

PEKING REVIEW

13

March 29, 1963

Deepening Contradictions in The Imperialist Camp

An analysis of the sharpening conflicts among the imperialists as the general crisis of capitalism grows more acute (p. 7).

The People Take to Arms in Venezuela

(p. 14).

New-Type Urban-Rural Relations in China

A study of the new relationship between town and country during the period of socialist construction (p. 19).

北
京
周
報

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

Special 5th Anniversary Gifts

PEKING REVIEW

MARCH 1958 — MARCH 1963

A handsome notebook (with handy reference material on China)

and

A copy of "The Revolution of 1911"
by Wu Yu-chang

will be given for every overseas subscription placed before June 30, 1963

PEKING REVIEW *gives you*

- China's views on current international questions
- Theoretical articles and important documents
- Authoritative coverage of developments in China
- Illustrations, cartoons, maps and charts

Airmailed to subscribers all over the world

SPANISH & FRENCH
editions also available

Send your orders or enquiries to **GUOZI SHUDIAN** P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

or to our distributors in your country. Free samples on request.

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

March 29, 1963 Vol. VI No. 13

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| THE WEEK | 3 |
| ARTICLES | |
| The Development of Imperialist Contradictions — Fan Cheng-hsiang | 7 |
| Indian Reactionaries Are Baring Their Teeth — Chou Pao-ju | 13 |
| Armed Struggle Flames in Venezuela — Yen Erh-wen | 14 |
| New-Type Urban-Rural Relations in China — Kao Cheng-sheng | 19 |
| Northwest Agricultural College — Tu Hsing-yun | 23 |
| ROUND THE WORLD | 17 |
| LITERATURE, MUSIC, SPORTS | 25 |

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW

Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China

Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

THE WEEK

DURING the past week *Renmin Ribao* published in full or in excerpts statements of fraternal Parties attacking the Chinese Communist Party. An editor's note carried in this special section of the paper on March 21 reads as follows:

"Since November 1962, 44 fraternal Parties have successively attacked the Chinese Communist Party either by issuing Central Committee statements, resolutions or addresses to their Party members, or by speeches at their own congresses or the congresses of other Parties, or by publishing articles in newspapers and other publications, or in other forms. They charge the Chinese Communist Party with having committed many errors and pin a great number of labels on us, such as "dogmatism," "Left opportunism," "adventurism," "Trotskyite," "nationalist," "sectarian," "splitters," "militaristic," "pseudo-Left," "pseudo-revolutionary," "warlike," "aggressive," "opposing peaceful coexistence," "opposing all negotiations," "advocating wars between countries in order to push forward socialism," "pursuing a policy of provoking a thermonuclear war" and so on and so forth.

"Since December 14, 1962, this paper has successively published statements by many fraternal Parties attacking us. We have decided to publish, starting from today, statements of some fraternal Parties attacking us which we have not yet published.

"Since these statements of fraternal Parties attacking the Chinese Communist Party have been publicized all over the world, we are duty-bound to make them known to our readers and let them see how these fraternal Parties have attacked us and whether or not the Chinese Communist Party has committed the errors they allege. Genuine gold can stand the test of fire and truth cannot be obliterated by abuse. Our Party members, our cadres and our people are able to think and to distinguish right from wrong.

"The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in its letter of March 9 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union said, 'in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the convening of the meeting of the fraternal Parties, we have decided that, apart from the articles which we have already published as replies, we will from now on temporarily suspend public replies in our newspapers and periodicals to the public attacks which were directed by name against the Chinese Communist Party by comrades of the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal Parties. It goes without saying that, basing ourselves on the principle of equality and reciprocity between fraternal Parties, we reserve the right to make public replies to all the statements of fraternal Parties publicly attacking the Chinese Communist Party by name.'

"The deeds of the Chinese Communist Party accord with its words. We wish here to tell those comrades attacking the Chinese Communist Party that this time we merely publish your marvellous essays for people to appreciate, and do not intend to publish at the same time articles refuting your essays. Your statements attacking us have already been published in your newspapers and periodicals. We presume you may also have hoped that we would publish these statements to help you publicize them. For our part, it is also necessary to publish your statements attacking us so as to put them on the record."

