Recommendations on Joint International Action which were adopted by majority votes in the conference's drafting committee. Kaoru Yasui's report on the two documents was applauded by the overwhelming majority of delegates, including all foreign delegates.

As Yasui started reading his report, some delegates of the Japanese Socialist Party and Socialist Youth League ran up to the platform in an attempt to prevent the session from proceeding normally. However, when they failed to do so, they left the conference hall amidst boos. Earlier, when the emergency motion presented by the representatives of the Japanese Socialist Party and SOHYO (the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan), calling for a protest against both American and Soviet nuclear testing, was voted down by the majority in the conference's steering committee, the General Secretary of the Japanese Socialist Party Saburo Eda declared that his party was withdrawing from the committee.

The day after the Tokyo conference closed, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party issued a statement denouncing the delegates of the Japanese Socialist Party and SOHYO for their disruptive acts at the conference and pledging to defend the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs. The statement pointed out that the 8th world conference ended in unity among the majority of the delegates both Japanese and foreign. It strongly criticized some of the Socialist delegates for trying to impose the Socialist Party's "positive neutrality" line upon the conference through outrageous methods, resorting to violence which caused serious injuries to conference officials, and at-

tempting to cause the conference to close without adopting any documents. The statement declared: "The Socialist leadership, which found itself isolated at the 7th world conference last year, has since then been acting outrageously in an attempt to monopolize the anti-A-H-bomb movement. At this year's conference, they again met severe criticisms. These were made on the basis of current developments of the situation. They will continue to put pressure on the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs so that they may use this organization for their own purposes. This attempt runs counter to the main current of the peace movement and may turn the Japanese anti-A-H-bomb movement into a sectarian one. By following this line, the Socialist Party dared to challenge the will of the majority of delegates at the 8th world conference."

Also on August 7, the Hiroshima Prefectural Committees of the Japanese Communist Party and the Democratic Youth League of Japan issued a statement declaring as "null and void" the "Hiroshima Appeal" illegally published by the Presidium of the Hiroshima Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and its resolution protesting against Soviet nuclear tests.

The Hiroshima conference was held on August 6 and attended by 2,600 Japanese and 17 foreign delegates. Prior to the opening of the conference, the delegates decided that the draft appeal should be amended by the Hiroshima Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs before being submitted to the conference for adoption. However, during the conference the presidium suddenly announced the appeal without any amendments. The Japanese Communist Party and other delegates asked for the floor to voice their opposition, but their request was rejected.

The Chinese delegate who wanted to express an opinion on the appeal was prevented from doing so. Thereafter, the Chinese, Soviet and Korean delegates walked out of the conference hall.

The Hiroshima Communist Party statement pointed out that the "Hiroshima Appeal" and the resolution protesting against Soviet nuclear tests, which put the Soviet Union and U.S. imperialism on a par, were tantamount to camouflaging the enemy of peace. These documents completely ignored the speeches made and the views expressed by the delegates at the Hiroshima conference. The fact is: except for one delegate, all Japanese and foreign delegates who spoke at the conference cited facts to show that U.S. imperialism is the enemy of peace. These delegates were warmly acclaimed by the absolute majority at the conference. The statement said that when the presidium illegally announced the adoption of the

appeal and the resolution, most of the delegates were either raising their hands to ask for the floor or voicing their indignation; but the presidium ignored this and arbitrarily declared the closing of the conference.

According to *Akahata*, the Chinese delegate Yang Shuo who attended the Hiroshima conference criticized the "appeal" as "erroneous both in content and form." "It is clear that nuclear weapons are powerful weapons for peace when they are held by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They are used as evil weapons when they are in the hands of the imperialists. It is erroneous to fail to see this difference," Yang Shuo said.

# Yugoslavia's Economic Troubles

by LIAO CHING

**A** VIOLENT storm has rocked the Yugoslav economy. The gravity of the situation is indicated by the fact that the Yugoslav President Tito, the Government and the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are making joint and intensive efforts to tackle economic problems.

In a report to the Yugoslav Parliament at the end of May, Edward Kardelj said that the purpose of the recent government reshuffle was "to overcome the difficulties in our economic life" and "to remove those subjective mistakes and loopholes in economic practice and policy, in budgeting and planning and other fields, that have caused and aggravated economic difficulties." He said that "negative phenomena" in the country's economic life "became more striking last year than ever before." The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in a letter to its members admitted that "there are still serious problems in economic life," that is, "the decline in the rate of growth of material production, the increase in payments deficit and the rise of commodity prices." "All this has aggravated the economic situation." Mijalko Todorovic said as early as April that the Yugoslav economy "is experiencing serious difficulties." In his speech to the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Tito said that in the "reports" submitted to the plenum, "no answer can be found to the question of how we are going to solve our present difficulties."

Difficulties do indeed exist and very serious ones too. Tito and his group, however, declined to go into details concerning the real nature of these difficulties, but some additional information can be got from scanty disclosures in the Yugoslav press.

## Sharp Drop in Industrial Output

The rate of "growth" of Yugoslav industrial production began to decline drastically as early as last year. According to information published by Yugoslavia itself, industrial production in 1961 "increased" by only 7 per

cent, a rate much lower than before. It "increased" only 4 per cent in the first five months of this year. Moreover, output of some major industrial branches even began to decline. Output in the machine-building and building materials industries in the first quarter of this year dropped by 5 per cent and 18 per cent respectively compared with the corresponding period of last year. In the first two months of this year, output in the coal industry fell by 2 per cent and in the food industry, by 5 per cent, and extraction of bituminous coal fell by 22 per cent.

Some explanation is needed to help assess the true nature of the "increase" in Yugoslavia's industrial output. Most of Yugoslavia's machine plants, instead of making machines themselves, purchase licences from the Western countries and, on the basis of designs supplied by foreigners, assemble the machines out of imported spare parts. They enjoy priority in getting foreign exchange from the state to import these spare parts. The assembled machines are sold at high prices and the enterprises "independently dispose" of the huge profits. That is why in Yugoslavia they are called "special businesses subordinate to foreign countries." For instance, 33-70 per cent of the equipment on a Yugoslav ship is imported. As much as two-thirds of the parts of a Yugoslav car are imported. Sometimes, even the cabinets of radio and television sets are imported. Since 1950, moreover, the development of Yugoslav industries has been inseparable from the loans of about \$4,000 million received from the United States and the West European countries. In 1961 alone, the United States and some other Western countries lent Yugoslavia some \$500 million to carry out its series of "decentralized management" reforms. The rulers of Yugoslavia were well aware of all this when they boasted about the "increase" in "industrial output."

## No Sale for Industrial Goods

Some reasons why industrial production stagnates or declines can also be found in Yugoslav press reports.

The fact that it is hard to sell industrial goods is no longer a secret. Statistics show that accumulated stocks of industrial products in 1961 increased by 20 per cent compared with 1960, and increased by another 22.3 per cent in the first five months of this year compared with last year. In Belgrade, stocks of industrial products increased by 46 per cent in the first quarter of this year. The paper *Borba* disclosed in April that many Yugoslav factories were operating at only 10-15 per cent of capacity. The *Federal Bulletin* also reported that last year, 618 enterprises closed down because of poor sales of their products, and in the first five months of this year, another 259 factories shut up shop for the same reason. Tito said one month ago that "today we have industrial enterprises which will have to close down tomorrow because of over-production and poor sales." He attributed the closing down of these enterprises to "over-investment" and "the desire of everyone to build his own [factory]." But this remark brings to light only part of the causes. There is another major cause for this situation. That is, some 600 import-export firms "imported any kind of goods" "as long as they are cheap" and "imported too many commodities which are also produced at home." It is precisely these imported commodities that have robbed native industrial products of their market. These Yugoslav import-export firms, in importing goods, give no consideration whatsoever to the market for domestic industrial products. One example of this concerns the production and importation of communication and transport equipment. Although there are 16 tramcar manufacturing companies in the country, last year, in the state expenditure for communication equipment not a single dinar is recorded as being spent on buying home-made products.

### Decline in Farm Production

Agricultural production has also been going down in the past two years. A reduction of 6 per cent was registered in 1961 compared with the previous year and reports indicate that an increase of production is unlikely this year. At the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, State Secretary for Agriculture and Forestry Slavko Komar said on July 23 that the total output of agricultural products increased by 47 per cent between 1957 and 1961. But at the same time he said that "agricultural production has dropped in the past few years." It is hard to understand what he meant. Even according to official Yugoslav figures, agricultural production in Yugoslavia is still below the prewar level and an average of 800,000 to 1,000,000 tons of food grain has to be imported annually. Addressing the same plenum, Milos Minic, President of the Yugoslav Committee for Economic Planning, said that more food would have to be imported in the future. Since the liquidation of agricultural co-operatives in Yugoslavia ten years ago, agricultural "reform" has been carried out along the "unique road" laid down by Tito. Today, according to Yugoslav press reports "land auctions" are a common phenomenon and the "supply far exceeds demand with regard to land." About 10 per cent of the peasant households in the country are involved in land transactions. In the major grain-producing area of Vojvodina, 33 per cent of

the peasant households are involved in landlease transactions. In that area, 10.4 per cent of the peasant households are rich peasants possessing more than eight hectares of land and their holdings amount to 30 per cent of the total arable land.

### Foreign Trade in Difficulties

Difficulties in foreign trade are also revealed by the Yugoslav rulers. Tito said that the "payments deficit is large" and "is becoming larger." The Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia therefore came to the conclusion that "one of the important tasks in economic policy for 1962 is to increase exports" and that it is necessary "to restrict imports as far as possible."

With the introduction of foreign trade and foreign exchange reforms in 1961, Yugoslavia abolished all administrative supervision over foreign exchange transactions; since then every enterprise can freely possess foreign exchange and import commodities. Consequently, that same year, imports immediately went up by 9 per cent while exports went down by 2 per cent, thus causing a foreign trade deficit of 103,500 million dinars, a sum 32 per cent larger than in 1960, which had seen the biggest foreign trade deficit to date in Yugoslavia's history. In the first six months of this year, the foreign trade deficit amounted to 44,500 million dinars, registering an increase of another 14.4 per cent over the corresponding period of last year. Following the "unique road," Yugoslavia's foreign trade enterprises have gone to the lengths of competing with each other on foreign markets in order to make larger profits and increase their income (the average wages for foreign trade departments personnel are the highest of all in government departments). Early this year, Thailand ordered 650 railway wagons from a Yugoslav firm in Sarajevo. When a Belgrade firm heard of this deal, it told the Thai businessmen concerned that the equipment of the Sarajevo firm was so primitive that it could not fulfil this order. As a result, the Belgrade firm grabbed the deal.

### Picture of a Capitalist Society

With Yugoslavia's industrial and agricultural production and foreign trade in such a plight, how do things stand with commodity prices, the people's standard of living and social conditions in general? We had better let Tito and his followers tell their own story. At a mass meeting held in Split on May 6, Tito said, "We not only feel but also see that the prices of certain products are rising and the prices of many products are rising steadily." "When there was a scarcity of certain products, businessmen raised their prices so quickly that even a capitalist could not do it so smartly." This is truly a living picture of a capitalist society. Mijalko Todorovic also stated last April that the increase of the adverse balance in foreign trade had led to "rising prices and costs of living, market fluctuations and other forms of economic instability." An article in the June 19 issue of the paper *Politika* said that "most Yugoslav commercial establishments are increasing their income by selling at high prices." "Skyrocketing commodity prices have slowed down sales of products in domestic and foreign markets, resulting in large

stocks" and "the decline of real wages." "Commodity prices in the first five months of this year showed an increase of 24 per cent compared with the same period of last year."

### Tito's Phoney Prescriptions

The Yugoslav press disclosed that in May this year, retail prices of native industrial products rose by 5 per cent and of farm produce by 30 per cent compared with last year. The cost of living climbed steeply; compared with 1961, it increased 8 per cent in January, 10 per cent in February, 12 per cent in March and 15 per cent in April and May respectively. Tito also said in May that "most people [in Yugoslavia] are earning low wages."

Since the League of Communists of Yugoslavia proclaimed its out-and-out revisionist programme in 1958, the Yugoslav bigwigs and press have never ceased for a single day to advertise their "unique road" to "socialism." They have no intention of finding out from this "unique road" what are the root causes of the country's "grave economic difficulties" today. The Yugoslav "theoreticians" have always attacked as "state bureaucratism" and "state capitalism" the socialist planned economy and the economy of ownership by the whole people which is under unified state control. In the League's programme it is stated that "state bureaucratism is the biggest and often the main danger of socialism during the period of transition" and that "so far as the category of economic relations is concerned, the process of the withering-away of the state is the process of the overcoming of the leftovers of state capitalism." The "self-governing organizations" and "workers' councils" in Yugoslavia are regarded as the "most suitable socio-economic instrument" to use against "bureaucratism." The economic reform, introduced in Yugoslavia in 1961 and advertised as the "third revolution" was carried out under the banner of opposing "bureaucratism" and opposing "dogmatism." This reform was aimed to end administrative supervision in foreign trade, to achieve "decentralization," to "further expand the influence of the law of the market in all spheres of the economy," to introduce the "free price system" and "through free prices" to "automatically distribute the social products." In distribution, all enterprises should "independently distribute their net income." In other words, whichever enterprises make big money can appropriate big profits for themselves. They think that only in this way can the "labour collective" be given the material incentive to show an interest in raising labour productivity. To carry out these reforms, Yugoslavia went cap in hand and got some \$500 million in loans from various capitalist countries. Yet only one year after the launching of the "third revolution," Tito and other rulers of Yugoslavia already sensed an impending storm. Things finally grew so serious that Tito himself had to come out to do some "self-criticism" in order to pacify the feelings of "discontent among the people" the existence of which he has admitted more than once. He "boldly" confessed to the people that wage differences were "simply beyond understanding"; that the "accumulation of personal wealth" had become extremely serious; that prices were rising steadily; that "onions are dearer than gold today"; that the "labourers' wages are meagre"; that the "national

debt amounts to nearly \$1,000 million"; that the "foreign trade deficit is large" and "is becoming larger"; that "bureaucracy is getting serious"; and that a "local closed-door policy" and "provincialism and chauvinism" had made their appearance. However, he considered that the root of all these troubles lay "first and foremost in bad organizational work." Consequently, the prescriptions he has written for these "abnormal manifestations" appear to be ineffective, or, at most, can only temporarily ease the pain of the patient. As always, he maintained that Yugoslavia's "only salvation" lay in "social autonomy," "decentralized management," "independent operation" of enterprises and their "independent distribution of income," "prices shaping up freely in the market" and what he called the "direct democracy" of "management by workers."

### Sticking to the Revisionist Line

Tito and his followers have recently pledged with one voice that they would in no case alter their revisionist line. At the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which met on July 22 and 23, Tito attributed the current difficulties to an "incorrect interpretation of decentralized management." He failed, however, to define what is the "correct interpretation." A. Rankovic blamed "certain circles abroad" for "hastily characterizing intervention by the Executive Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia as a deviation from the line and role of the League." D. Vidic, member of the Central Committee of the League, said that he could not agree with "Communists in certain foreign countries, and the dogmatists in particular," who took the view that "administrative centralization should be reinstated both in the economy and in the functions of the party." He complained that "some of them want to see a revision of the League's programme, while others believe that indeed what is actually being done means that a revision has already been made."

In his report to the Parliament on May 28, Edward Kardelj stated categorically: "There are various speculations on whether we would go forward or fall back. In the first place, even if there are people here who wish to fall back, they could not possibly do so." This, he said, was because the "principle of social autonomy" "constitutes the inviolable basis for the further progress of socialism in our country." He added: "The question whether we should go forward or fall back does not exist at all. There is nothing wrong with autonomy." He advised others to "give up their empty talk about our going forward or falling back." He indicated that Yugoslavia's "system of autonomy and economic system" should be "perfected and supplemented" in all spheres.

It is, therefore, obvious that the present rulers of Yugoslavia, far from altering their revisionist line, are doing all they can to reinforce it. The consequences of this are also obvious, that is, Yugoslavia will become, to an even greater extent, "a capitalist country without capitalists" and the West will further "pull Yugoslavia back into the Western economic world" and the "Western political world as well" (*Wall Street Journal*).