Statements of Fraternal Parties Attacking the C.P.C.

Renmin Ribao in its issues of March 21-24, 1963, reprinted the following statements of fraternal Parties attacking the Chinese Communist Party:

On March 21: The full text of an article entitled "For the Unity of the International Communist Movement," by Jacques Duclos, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party (the article was published by the French

Communist Party organ *L'Humanite* on March 12); the full text of a signed editorial entitled "The Polemics in the Chinese Press" published by *L'Humanite* on March 6; extracts from an article entitled "The Struggle for Structural Reforms and Its Revolutionary Significance," by Luigi Longo, Deputy General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party (the article was published in the February issue of the monthly *World Marxist Review*); an article entitled "Coexistence and Socialist Struggle," by Alicata, a member of the leading organ of the Italian Communist Party (the article was published in the first issue, 1963, of the bimonthly of the Party, *Marxist Critic*); an article entitled "Imperialism and Coexistence in the Opinion of the Chinese Comrades; the Discussion in the Cause of the International Workers Movement; the Role of the Struggle for Liberation in the Underdeveloped Countries," by Lisa Foa, head of the department of socialist countries of the editorial department of the weekly *Rinascita*, organ of the Italian Communist Party (the article was published by the weekly on February 23); and an editorial entitled "The Discussion With the Chinese Comrades," by Mario Alicata, director of the Italian Communist Party organ *L'Unita* (the editorial was published by *L'Unita* on March 10).

On March 22: Excerpts from an article in the January 15 issue of *Rude Pravo*, organ of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, entitled "The Invincible Marxist-Leninist Ideology and Proletarian Internationalist Principle"; excerpts from an editorial of *Rude Pravo* of February 12 entitled: "The Main Thing Is What Unites Us"; the full text of an article in *Neues Deutschland*, organ of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, of February 24 entitled "Hold High the Banner of Unity of the World Communist Movement"; excerpts from an article entitled "Unity of the Socialist Countries Is Decisive in Building Communism" by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in the January issue of the *World Marxist Review*; and excerpts from an address made by Umjagin Tsendenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, on January 8 at the

National Conference of Ideological Workers.

On March 23: The text of a statement entitled "Restore the Unity of the International Communist Movement," issued by the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party (the statement was published by *Daily Worker*, organ of the Party on January 14); an interview granted by Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark and Villy Karlsson, editor-in-chief of the Party organ *Land og Folk*, to a reporter of that paper (in this interview which was published by *Land og Folk* on December 23, 1962, Knud Jespersen and Villy Karlsson, who had respectively attended the 12th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party, dealt with the debates at the two congresses); extracts from a broadcast speech entitled "The Communist International Movement Today," made by Ib Noerlund, Member of the Executive Committee and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Danish Communist Party (the speech was published in full by *Land og Folk* on Feb. 6, 1963); excerpts from Secretary of the National Committee of the Belgian Communist Party Rene Beelen's replies to a series of questions on the "Differences in the World Communist Movement" (the replies were published in the Sunday edition of the Belgian Communist Party organ *Le Drapeau Rouge* on January 19, 1963); the text of article 76, part five, draft thesis of the 14th Congress of the Belgian Communist Party (the draft thesis was published by *Le Drapeau Rouge* on January 25); excerpts from a report made by Franz Marek, Member of the Political Bureau of the Austrian Communist Party before a plenary Central Committee session of the Party on January 8 (the report was published in the February 1963 issue of the Party organ *Weg und Ziel*); and the text of a resolution entitled "War Can Be Avoided," adopted at the congress of the Luxemburg Communist Party held on December 23, 1962.