# The Chinese Revolution and Armed Struggle

by HSIAO HUA

*Following is the second and concluding instalment of an article published in the fortnightly "Hongqi," No. 15-16, 1962, in commemoration of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The author is a Deputy Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese P.L.A. The first instalment appeared in our last issue. Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

### III

The Chinese revolutionary struggle was a complex one; it took many forms.

#### Counter-Revolutionary Two-Tactics

The reason why the revolutionary people have no choice but to wage an armed struggle is that the reactionary ruling classes are the first to use force. As Lenin pointed out: "Major questions in the life of nations are settled only by force. The reactionary classes themselves are usually the first to resort to violence, to civil war; they are the first to 'place the bayonet on the agenda.'"<sup>\*</sup> But the reactionary classes also sometimes employ methods other than violence in order to achieve their aim of destroying the people's revolutionary forces. Again as Lenin said: "The world-wide experience of bourgeois and landlord governments has developed two methods of keeping the people in subjection. The first is violence. . . . But there is another method, best developed by the English and French bourgeoisie, who 'learnt their lesson' in a series of great revolutions and revolutionary movements of the masses. That is the method of deception, flattery, fine phrases, numberless promises, petty sops, and concessions of the unessential while retaining the essential."<sup>\*\*</sup> Thus the revolutionary people are confronted with the problem of how to deal with the two tactics of the reactionary classes. This is what we call the problem

<sup>\*</sup> Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," *Selected Works in Two Volumes*, English edition, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 2, p.142.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," *Selected Works* (in 12 vols.), English edition, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VI, pp.51-52.

of opposing the two tactics of counter-revolution with revolutionary two tactics.

The problem of how to deal correctly with the counter-revolutionary two tactics of the enemy, like the problems of the need to wage armed struggle and of how to wage it, was also solved for the Chinese people in the course of their protracted revolutionary struggle under the correct guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The events of recent decades have proved that the imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique are crafty, cunning and full of tricks. In addition to waging counter-revolutionary wars with great energy they are also adept at using sham peace talks. During the final stages of the Second Revolutionary Civil War and the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Chiang Kai-shek clique tried to lure some of our important leading cadres away from our army to become "officials" in their government and to send people to take part in the leadership of our army so as to split and disintegrate it. The Chiang clique also tried to swallow our army up gradually by reorganizing it separately into their own army—what they called the "sandwich" method. They tried to corrupt our military cadres in an attempt to change the character of our army.

After the conclusion of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Chiang Kai-shek clique, instigated and supported by U.S. imperialism, gained time under cover of peaceful negotiations to deploy its forces and launch a new, large-scale civil war in order to seize the fruits of the victorious War of Resistance and once again enslave the nation. In the first few campaigns in its offensive against the Liberated Areas, however, it suffered heavy blows at the hands of the people's revolutionary forces, so it played peace tricks to gain time to prepare further for a nationwide civil war. When it reckoned that its preparations were complete, it tore up the peace agreement it had signed and started its all-out attacks against the Liberated Areas, imposing war on the people. When the People's Liberation Army won decisive victories in the Liaohsi-Shenyang, Peking-Tientsin and Huai-Hai campaigns and Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary regime was on the verge of total collapse, it once again laid a smokescreen of peace to blunt the vigilance of the revolutionary ranks in a vain attempt to gain in sham

peace talks what it was unable to achieve on the battlefield; it used such talks to stave off our attack and gain a breathing spell to reorganize its forces for a counter-attack. Whether it waged counter-revolutionary war or played peace tricks, its aim was, in the last analysis, the destruction of the people's revolutionary forces. This counter-revolutionary nature of imperialism and of all reactionaries will never change.

### Revolutionary Two-Tactics

To win victory in the revolution it is of immense importance to appraise correctly the enemy's counter-revolutionary two tactics and oppose them with revolutionary two tactics in a blow-for-blow struggle. Generally speaking, the enemy's peace tactics are more deceitful than his open war tactics. It often requires time and practice to prove fully to our allies and the broad masses what is the real nature of this deception. The idea that since we were going to wage armed struggle we should not hold talks with the enemy under any circumstances and that we should have summarily rejected any enemy proposal for negotiations was wrong. It entailed the danger of isolating ourselves and would only have benefited the enemy. In waging protracted struggles to win victory for the democratic revolution, our Party persisted in armed struggle as the main form of struggle, but it never neglected peaceful struggle whenever this was possible. Facts have shown that on many occasions it was of great importance to expose the enemy's deceptions and to educate the people on the basis of real examples, and especially to work for the awakening of the middle-of-the-road groups by means of such peaceful negotiations. By so doing we were able to win over all the allies that could be won over and grasped the political initiative; we gained, when possible, a legal status for our Party and a state of peace which facilitated the growth of the revolutionary forces. This is one aspect of the matter.

On the other hand, the idea that since we wanted peace we should not have waged any struggle and that we should have liquidated the armed struggle that was in fact necessary, was, of course, also very wrong. This idea was in essence the result of its advocates' harbouring illusions about the enemy or being cowed by the enemy's threats. It would only have led the revolution to defeat. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the enemy used the tactics of peace during a certain period only to prepare conditions to crush us finally by force. "The principle of the reactionary forces in dealing with the democratic forces of the people is definitely to destroy all they can and to prepare to destroy later whatever they cannot destroy now."\* In the course of the Chinese revolution we were confronted with an enemy armed to the teeth. Had we given up the people's armed forces of our own accord, there would never have been any negotiations on an equal footing, and we would have been quite helpless

\* Mao Tse-tung, "Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, English edition, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp.87-88.

in face of the armed attacks that the enemy might have unleashed at any time against us.

### Struggles by Peaceful Means

Whenever it was objectively possible, our Party has always striven hard to realize the people's aspirations and carry the revolutionary cause forward through peaceful struggles. Towards the end of the Second Revolutionary Civil War when Japanese imperialism stepped up its armed aggression against China and the national contradictions between China and Japan overshadowed class contradictions, our Party stood for a cessation of civil strife and sought to win the Kuomintang over to a joint resistance against Japan; it did a great deal to realize this aim. The Kuomintang generals Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng, influenced by the correct policy of our Party, demanded that the Kuomintang stop its so-called "punitive war against the Communists" and resist Japan together with the Communists. In Sian they took Chiang Kai-shek into custody by force and compelled him to stop the civil war. Although this butcher of the people owed us incalculable debts of blood, our Party, setting great store by the national interests, energetically persuaded Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng to release him once he had been compelled to agree to stop his "punitive war against the Communists" and switch to joint resistance against Japan.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, we once again made important concessions in order to achieve unity in resistance. For example, we switched from confiscating the landlords' land to reducing rents and interest rates, we changed the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Government into a Government of the Special Region and renamed the Red Army the National Revolutionary Army. After the victory of the War of Resistance, our Party exhausted all the possibilities of achieving peace; Comrade Mao Tse-tung went to Chungking personally and held peace talks with the Kuomintang lasting 43 days. In the course of those talks, we again made concessions and agreed to reduce the size of the people's armed forces and withdraw our troops from eight areas. Even after the civil war had broken out on a nationwide scale, our Party, while energetically leading the nation in waging the War of Liberation, did not refuse to hold peace talks with the Kuomintang reactionaries.

### Not to Be Fooled by Sham Peace Moves

But while working for peace our Party maintained its vigilance and refused to be fooled by the enemy's sham peace moves. It always relied on the people's armed forces to back it up and made preparations to meet war, not permitting its vigilance to be blunted by the enemy. Whenever we made necessary concessions to win peace, our principle was always that such concessions should not harm the fundamental interests of the people; hence the concessions were limited. It was precisely for this reason that the enemy found it impossible to carry out their plot to destroy the people's revolutionary forces by peaceful means, and that under certain circumstances

we were able to win a certain state of peace that benefited the people. When the War of Resistance Against Japan came to an end and while the Chiang Kai-shek clique was energetically preparing behind a smokescreen of peace to launch a nationwide civil war, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "The ten-year civil war was stopped, not by the appeals of public figures throughout the country who desired peace and feared war (such as those of the former 'League for Banning Civil War' and similar bodies), but by the armed demand of the Communist Party of China and the armed demands of the Northeastern Army under Chang Hsueh-liang and the Northwestern Army under Yang Hu-cheng. The three large-scale anti-Communist campaigns and countless other provocations were not beaten back by unlimited concessions and submission by the Communist Party; they were beaten back by the Communist Party's persistence in a just, stern attitude of self-defence — 'We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack.' If the Communist Party had been utterly powerless and spineless and had not fought to the finish for the interests of the nation and the people, how could the ten-year civil war have been ended? How could the War of Resistance Against Japan have started? And even though started, how could it have been carried on resolutely until victory today?"\* Later Comrade Mao Tse-tung again explained in his article "On the Chungking Negotiations": "How to give 'tit for tat' depends on the situation. Sometimes, not going to negotiations is tit-for-tat; and sometimes, going to negotiations is also tit-for-tat. . . . China's problems are complicated, and our brains must also be a little complicated. If they start fighting, we fight back, fight to win peace. Peace will not come unless we strike hard blows at the reactionaries who dare to attack the Liberated Areas."\*\*

The policy of opposing the counter-revolutionary two tactics by revolutionary two tactics as formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung was applied in the course of the protracted revolutionary struggles in China in a highly flexible manner. By applying these two tactics in these struggles, our Party exposed the reactionary nature of imperialism and its running dog the Chiang Kai-shek clique, smashed their various plots to destroy the people's armed forces, isolated the enemy, educated the people, rallied all the forces together that could be rallied, and finally overthrew the reactionary regime of the Chiang Kai-shek clique supported by U.S. imperialism, winning the great victory of the people's democratic revolution.

The 35 years of the history of the valiant struggles of our army repeatedly proved by both positive and negative examples the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist principle that in China it was a question of "seizure of

\* Mao Tse-tung, "On a Statement by Chiang Kai-shek's Spokesman," *ibid.*, pp.43-44.

\*\* *ibid.*, p.56.

state power by force and settlement of the question by war." It should be pointed out that it was precisely because our Party had waged armed struggle in a resolute and thoroughgoing way that it was able to liberate large areas by various peaceful means during the final stages of the Third Revolutionary Civil War. It was precisely because we had waged armed struggle for 22 years and gained state power by thoroughly overthrowing the regime of the domestic reactionaries supported by imperialism, because the Party enjoyed immense prestige among the masses and established close links with them, and because the people had at their disposal the powerful People's Liberation Army which was defending the fruits of victory of the people's revolution, that we were able to carry out the socialist revolution in a peaceful way and rapidly win a decisive victory. It was precisely because the Chinese people had accumulated rich experience in protracted armed struggle and had powerful armed forces at their disposal that they were able, together with the Korean people, to defeat U.S. imperialism and defend the security of their motherland.

### Glorious Tasks of P.L.A.

Today, the Chinese People's Liberation Army is a modernized people's army shouldering the glorious tasks of defending the fruits of victory of the revolution gained by the Chinese people, their socialist construction and the security of the country. We should at all times bear in mind the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung that before they finally perish imperialism and all reactionaries will never be reconciled to their defeat; they will always act according to the logic of "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom." Today, U.S. imperialism, which is resolutely hostile to the Chinese people, is still occupying the Chinese territory of Taiwan; it is continuing to maintain and strengthen its military bases and military forces in many places close to China, and is actively pursuing its policies of aggression and war. The Chiang Kai-shek gang, supported and encouraged by U.S. imperialism, is energetically preparing to invade the mainland coastal areas in an attempt to enslave the Chinese people once again. But all this is in vain. The Chinese People's Liberation Army which has rich experience in armed struggle, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and supported by the people throughout the country, will certainly be able to annihilate resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries should they dare to stage an invasion.

As we commemorate the 35th anniversary of the founding of our army, the P.L.A. is confronted with these new tasks. In these circumstances, it is necessary for us to study earnestly the historical experience of our Party and army, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking and teachings on the people's war and people's army, and strive more effectively to carry to completion the great task of liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland, to smash U.S. imperialism's aggression against China, and safeguard world peace.



# MEI LAN-FANG

## — His Life and Artistic Activities —

by YEN YUNG

In commemoration of the first anniversary of the death of Mei Lan-fang, China's great stage artist, we publish the following article. Yen Yung is Vice-President of the Chinese Institute of Operatic Arts.—Ed.

THE late Mei Lan-fang was the outstanding figure of the contemporary Chinese theatre of his day. In his art he was always a hard and diligent worker; he never ceased to study. He carried on the great traditions of his predecessors brilliantly; he never lacked courage in introducing necessary innovations and reforms. Like other artists he too had his ups and downs and made errors of judgement. But with a keen sense of discernment and great clarity of judgement he pressed on patiently with his work and finally achieved success. His name is writ large in the history of the Chinese theatre as the founder of the *Mei Pai*, the Mei school of dramatic art, which has exerted a far-reaching influence on the contemporary development of the Chinese theatre.

### His Rule of Life

The young Mei Lan-fang did not seem to be very promising material for the theatre. In his book *Forty Years on the Stage* he records his aunt's opinion of him as a boy: "He was nothing to speak of; his appearance was commonplace. . . . He was heavy-lidded. . . . He was very backward. It took him ages to learn to sing just a few lines of a song. One teacher, exasperated, gave up teaching him, saying 'the patron god of the theatre has not given you anything to qualify you for this profession.'" Mei Lan-fang said nothing but worked still harder.

Many years later, Mei Lan-fang, already famous, met his old teacher one day. "I was blind and took a genius for a fool," the old man said apologetically. "Please don't say that!" answered Mei Lan-fang showing neither pride nor displeasure. "It was really you who made me what I am now. If you hadn't scolded me, I would have never got down to working really hard."

Diligent work and study was a rule of life with Mei Lan-fang till the last. His eyesight was poor. To remedy this he took up the hobby of rearing pigeons and watching their flight to improve his power of vision. When

he was sick just before his death, his friends asked him to take a good rest. "Do you want me to become a good for nothing?" he asked quizzically. "How can I live if I don't perform?" Even when he was approaching the end he was still thinking about his theatrical work and planning future performances in Sinkiang.

He was always unaffectedly modest. He frequently insisted: "I'm no genius but just a hard worker. There is no difference between my way of mastering our art and that of others. I know no tricks and I take no short cuts. I hate to hear people flattering me." Mei Lan-fang personified the highest standards of the true artist: to him fame was the beginning of work — not its end.

### Early Life

Mei Lan-fang came from a poor family of Taichow, Kiangsu Province. It was so poor, indeed, that Mei Chiao-ling, his grandfather, was sold in boyhood to another family who resold him to a dramatic troupe. By the time he was able to stand on his own he had lost all contact with his real parents. Mei Chiao-ling was a famous actor and became manager of a troupe, the Sixiban or Four Happiness Troupe, but he was never well-to-do and ended his days in poverty. His son and daughter-in-law died while their child, the future young genius, born in Peking, was still a child. Mei Lan-fang was brought up in the home of Mei Yu-tien, his uncle, a *huqin* (fiddle) player in a Peking opera orchestra. This uncle was also poor and Mei Lan-fang had to help support the family by acting on the stage even while he was still a youngster.

The cultural influence of his uncle's family was, though conservative, good. From childhood he learnt to be polite, gentle, honest and considerate. He was also trained under strict discipline in the fundamental elements of dramatic art. This early education stood him in good stead in his later career. Early in life he decided to follow in his grandfather's footsteps and aspire to the heights of his chosen art. He learnt to hate evil and oppression and cherished a ready sympathy for the poor and honest people. In portraying virtuous but down-trodden women on the stage, he was at once able to convey to his audiences a profound feeling and sympathy for the char-



As the Nymph of the Lo River (1936)

acters represented. His success on the stage was due mainly to this identification with the acted character and, of course, his mastery of the dramatic techniques adequate to express this identification. He did not follow his teachers slavishly. The characters he created out of the depths of his own feeling and with his exquisite art conformed to the Chinese people's aesthetic and ethical standards; they satisfied the artistic tastes of his audience and were just the kind of characters they wanted to see. This was why the young Mei Lan-fang gained such swift popularity.

Mei Lan-fang's real creative activity in the theatre, however, began in his twenties when he had already achieved fame as a Peking opera actor in both Peking and Shanghai. Many a talented actor has ceased to advance creatively on achieving a similar level of success; and not a few have allowed the craving for still more "fame" and wealth to corrode the integrity of their art. But not so Mei Lan-fang. He refused to let success go to his head. He turned the heights he had achieved into a base for climbing still higher.