On March 24: The text of a letter of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada to members of the Party (the letter was published on December 24, 1962, by the *Canadian Tribune*, organ of the Communist Party of Canada, under the title "Strengthen the Unity of the

World Communist Movement Against Thermonuclear War and for Peaceful Coexistence, a Letter from the Communist Party of Canada to its Members." The *Canadian Tribune* prefaced the letter with these remarks: "Following is the text of a letter sent last week to the members of the Communist Party of Canada from its National Executive Committee. All clubs of the Party are being asked to meet and discuss this letter at the earliest opportunity. The *Tribune* is publishing this letter in the belief that our readers will find it both interesting and informative"; excerpts from a report on the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party made by Manuel Cantero, Member of the Political Bureau of the Chilean Communist Party, before a plenary Central Committee session of the Party (excerpts from the report were published on January 9 by *El Siglo*, organ of the Chilean Communist Party. The paper's headline says: "The Congress of the Italian Communist Party: A Great Contribution to the World Communist Movement." Subtitles say: "A Congress of Great International Significance. Profound Debate on the Caribbean Crisis and the Most Urgent Questions of the Moment. The Role of Splittism and Provocation Played by Leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour. Erroneous Position of the Delegate of the Communist Party of China"); excerpts from an address made by J. G. Gonzales, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Mexico, before the 8th Congress of the Socialist Workers Party of Hungary on November 23, 1962, in his capacity as the delegate of the Communist Party of Mexico; the text of an article entitled "About International Differences," by L. L. Sharkey, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Australia (the article was published in the February 27 issue of the weekly *Tribune*, organ of the Party); and the text of an article entitled "Togliatti States Case for the Italian Communist Party," by R. Dixon; General President of the Communist Party of Australia (the article was published in the March 6 issue of the *Tribune*).

Forged Letter in "Le Monde"

Le Monde of Paris published on March 9 a so-called "letter to the weekly *France Nouvelle* from the Chinese Embassy in Berne," a copy of

which, alleged *Le Monde*, was sent to it by the Press Department of the Chinese Embassy in Berne.

Using this forged letter, *France Nouvelle*, organ of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, on March 13 published an article attacking the Chinese Communist Party.

On March 16 Lao Hsin, the Cultural Attache of the Chinese Embassy in Switzerland, wrote a letter to *Le Monde* pointing out that the letter it published on March 9 was a forgery. Lao Hsin's letter was carried in *Le Monde* of March 20.

Renmin Ribao on March 26 published both the forged letter in *Le Monde* of March 9 and the article of *France Nouvelle* of March 13. An accompanying *Renmin Ribao* editor's note reads as follows:

"On March 13, the weekly *France Nouvelle*, organ of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, using a forged letter sent in the name of the Press Department of the Chinese Embassy in Switzerland, made a big issue of it in attacking the Chinese Communist Party.

"The letter, allegedly from the Press Department of the Chinese Embassy in Switzerland, is an out-and-out forgery. The comrades of the French Communist Party should know that the enemy often resorts to forgery to sow dissension. It is quite obvious that the letter is forged. What is more, Berne being within easy reach of Paris, if the comrades of the French Communist Party had been in the least serious-minded politically, they could easily have found out the truth of the matter.

"The Chinese Communist Party is a serious Marxist Party. When debating with some of the fraternal Parties, we also publish their statements attacking us. Our attitude has always been serious and above board. Whether or not the newspapers and journals of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party should publish our statements, is a matter for them to decide. We on our part have never entertained much hope in this regard. Comrades of *France Nouvelle*, how can it help you in any way to defend your erroneous views by making a big issue of a letter which is a forgery? Do you think that in this way you can do damage to the

prestige of the socialist People's Republic of China and the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party? Did it ever occur to you what a disgraceful position you would land yourselves in once the matter was exposed?"

Indonesian C.P. on Bilateral Talks

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia sent a letter, dated March 19, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, welcoming the recent exchange of letters between the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties on the holding of bilateral talks. The letter expressed the hope that talks between the two Parties would serve as an important preparatory step for the convening of a meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world.