### Theatre — Instrument for Social Progress

As one who had experienced the social discrimination practised against theatre people in old China, Mei Lan-fang's attention was first directed at this time to the question of raising the social status of members of the theatrical profession. He pondered this problem for a long time, and took various steps in an attempt to solve it. Finally he became convinced that in order to raise the social position of theatrical performers, it was necessary to develop Peking opera as an instrument for social progress. In effect, this idea, carried to its logical conclusion, meant linking up the theatre with the democratic revolutionary movement of the time. Mei Lan-fang's efforts gave a new impetus to the development of Peking opera as an art.

In 1913 Mei Lan-fang made his first stage appearance in Shanghai. During his stay there he met progressives in local theatrical circles and his stage practice underwent a change as a result of their influence. When he returned to Peking, he began to widen the scope of the social themes treated in his plays more consciously to awaken and enlighten the people. It was at this time that he produced *Waves of the Evil Sea*, *Ups and Downs in the Official World*, *One Strand of Hemp*, *Teng Hsia-ku* and other plays in what was at that time called "modern-costume" style. In these plays he sought to expose the evils of officialdom, to oppose the evils of feudal marriage specifically (it should be remembered in this connection that Mei Lan-fang specialized in the *tan* or young women roles of Peking opera) and arouse sympathy for the common people.



As Chao Yen-jung in "Beauty Defies Tyranny"  
(A post-liberation picture)

Mei Lan-fang once said: "The stories of our old plays are all taken from ancient history. Some of them are edifying and to a certain extent good for the audience. But wouldn't stories drawn from modern sources produce a greater sense of immediacy and have a better effect on the people?" In producing his "modern-costume" plays Mei Lan-fang was not out to "swim with the tide" in the opportunist or vulgar sense, as some ill-minded persons of the time suggested; nor was he carrying out unjustified reforms as others said of him. He was acting in accordance with his own ideas of art, ideas which he had evolved during long years of experience on the stage and off and of faithful service to the public. "The dramatic performer should seek to keep his art near to his audience at all times," he

said. "Audiences' tastes change with the times. The performer must transform his art in accordance with his audiences' change of taste; otherwise he may find himself doing something entirely pointless." In this way Mei Lan-fang linked up theatrical reform with the demands of the public and so, ultimately, with the movement for social reform. He rejected the stand of art for art's sake. He saw art as something which should serve life and society. As his ideas finally evolved in the future, he wanted to free Peking opera from all the feudal and reactionary forces which still controlled it, and put it into the hands of the people. Considering the times he lived in, his early efforts in this direction were bold and revolutionary. They played a great part in promoting the reform and development of Peking opera. The conservatives slandered him as a traitor to the "sacred canons of the classical opera." He staunchly stood up to these attacks, however. His "modern-costume" plays were heartily welcomed by the broad masses of the people. They soon became popular and were widely imitated. Mei Lan-fang became the man of the hour in the field of theatrical reform.

### Innovations in Peking Opera

The vogue of the "modern-costume" drama, however, did not last long. Looking back, it is clear that with the understanding of reality which the young artist then had, he was unable to make full use of the events of daily life to expose the deep-lying social contradictions of the day; nor was he able to present social problems and problems of everyday life in their broader aspects. Besides, he failed to combine successfully the content of the new plays with the existing techniques of Peking opera. This is an operative form which has reached a high degree of perfection and firmly established conventions. Its adaptation to a new content is therefore a very complicated problem that has not yet been thoroughly solved even today. Mei Lan-fang devoted a great

deal of attention to this problem. Among the number of new plays he produced in an attempt to solve it were *Chang O Flees to the Moon*, *Heavenly Maiden Scattering Flowers*, and *A Thousand Pieces of Gold for a Smile*. These plays dealt with young women of old who sought a life of freedom and happiness. Many innovations were introduced in production methods and stage settings. Mei Lan-fang, acting himself, greatly improved the dramatic techniques of playing female roles. The costumes, though of ancient style, were made according to new designs. More musical instruments were added to the orchestral accompaniment.

In his endeavours to reform Peking opera Mei Lan-fang was true always to the finest traditions of the Chinese theatre. With the help of veteran masters, he made a deep study of *kunqu* (Kunshan) opera, a type of southern opera which has a history of more than three hundred years. Among the plays in the *kunqu* style which he produced were *A Maid Upsets the Lesson*, *A Walk in the Garden and Strange Dream*, *At the Broken Bridge* and the *Water Battle*, the two latter being episodes from the tale of *The White Snake*. The modern dramatic movement, which he launched together with some other progressive colleagues, paved the way for the reform movement which continues at this moment.

### In the War Years

Born in 1894, Mei Lan-fang throughout his early and middle years experienced or saw the horrors and miseries caused by imperialism. Like all Chinese patriots he hated imperialism and that hatred increased as the Japanese imperialists, following their seizure of China's northeast in 1931, extended their invasion to north China and Shanghai. The capitulationist policy followed by the reactionary government headed by Chiang Kai-shek simply encouraged the aggressors. The people on their part demanded resistance. Mei Lan-fang was living in Shanghai at the time and here he produced the plays *Resistance to the Kin Invaders* and *Remorse*. Speaking of them in his autobiography he wrote: "To vent my hatred for the Japanese invaders I infused my plays with ideas of patriotism and nationalism. . . ." In another place he wrote: "I had frequent contacts with Comrades Kuo Mo-jo, Tien Han and Ouyang Yu-chien. They helped me to increase my ideological and artistic knowledge." This was in the early 30s. It was about this time too that Mei Lan-fang visited the Soviet Union. There he saw the life of the Soviet people after the October Revolution and gained a new understanding of the meaning of dramatic art. There he saw the great role played by the theatre in popular education as well as the close relation between the theatre and politics.

This was an important period in Mei Lan-fang's life. He now stood in the front ranks of the struggle for national salvation. Using the artistic means at his disposal he gave expression to the feelings and sentiments of the Chinese people. By so linking up his theatrical art with the cause of national salvation he realized his earlier ambition of making his art effectively serve society.

When the Japanese attacked Shanghai in their all-out invasion of China in 1937 Mei Lan-fang went to Hongkong. When Hongkong, too, fell under Japanese control, he returned to Shanghai. Let us quote him again: "After the War of Resistance Against Japan broke out

I entertained a great hatred for the enemy. But I am only an actor and had little to give to the country. I could only follow the path of passive resistance to keep away from the Japanese invaders and their puppets. I left no stone unturned to avoid giving performances." Growing a moustache, Mei Lan-fang closed his door to guests. He lived by pawning and selling his personal effects. Sometimes he painted pictures and offered them for sale. In this way he managed to live through eight difficult years.

### Fearless Patriot

The Japanese invaders, their puppets and venal theatrical managers saw in Mei Lan-fang's privations a great opportunity to induce him to return to the stage. They wheedled and begged him repeatedly to give a performance. "Mr. Mei," said one of the managers who had made a fortune out of Mei Lan-fang's past performances, "if you will give just one performance any amount of money is yours for the asking. . . . Just say one word—'Yes'—and thousands of dollars will be given to you at once for your daily expenses." To set his mind at rest about being unpatriotic they added: "You will be performing for the Chinese people and not for the Japanese. What's wrong about a Chinese acting for the Chinese people?" Mei Lan-fang was extremely hard up at the time and his poverty was not a matter concerning himself alone. He had a big family to support and the members of his troupe had to support their



Mei Lan-fang at the age of 65 as Mu Kuei-ying in "Mu Kuei-ying Takes Command"

families too. Besides, he had many poor relatives and friends, many impoverished performers of the older generation, and they all in their need more or less looked to him for help. It was a hard decision to make.

He went into a room by himself to think things over. One cigarette butt after another went into the ash-tray. The room was soon thick with smoke. Finally he emerged with the answer: "I will not perform!" Not willing to take their failure lying down the Japanese agents showed their fangs. "What if a Japanese gendarme should come," they hinted threateningly, "and force you to perform?" "I am prepared to die," Mei Lan-fang said calmly. With true nobility of character and a firm determination he refused to bow to evil. He was resolved to die rather than serve the enemy. In this he showed himself to be an embodiment of the Chinese people's indomitable character. By his example he wrote a glorious page in the history of the Chinese theatre.

Like all artists with an experience of life in the old society of China, Mei Lan-fang had bitter memories of the past. The Ching Dynasty nobility looked down upon actors and treated them like slaves. Even in the early republican days an actor's fate was no better. Once when some policemen were refused free admission to the theatre where Mei Lan-fang was giving a performance, they arrested him on a trumped-up charge and put him in jail. "The Revolution of 1911 and the successes of the Northern Expedition made no difference to me so far as my personal life was concerned," Mei Lan-fang once said recalling the past. "They (the reactionary ruling class) were not in the least like what good people should be." Describing the situation after the victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, he wrote, "I saw that Chiang Kai-shek's regime was getting more evil and corrupt every day. I knew that he and his gang were heading for their downfall. . . ." In 1946 when Mei Lan-fang was touring in Nanking, Chiang Kai-shek asked him to give a performance in honour of the American intriguer George C. Marshall but he answered with an unequivocal "No!"

### A New Lease of Life

Then the country was liberated and so was Mei Lan-fang. He saw where the strength of the Chinese people lay and also their future. This was what he said: "After the liberation of Peiping and Tientsin in 1949 the People's Liberation Army marched with incredible speed to the south. I saw clearly at this time that the real power which liberated and saved China came from the people's revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party." In the spring of 1949 Mei Lan-fang left Shanghai for Peking to attend the First Congress of Literary and Art Workers. On the way he was greeted with enormous enthusiasm by thousands upon thousands of working people. He was greatly moved. Describing the journey he said: "I saw many things on the way which were novel and inspiring to me. Travelling by train on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway I was greeted by masses of workers, peasants and soldiers at every station. It is difficult to describe the warmth and sincerity of their welcome but I felt it was something entirely different from what I had experienced during my past performances."

Soon Mei Lan-fang was elected deputy to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and given

important posts in the nation's various dramatic organizations. He said: "In the old society I had no political status. Now I hold leading posts in government organizations and participate in the discussion of national affairs. This was something which had never been heard of before in theatrical circles. It was also something which my ancestors and I had never dreamt of before."

Under the leadership of the Party Mei Lan-fang soon became active in various kinds of social work and also in the international peace movement. He served the people with a pure heart. His political stand was unwavering. In 1957 when the bourgeois rightists launched an offensive against the Party he sternly denounced them. When he and his troupe toured Japan in 1956 he was subjected to all kinds of calumny and enticements by special agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang. But he was as defiant as ever. Not long after liberation he received a letter from a special agent. It warned him not to attend meetings of the C.P.P.C.C. and threatened him with assassination if he did. There was to be a C.P.P.C.C. meeting the very next day and, for a certain reason, he had intended to ask to be excused from attending. But, on receiving this menacing letter, he said, "This is a challenge to me to attend the meeting." And he did.

### An Artist of the People

Mei Lan-fang was an ardent supporter of Chairman Mao's ideas on literature and art. In all his artistic activities he followed the principle that literature and art should serve the cause of socialist construction, that it should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers—the people. He enthusiastically carried out the Party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom, letting a hundred schools of thought contend, and weeding through the old to let the new emerge." Expressing his own thoughts on these matters he wrote: "I worked hard on the stage for decades in the old society. Although I achieved some success I was in some doubt as to whom my art should serve. After liberation I studied Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*. It was then that I began to know the reason why art and literature should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers—I began to have a real aim in my work."

Having stepped out onto the right path Mei Lan-fang began to give performances in various parts of the country. Countless numbers of people who never had a chance to see him perform in the past were now able to enjoy his art. He performed in factories, mines, villages and on construction sites. He entertained the volunteers on the Korean front and servicemen on the naval front in Fukien. He sang his operatic arias for men in the army kitchens and trenches. In short, he gave performances to the broad masses of the people. His audiences gave him the warmest of welcomes. This in turn exerted a deep influence on his changing outlook and sentiments. "I saw," he said, "tens of thousands of people, worthy sons and daughters of the motherland, and the great role they played in defending and in building up the country. . . . The working people gave a new lease of life to my art. . . . I made greater progress in the past few years than in the previous forty." At a meeting held in 1955 in honour of his fifty years of stage work he said: "Without the leadership of the Party and Chair-

# CHINA AND THE WORLD

## Chairman Mao Receives Latin American Guests

Chairman Mao Tse-tung had friendly talks with guests from Latin America twice during the past week. The guests were: the Mexican peace delegation headed by Guillermo Montano; Madame Merba Hernandez, member of the National Committee of the Cuban Movement for Peace and Sovereignty of the Peoples; the Venezuelan peace delegation headed by Elpidio La Mata; Antonio Cacerse of Paraguay; the Brazilian economist Alvez Pinto and his wife; and Manuel Araujo Hidalgo, former President of the Chamber of Deputies of Ecuador.

## Korea's Liberation Anniversary

The 17th anniversary of the liberation of Korea (August 15) was warmly celebrated in China. Chinese Party and state leaders sent a message with anniversary congratulations to the Korean Party and state leaders.

Signed by Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai, the message pays tribute to the Korean people who in the past 17 years under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party and the Korean Government headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, have waged a firm, unyielding and valiant struggle to defend the independence and freedom of their fatherland, against U.S. imperialist aggression; and have made great achievements in the cause of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Greeting the Korean people who are now working with utmost confidence to fulfil their grand 7-year plan, it states that "the Korean Democratic People's Republic stands erect on the eastern front of the socialist camp, resolutely opposes U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, resolutely supports the liberation movement of the oppressed nations and is making outstanding contributions to the defence of the security of the socialist camp and the upholding of peace in Asia and the world. The Korean people's struggle to compel the U.S. aggressor troops to withdraw from south Korea and for the realization of the peaceful reunification of the fatherland, has won wide sympathy and support from the people of the

whole world." "The Chinese people will resolutely support the patriotic and just struggle of the Korean people until their final victory is won," the message declares.

## Chinese Delegate Speaks At I.O.J.

Addressing the 5th Congress of the International Organization of Journalists (I.O.J.) recently held in Budapest, Chin Chung-hua, Vice-President of the All-China Journalists' Association, praised the I.O.J. for its remarkable achievements in the struggle for peace, democracy, freedom, national independence and social progress. He pointed out that the imperialist forces of war headed by the U.S. are still plotting arrogantly against the desire of the people of the whole world for lasting peace, that the threat to peace still exists. "We cannot wait for peace; it must be won through struggle. So long as all the peace forces of the world go on strengthening their unity and persist in the struggle, the war conspiracy of imperialism can be checked and world peace consolidated," he said.

He further pointed out that a special feature of this congress was

man Mao, without the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, it would be impossible for us to hold such a great meeting today." Mei Lan-fang made it clear that his enhanced political consciousness and deeper ideological understanding grew under the inspiration of the Party and through closer contact with the people.

His art underwent a profound change in the post-liberation years. After liberation he improved the performance of plays in his old repertoire. For instance, he altered the emphasis in the main theme of the play *The Drunken Beauty*. Deleting certain unhealthy elements, he treated the imperial concubine Yang Kuei-fei, neglected for another by the emperor, as a woman wronged. He re-created the characters in many traditional plays in the light of his new understanding. Take *Beauty Defies Tyranny* for example. In the past he used to play the main character Chao Yen-jung with the feeling simply that she was an unfortunate woman. Later, in acting this role, he tried to express her spirit of resistance to tyranny.

Particularly worthy of remembrance was his performance at the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China. At that time he was already sixty-five. Acting in a new play entitled *Mu Kuei-ying Takes Command*, adapted from a Honan opera, he re-created the leading character with consummate skill and profound understanding as a brave patriot. Heroine of folklore, Mu Kuei-ying's character is legendary for steadfastness and courage. As re-created

by Mei Lan-fang on the stage she took on a new splendour.