The letter pointed out that the imperialists and their running dogs, including the modern revisionists, were of course unwilling to see the holding of bilateral talks between the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties as an important step towards the consolidation of the international communist movement, and were trying by every means possible to frustrate such bilateral talks and the meeting of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world. The letter expressed the belief that the Communist Parties of China and of the Soviet Union would come dispassionately to the conference table for consolidating the socialist camp and the international communist movement and for the further development of the struggles of the people of the world for national independence, democracy, peace and socialism.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia also sent an identical letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Books by Indonesian and Japanese C.P. Leaders

Among the important publications put on sale in bookstores all over China last week were the Chinese translations of the first volume of the *Selected Works of D.N. Aidit* and the *Selected Works of Sanzo Nozaka* (postwar collection).

Edited by a commission of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, the first volume of

the *Selected Works of D.N. Aidit* contains 36 statements and writings of Comrade Aidit between 1951 and 1955, totalling 350,000 words. Most of them appear in Chinese for the first time.

The *Selected Works of Sanzo Nozaka* was originally published by the Press Department of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party. It includes 45 important articles, talks, reports, speeches and memoirs of the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party from January 1946 to February 1961, totalling 300,000 words.

Pakistan National Day

The great significance of the boundary agreement signed recently between China and Pakistan and the growing friendship between the peoples of the two countries were underscored in the message of greetings sent by Chairman of the People's Republic of China Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, on the eve of Pakistan's National Day.

Ambassador Raza celebrated Pakistan National Day with a reception in Peking on the evening of March 23. Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and Vice-Premier Ho Lung and other government leaders were among the guests that evening. Both Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Ambassador Raza spoke at the reception at which many toasts were drunk to China-Pakistan friendship and Afro-Asian solidarity.

In his speech, Ambassador Raza said that the boundary agreement between Pakistan and China "strengthens the fabric of peace and international co-operation in our region and encourages the belief that all international disputes should be settled in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation through frank, honest and peaceful negotiations." He strongly refuted those who ignored the facts and out of malicious motives were trying to sling mud at the agreement. This boundary agreement, he said, "has protected in the fullest measure possible the interests of both Pakistan and China. The rights as well as the interests of the people who inhabit the two sides of this

boundary line have been fully protected."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, described the recent signing of the boundary agreement between the two countries as "an important milestone in the friendly relations between China and Pakistan." He said that the smooth settlement of the boundary question between the two countries "has provided another brilliant example for Asian and African countries to settle through negotiations the issues left over by history." "In an attempt to sow discord between the peoples of China and Pakistan," the Vice-Premier continued, "a handful of persons allege with ulterior motives that the boundary question between China and Pakistan has been settled only to the advantage of China and to the disadvantage of Pakistan. This extremely clumsy trick of trying to sow discord is utterly futile. The settlement of the boundary question between China and Pakistan is a victory for the Chinese people, for the Pakistan people as well as for Asian-African solidarity. The fact that those few persons have now been disappointed precisely shows that what we have done is quite correct and we should be proud of it."

Reiterating China's consistent wish to settle border questions with all neighbouring countries, the Vice-Premier noted that India, apart from repeatedly rejecting the Chinese Government's peaceable suggestions and proposals for negotiations, "has continued to make an anti-Chinese clamour, adopted anti-Chinese measures and stepped up its war preparations with imperialist military aid." And, the Vice-Premier continued, "in disregard of the elementary principles of international law, the Indian Government has recently even made use of the fugitive Tibetan rebel clique to publish a so-called Tibetan constitution in a vain attempt to create an 'independent Tibet.'" All these, he added, were obviously deliberate acts to poison Sino-Indian relations and create tensions. "Whither," the Vice-Premier asked, "does the Indian Government intend to lead relations between China and India?" He concluded his speech declaring that the Chinese Government and people would work together with the Governments and peoples of Pakistan and all other

Asian and African countries to safeguard Afro-Asian solidarity.

Queen of Burundi in Peking

Her Majesty Queen Therese Kanyonga of Burundi, now visiting China, had a busy schedule in Peking this past week.

Queen Therese Kanyonga came to China at the invitation of the National Women's Federation and the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. She arrived in the capital on March 20 with her secretary Andre Ndarurinze and was warmly greeted at the airport by Chinese women leaders and other prominent public figures.