## Joining the Communist Party

In the course of his life and work Mei Lan-fang gradually got into closer contact with the people; he came to know what the Party stands for and really is. "At first," he said, "I only felt that the Communist Party was good and just. But I did not know in what lay its strength. It was only after liberation that I began to realize that the power of the people's revolution under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is invincible. . . . The programme and policy of the Party are an embodiment of the collective and long-term interests of the people. . . . Their aim is to create a prosperous, happy communist society in which there are no classes, no exploitation and no war; they are designed to wage the struggle to the end for the complete liberation of mankind." When he applied for membership in the Chinese Communist Party Mei Lan-fang said that he "wanted to devote all his time and energy to the struggle for the cause of communism." His wish was realized. In the spring of 1959 he was admitted into the Party.

Under the care and influence of the Party, Mei Lan-fang, a conscientious, hard-working, patriotic worker in the field of the theatre, became a revolutionary fighter of the proletariat. He created for us many characters which are embodiments of the fighting spirit of the people. He blazed a new trail for his colleagues in the realm of the theatre, and pointed out for them the way ahead.

# CHINESE PRESS OPINION

the increase in the number of delegates from Asian, African and Latin American countries which are waging a fiery struggle to win and safeguard their national independence.

"The movement to win and safeguard national independence is an important force which pushes history forward," he continued. "Tremendous changes have been taking place in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These great historical changes have greatly weakened imperialism, shaking it to its foundations; they have been a most important factor in the continuous advance of the cause of world peace in recent years. This has opened broad prospects for democratic journalism."

## Unbreakable Solidarity

Young people from the five continents have spent ten happy days at the 8th World Youth Festival. In the quiet and beautiful city of Helsinki, they sang songs of solidarity and peace in different languages; and manifested their determination to fight against imperialism and colonialism, and for freedom, national independence and world peace.

The Chinese delegation made many contacts with delegates from other countries, and were warmly welcomed by their hosts — the Finnish people. In get-togethers with the youth of Asian, African and Latin American countries, the Chinese delegates reaffirmed their will to march forward with them hand in hand in order to uphold world peace, oppose imperialism and promote friendship among youth all over the world.

The performances of the Chinese art troupe earned deafening applause. Peking operas and the national folk dances of China were most popular items. Chinese artists won eight gold medals in the folk dance, Oriental classical dance, and classical song competitions held during the festival. In the children's painting exhibition 6-year-old Huang Hei-ni's oil painting *You Can Look But You Musn't Pick* won a gold medal.

Young people from various countries gave many moving and spontaneous expressions of love and friendship for the Chinese people and their youth. Shouts of "Long live Mao Tse-tung! Long live the Chinese People's Republic!" often greeted the appearance of the members of the delegation.

## Asanuma's Statement Cannot Be Erased

Mr. Inejiro Asanuma, outstanding leader of the Japanese Socialist Party, made a famous statement before he was assassinated: U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. This statement, says *Da Gong Bao's* Commentator (August 6), is a reflection of the common struggle and common determination of the Chinese and Japanese peoples.

Since the start of the Japanese aggression against China, Commentator adds, the Chinese and Japanese peoples have shared a common destiny. The history of the postwar years provides further evidence of the identity of their interests. The United States enslaves and controls Japan in order to commit aggression against China and the other Asian countries and it is the Japanese people who are the first to suffer from this. Should the U.S. use Japan to launch a new war of aggression, it will bring even greater calamities to them. Despite great differences in the specific conditions in China and Japan, the Chinese and Japanese peoples are faced with a common threat of U.S. imperialist aggression and war. They have a common cause in opposing U.S. imperialist aggression, safeguarding their national independence and defending peace in Asia. They have a common enemy and so naturally they will sympathize and support each other.

The Japanese people can achieve national prosperity only if they realize clearly that U.S. imperialism is their arch-enemy and wage a resolute struggle against it. If they don't, the result can only be national disaster. This plain truth has been grasped by the broad masses of the Japanese people. Although Asanuma is dead, his famous statement that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples cannot be erased.

In the past few years, the Japanese people have waged vigorous struggles against U.S. imperialism, demonstrated their invincible strength and won the respect of the people throughout the world. The U.S.-Japanese reactionaries are very much afraid of the Japanese people's struggle. Learning from the experience of the hard blows dealt them by the Japanese people, they have adopted still more cunning tactics. While stepping up their fascist repressions, they engage in manoeuvres to sabotage and split the people's struggle. Their aim is to confuse the Japanese people's struggle, and head it off in the wrong direction, break the unity of the democratic forces and entice some patriotic democrats into traps which will cause them to lose their prestige and influence among the Japanese people. These despicable double-faced tactics have to be guarded against. It is a pity that not all people in Japan realize this. In fact, a handful of the right-wing social democrats in Japan are collaborating with U.S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionaries to disrupt the ranks of the Japanese people. They may be able to play their pernicious role for a short while but in the long run they cannot dam the surging current of the Japanese people's revolution. Nothing but political bankruptcy awaits them in the end.

## West German Provocations Condemned

One year ago on August 13, the German Democratic Republic set up security installations on its border



Their Supporter

Cartoon by Chiang Fan

with West Berlin. This measure of self-defence has dealt a telling blow to the subversive and disruptive activities of the Western occupation powers and Bonn militarists, and is playing an important role in safeguarding European and world peace, writes *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (August 13).

The Western powers headed by the United States and the Bonn militarists, however, have not halted their criminal activities. In the past year spies of the Western powers and hoodlums from West Berlin carried out some 2,000 provocations against the G.D.R. This shows that frenzied provocations against the capital of the G.D.R. have become a major part of the revanchist policy of West German militarism.

The U.S. has long been using West Berlin as a cold war base for subversion and sabotage against the G.D.R. and the other socialist countries. For this reason, the U.S. Government has stubbornly turned down the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and the G.D.R. for turning West Berlin into a demilitarized, free city. After the G.D.R. set up its border security installations the U.S. stepped up its threats of war and provocations against the G.D.R.

The aggressive activities of the U.S. and the West German militarists are opposed by the socialist countries and the peace-loving people of the world. It is clear that so long as the status of West Berlin as a "frontline city" is not ended and so long as it con-

tinues to be occupied by the Western imperialist powers, European security and world peace cannot be assured. To maintain peace in Europe and the world, the imperialist war maniacs must be prevented from playing with fire in West Berlin. Therefore, to eliminate the danger of war in West Berlin and to normalize the situation there has become a pressing task for the peace-loving people of Europe and the rest of the world. The proposals presented by the Soviet Union and the G.D.R. to conclude a German peace treaty and on this basis to make West Berlin a demilitarized, free city provide a reasonable basis for a solution to the West Berlin question. The plots of the U.S. and its followers to hang on in West Berlin are doomed to failure, concludes Commentator.

## WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

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

### PEKING OPERA

▲ **KAN LU MONASTERY** An episode from *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. Anxious to capture the city of Chingchou, the strategist-general Chou Yu of the Wu Kingdom inveigles Liu Pei to visit Wu on a promise that he will be given the hand of the younger sister of Wu's ruler. He plots to kill Liu Pei. Liu Pei's astute adviser Chuko Liang, turns the scheme to Liu Pei's advantage and Liu Pei keeps his city and marries the beautiful bride. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **PUNISHING TZU-TU** During an expedition General Kungsun Tzu-tu of the ancient Chou court, because of his jealousy, treacherously kills another general Ying Kao-shou. Returning triumphant he says that Ying Kao-shou was killed by the enemy. However, Ying's spirit appears before the court and tells the truth. The murderer is brought to book. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **RETURN OF THE PHOENIX** A comedy of errors. A young man wins a bride despite the schemes of a wicked stepmother. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **THE RED PLUM BLOSSOM PAVILION** Li Hui-niang who has fallen into the clutches of Chia Szu-tao, a corrupt official, is killed by him because she shows her admiration for a patriotic young scholar, Pei Yu. After her death her spirit saves Pei Yu from the official's vengeance. Peking School of Operatic Arts.

### PINGJU OPERA

▲ **CHANG YU BOILS THE SEA** A colourful fantasy. The daughter of the Dragon King of the Sea loves a young and handsome mortal Chang Yu, a woodcutter. Her father forbids the union. With the aid of a magic pot, a gold coin and a fan, three treasures stolen from the underwater tyrant, Chang Yu boils the sea and makes it so hot for the king that he hastily gives his consent. China Pingju Opera Theatre.