On March 25, Chairman of the People's Republic of China Liu Shao-chi received the Queen and had a friendly talk with her. That same evening, she was the guest of Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Madame Chen.

Earlier, on March 21, the National Women's Federation and the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs gave a banquet in her honour.

Vice-President of the National Women's Federation Hsu Kuang-ping, in her banquet speech, warmly welcomed Queen Therese Kanyonga on her visit to China. Noting that the Chinese people have always cherished their friendship with the people of Burundi, she expressed confidence that the Queen's visit would further enhance this friendship and help develop the friendly relations between China and Burundi. Referring to the victory the people of Burundi had won in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism, she pledged that the Chinese people would stand for ever on the side of the people of Burundi.

Peking Welcomes Algerians

More than 1,500 representatives of the citizens of Peking gathered together on March 19 to welcome their friends from distant Africa: Djamila Bouhired, national heroine of Algeria, and Jacques Verges, director of the Algerian weekly *African Revolution*. Speeches were made at the meeting by Liu Chang-sheng, President of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association, and the Algerian visitors. Here are some of the points the Algerians made.

Djamila Bouhired:

— In fighting for independence the Algerian people are convinced of the justice of their cause. Our people are united; we have the sincere and unqualified support of all progressive mankind, especially our Arab and African brothers and the people of China, one of the great nations.

— While in prison many Algerian fighters pored over books about China. When they learnt how the Chinese Red Army served the people, how the land reform and the revolution in the countryside were carried out, how the big leap forward was brought about they felt still closer to the Chinese people.

— The task of the Algerian people today is to defeat neo-colonialism, and to build a socialist society in which the people will be the masters of their own destiny.

Jacques Verges:

— There is no such thing as decolonization that is peaceful or without a struggle. We do not trust the "goodwill" of the imperialists.

— The victories of the people's struggles in China, Algeria, Cuba, Viet Nam and many other countries have borne out Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thesis that imperialism is a paper tiger.

— The Chinese people are internationalists not only in words but also in deeds, with which they are generous.

— The African people do not believe in the U.N. In the Congo, the U.N. has been an instrument of U.S. imperialism.

— The struggle in Africa will be long and bitter but it will be crowned with the victory of the people.

The Algerian visitors were also given a rousing welcome on March 20 when they met with the young people of Peking. They left for home on March 25.

Trade Minister in London

Lu Hsu-chang, Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade arrived in London on March 21. He is to visit Britain for three weeks at the invitation of the British Government.

In a written statement released to the press on his arrival he said that he would explore and study with the British Government and British industrial and commercial circles the possibilities of expanding trade between China and Britain.

The Development of Imperialist Contradictions

by FAN CHENG-HSIANG

This is the first instalment of a translation of an article carried in "Hongqi" (No. 5, 1963) entitled "Some Questions on the Development of Imperialist Contradictions at the Present Time." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism at the present time has given birth to a new and important development of the contradictions within the imperialist camp. This development is, in the main, characterized by the following: First, comparatively important changes have occurred in the balance of forces within the imperialist camp. Secondly, as the problems of the capitalist world market have become ever more sharper since World War II, imperialist competition is no longer limited to individual nations; it has developed to such a stage that blocs organized by certain countries are pitted against blocs organized by others, that is, competition among individual nations has developed into competition among blocs of states. Thirdly, although the ruling classes of the imperialist countries are employing every possible means — first of all, state-monopoly capitalism and so-called economic "integration" — to forestall the crisis of capitalism and resolve its inherent contradictions, the instability of the capitalist system as a whole continues to increase. Fourthly, the class struggle waged by the masses of workers and peasants in the West European countries for democracy and against the rule of monopoly capitalists is developing more vigorously than ever before. Fifthly, the scramble among the imperialist countries for the so-called "underdeveloped areas and countries" has become increasingly bitter, and their exploitation and plunder of these areas have reached new heights.

The new development in these five aspects poses a number of new questions for us. The following five questions are presented for the reference of those who study imperialism.