▲ **THE JADE GARDEN** A Ming noble determines to drive a poor but stubborn scholar from his homestead to take the land for a pleasure garden. The scholar is jailed on a false charge, but later cleared—and the noble duly punished—with the help of a plucky maiden-pedlar. China Pingju Opera Theatre.

▲ **TALE OF THE WHITE SNAKE** The White Snake Fairy falls in love with and marries a mortal. But her happy life is shattered by a misanthropic recluse who imprisons her in a pagoda. Many years later her son destroys the pagoda and sets her free. China Pingju Opera Theatre.

### HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

#### MODERN OPERA

▲ **EUGENE ONEGIN** Tchaikovsky's great opera. First presentation in Chinese. Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre.

▲ **THE CLOTH SELLER** (*Arshin Mal Alan*) A comic opera by the famous Azerbaijan playwright, Uzer Gadjibekov, produced by the Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre. A wealthy Azerbaijan youth disguises himself as a wandering cloth seller and so succeeds in finding and marrying the bride of his own choice.

#### MODERN DRAMA

▲ **I AM A SOLDIER** (Also known as *Twin Brothers*) A comedy of mistaken identities. A pair of twins who look alike but are different in character both join the people's revolutionary army. This has some interesting and amusing results. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **WU TSE TIEN** A historical play written by Kuo Mo-jo. A dramatic chronicle of how Empress Wu Tse Tien, China's woman ruler of the early Tang Dynasty, brings peace and progress to the country by her wise statesmanship. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **THE BEAR, THE WEDDING, A MALE-FACTOR AND THE PARTY** Four short comedies by A. Chekhov. Produced in Chinese by the Central Experimental Modern Drama Theatre.

▲ **THERE'S A BIT OF FOOLISHNESS IN EVERY WISE MAN** One of A. Ostrovsky's plays staged in Chinese. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **THREE BEAUTIES** A play by Tien Han. The story tells of three women with different social backgrounds who share a common destiny during the Japanese occupation of Shanghai. China Youth Art Theatre.

▲ **CAMILLE** The famous classical play produced in Chinese by the visiting Modern Drama Troupe of Shenyang.

▲ **THE YOUNG GUARD** Adapted from the novel of the same title by A. Fadeyev. China Children's Theatre.

#### FILMS

▲ **TWIN BROTHERS** Film version of the modern play. A comedy about life and work in the people's revolutionary army. "August 1" Studio.

▲ **A VACATION GIFT** A film for children. It tells how a group of Young Pioneers contribute their share in the nationwide movement for support to agriculture. Changchun Studio.

▲ **THUNDERSTORM** A Hongkong film production of Tsao Yu's classical play. A damning exposure of the family of semi-feudal and semi-colonial society in pre-liberation China.

▲ **A DREAM COMES TRUE** A Soviet colour film dedicated to the heroism and inventiveness of the Soviet technicians and workers who built the great Dnieper Hydro-electric Power Station.

▲ **QUEEN OF SPADES** A Soviet colour film version of Tchaikovsky's great opera. In Russian with Chinese subtitles.

▲ **TAMANGO** A French feature film adapted from P. Mérimée's short story of the same title. An enthralling story of the Negroes' heroic struggle against the slave-traders.

▲ **A TRIP TO SANTIAGO** A Chilean feature film exposing the hypocrisy of capitalist parliamentarianism.

▲ **BEHIND THE GREAT WALL** An Argentine film. A village girl who tries to earn a living in the capital falls into the clutches of a gangster. Taught by bitter experience, she returns to the countryside to regain her happiness.

▲ **THE WATERFALL** A Bolivian film. A story of how a young teacher mobilizes the people of a town to build a canal to lead water to the mountain area.

▲ **LAS ABANDONADAS** (*The Abandoned Woman*) A Mexican feature film. This life story of a woman deserted shows the greatness of maternal love, and the callousness of a community which esteems only money and the rich.

#### EXHIBITIONS

▲ **EXHIBITION ON MEI LAN-FANG'S LIFE AND ARTISTIC ACTIVITIES** Daily, 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m. till Aug. 31. At Wu Ying Hall in Palace Museum.

▲ **SOOCHOW ART HANDICRAFTS** Embroideries, red-wood carvings, national musical instruments, Chinese brushes, fans, etc. Daily, 8:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till Aug. 31. At the Round City, Beihai Park.

#### SWIMMING

▲ **OUTDOOR SWIMMING POOLS**  
\* The swimming pools at Shi Cha Hai, Workers' Stadium and Tao Ran Ting

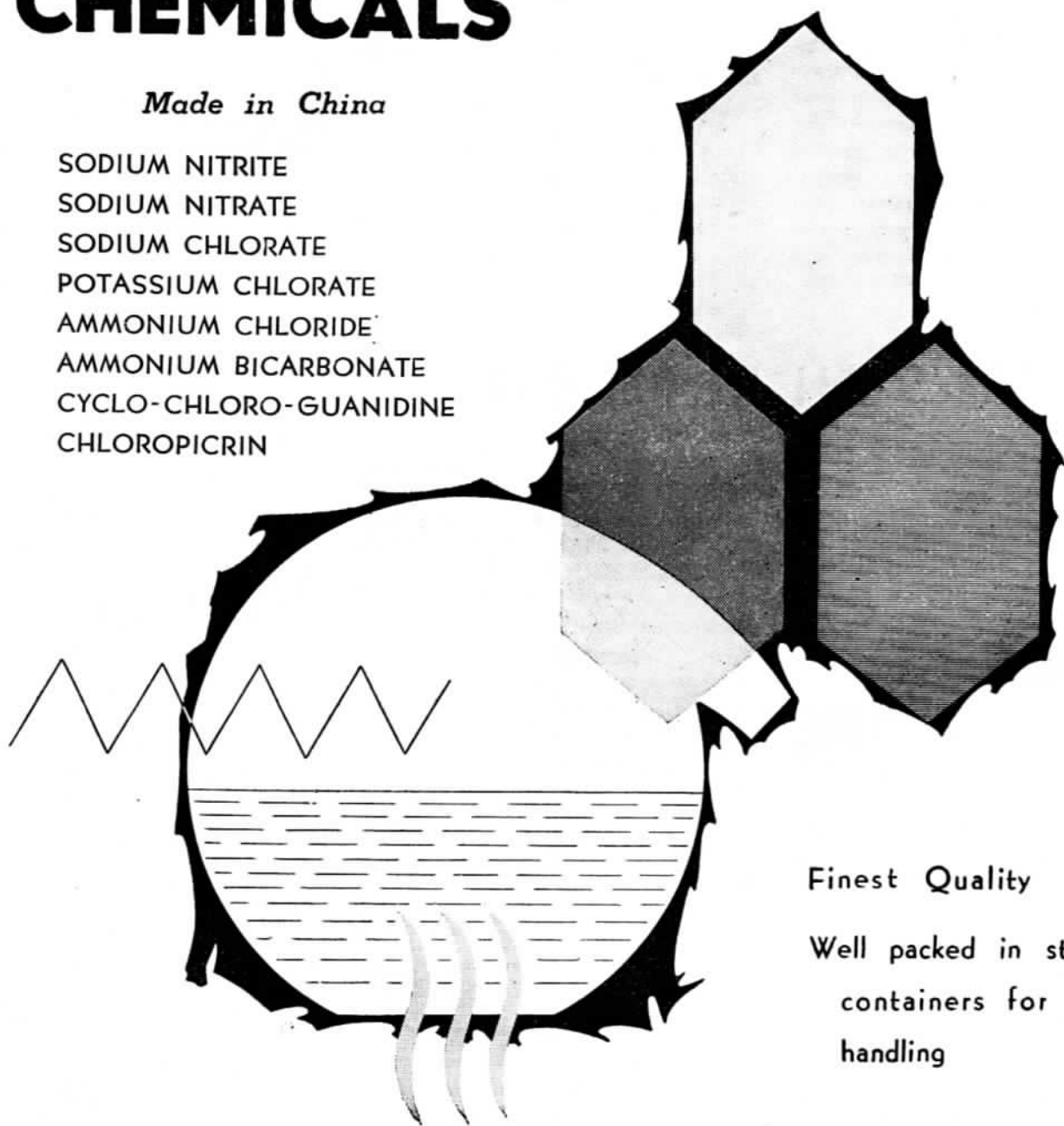
\* Summer Palace  
Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.



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