I. U.S. Imperialism Remains the Most Ferocious Enemy of the World's People

Because of the further aggravation of the uneven development of capitalism, the balance of forces within the imperialist camp in recent years has undergone very profound and tremendous changes. The position of the United States and Britain has been relatively weakened, while the power of the West European countries, particularly the Common Market Six (West Germany, France,

Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg) has been relatively strengthened. In 1961, the industrial production of the Six made up 20.9 per cent of the capitalist world's total; it was half that of the United States and 2.3 times as great as that of Britain. The steel output of the Six was 73.3 million tons, 82.4 per cent of that of the United States and 3.26 times as great as that of Britain. The Six made 4.11 million cars, 61.5 per cent of United States production, and 2.8 times as many as Britain's. Their export trade accounted for 27.2 per cent of the capitalist world's total; it was 54.5 per cent more than that of the United States, and about three times as much as that of Britain. Their import trade made up 25.8 per cent of the capitalist world's total; it was twice that of the United States and 2.6 times that of Britain. The gold and foreign exchange reserves of the Six amounted to U.S.\$16,600 million while those of the United States now are below U.S.\$16,000 million. West Germany, France and Italy each has greater reserves than Britain. In international payments, in 1960 the Six had a favourable balance to the tune of more than U.S.\$8,000 million while both the United States and Britain had deficits. All this shows that the combined economic strength of the Six has already left Britain far behind and is nearly on a par with that of the United States.

The Six Stiffen Resistance

The six Common Market countries have not only grown much stronger, they have also formed an exclusive economic bloc. That is why they are now no longer absolutely dependent on the United States as they were before, nor do they act at Washington's bidding. On the contrary, in some respects, the United States now has to ask for help from the Six, and the Six have progressively stiffened their attitude towards the United States. The former case is most vividly illustrated by the fact that during the financial talks between Washington and Bonn at the end of 1960, West Germany turned down the U.S. request for undertakings to extend long-term financial aid. Another example is that the negotiations for the strengthening of the lending power of the International Monetary Fund started in September 1961 and the agreement reached on the setting up of extra reserve funds after a number of talks, meant in effect that the dollar and the pound sterling begged for the support of the French franc, West German mark and other West European currencies, because without such support their position could hardly be maintained. The most glaring example of the latter case is that not long ago, the Six raised the

import duties on five U.S. commodities as retaliation for U.S. discrimination against certain of their commodities. Economically speaking, the Common Market bloc now is becoming a rival force to the United States and Britain.

After pointing out the important changes in the balance of forces between the United States and Western Europe, the U.S. *Newsweek* of March 5, 1962 said: "And it is because the Europeans feel their Continent is in many ways the near-equal of the United States, that they nowadays are demanding a bigger say in the Western alliance." They claimed complete equality with the United States on the formulation of the West's "global policy" and in the settlement of the most important economic and political questions and questions of military strategy. Britain has been trying to maintain her position as a big nuclear power. France is intent upon building an independent nuclear striking force. West Germany is trying by hook or by crook to get nuclear weapons. France and West Germany have formed an axis and on this basis are planning to organize a West European "political union" as an instrument of struggle for leadership in Western Europe against the United States and Britain. The way in which Britain, France and West Germany are seeking to get rid of U.S. political and military control in order to acquire a status compatible with their economic strength has greatly shaken the leading position of the United States in the capitalist world. The U.S. press has openly taken its West European allies to task for their "rebellion."

It is true that the economic superiority of the United States within the imperialist camp has been relatively weakened, and its economic difficulties are getting worse day by day. But, excluding the military and political spheres, is it right to say that the United States has ceased to be the economic leader or centre of the capitalist world?

Economically the Most Powerful Imperialist Country

It is quite clear that in the foreseeable future, the United States will remain economically the most powerful imperialist country among the Western powers and Japan. For instance, the U.S. magazine *Fortune* in its issue of August 1962 estimated that of the capitalist world's big industrial and mining enterprises whose volume of business stands at more than U.S.\$300 million a year, 167 are in the United States, 30 in Britain, 22 in West Germany and 11 in France. Moreover, the United States still controls over 60 per cent of the important mineral resources of the capitalist world and manipulates its minerals markets.

The capability to export capital is one of the most important yardsticks by which the power of imperialism is measured. Among the imperialist countries, the United States still possesses the greatest capability to export capital. In the postwar period, U.S. investments overseas once exceeded the total of foreign investments of all the other imperialist countries, and are still far ahead of those of any single imperialist country. At the end of 1960, governmental and private U.S. overseas investments totalled U.S.\$71,400 million. From 1956 to 1960, private U.S. capital was exported to various parts of the world at an annual average of more than U.S.\$4,200 million while for Britain the annual average was below U.S.\$1,000 million. Over the past ten years and more, the United States

has constantly made investments and established factories to manufacture goods locally in Britain and other West European countries as well as in Japan. In 1959, the sales of the foreign enterprises controlled by direct private U.S. investments totalled U.S.\$35,000 million, more than double the total value of U.S. commodity exports. In the four years after the Common Market was formed, more than 1,200 U.S. companies were established in Western Europe. By 1960, direct private U.S. investments amounted to U.S.\$3,194 million in Britain, U.S.\$741 million in France, U.S.\$1,006 million in West Germany and U.S.\$254 million in Japan.

Since the end of World War II, the United States has set up a number of military, political and economic organizations designed to maintain its domination of the capitalist world, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Despite the rifts that are becoming more and more obvious, these organizations can still be maintained for some time and will remain under the control and manipulation of the United States. Although the role of these organizations in the domination of the capitalist world has been greatly weakened and will continue to weaken, for the moment they are still effective to a certain extent.

Standing together, the six West European countries are a counterweight to the United States, and yet there are considerable conflicts of economic interest among the Six themselves, which can be exploited by the United States to weaken their resistance. For the time being, these countries cannot yet get rid of U.S. economic control completely although they are trying hard to do so.

Tightened Political Control

Politically, although the United States now cannot wave its baton in Western Europe as effectively as it did in the past, it still exerts a great influence on the internal affairs and the foreign policies of many West European countries. West Germany, defeated in World War II, needs the support of the United States politically and militarily. The United States, on its part, is doing all it can to foster West German militarism just as it is energetically fostering Japanese militarism in the Far East. The United States, moreover, always exploits the contradictions and wrangles among the West European countries for the purpose of continuing its domination over them. The United States is plotting to bring the West European Common Market within its own orbit. It is also tightening its grip over Britain. Since the Cuban events of last October, U.S. imperialism has become more arrogant than before. Not only is it more unwilling to stand on an equal footing with its West European allies, but it has oppressed them more implacably in order to make them bow to its baton. This is fully proved by the outcome of the Anglo-American Nassau talks last December and the pressure the United States subsequently exerted on France for the creation of a NATO multilateral nuclear force. This U.S. pressure on France has met with open and resolute resistance. France has not only flatly rejected the U.S. multilateral nuclear force project but has also broken off the Brussels negotiations on Britain's entry into the Common Market, thus striking a heavy blow at the United States and Britain. Unreconciled to this setback, the United States is

resorting to diplomatic manoeuvres to drive a wedge between France and the other five Common Market countries and particularly between France and West Germany. The purpose is to isolate France, to strike blows at her and to bring de Gaulle to his knees.

Biggest Neo-Colonialist Empire

The United States remains the biggest neo-colonialist empire in the world at the present time. Since the end of World War II, the United States has employed every possible means to press ahead with its neo-colonialist aggression and expansion. Militarily, through the provision of "military aid," the conclusion of treaties, the establishment of bases, and the organization of blocs, the United States has brought other countries under its military or semi-military occupation. Economically, through "aid" it has exported large amounts of capital, grabbed concessions and developed resources in order to control and exploit the recipient countries. Politically, it has induced or intimidated some countries to sign all sorts of agreements designed to enslave them. In certain countries it has bought over reactionary forces, installed puppet regimes, carried on subversive and interventionist activities, squeezed out the old colonialists in these countries (such as in the Congo and in many other African countries) and turned them into satellites of the United States for all practical purposes.

The above shows that although the strength of U.S. imperialism vis-a-vis Western Europe has been relatively weakened in recent years, at present it remains the leader or centre of the capitalist world, the biggest international exploiter and the biggest neo-colonialist empire of the time. To protect the profits derived from plundering the peoples of the capitalist world and to safeguard its neo-colonialist interests, U.S. imperialism has adopted economic, political, military and other methods to intervene flagrantly in the internal affairs of many countries and hinder the people's revolutionary struggles and national-liberation movements in these countries. That is why U.S. imperialism remains the most ferocious enemy of the people of the whole world. The inherent nature of U.S. imperialism has not changed and will never change. It is incorrect to underestimate its strength and its dangerous role. To defend world peace it is necessary to constantly and thoroughly expose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and expansion and its schemes to enslave the world's people, so that they can be sharply vigilant. The tasks facing the people of the whole world at the present time are to form a broad united front against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Only in this way can world peace be defended and a new world war prevented.

2. The Imperialist Camp Tends More and More Towards Disintegration

The changes in the balance of forces inside the imperialist camp as described above have thus given rise to the question of regroupings among the imperialist powers.

March 29, 1963



NATO Workshop — 1963 Model

Cartoon by Hua Chun-wu

Today, inside the imperialist camp, antagonism and competition among a few particular countries has grown into antagonism and competition among blocs of countries. This is a significant symptom of the ever deepening general crisis of capitalism.

Capitalist World's Three Main Blocs

The Western capitalist world has already been split into blocs of states taking three different forms. The first form is that of the European Economic Community (EEC), often called the Common Market, which is an economic and political bloc organized by governments of the six West European countries headed by France and West Germany. It has a fairly well organized supra-state apparatus with clearly defined economic and political aims—the unification of Europe economically, politically and even in military and foreign affairs. In the history of the capitalist world there have been many international cartels and trusts but they were all coalitions of private monopoly capital with at most government support; the governments themselves never officially had a hand in them. The Common Market is, however, a government combination of the six countries where state-monopoly capitalism is well developed. The state monopolies in these six countries too are in league with one another and have reached many international agreements; monopoly capital in France and West Germany in particular have each infiltrated into the other's spheres and interwoven

with each other to lay the groundwork for the Common Market with the Paris-Bonn axis as its nucleus. Therefore, it can be said that the Common Market is an international coalition and alliance of state-monopoly capital in these six countries, that it is a bloc of states formed on the basis of the development of state-monopoly capital. This is the first time that such a phenomenon has appeared in the history of the capitalist world.

Since the establishment of the Common Market in 1958, the six countries have, in accordance with the Treaty of Rome, taken many steps in the economic field, such as lowering internal tariffs, abolishing trade quotas within the community and working out a common external tariff, etc. They have thus achieved the aims for the first stage earlier than originally planned. Last year, the Common Market entered the second stage and at present the establishment of a so-called European political union is being discussed. With each passing day this Common Market is becoming ever more exclusive. This is obviously to the great disadvantage of countries other than the Six, first of all the United States and Britain.

The second form is that of the little free trade area in Europe. Officially known as the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), it is a bloc organized by the governments of another seven European countries. Headed by the United Kingdom, it includes Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, Austria and Portugal. The Seven, however, have formed this bloc only temporarily to bargain with the Six. Britain had earlier proposed establishing a free trade area composed of the 17 member states of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) as a counter to the Common Market. But its plan failed; at the same time such lesser states as Sweden, Denmark, Austria and Switzerland also found themselves in an apparently disadvantageous position if they were to compete with the Common Market individually. This was why these seven countries came together to form the little free trade area in their struggle against the Common Market. The EFTA differs from the Common Market in many ways. Unlike the Common Market, the EFTA countries agreed to abolish by stages their tariffs on industrial products only, farm produce being excluded. Unlike the Common Market, which has a common external tariff, the EFTA countries each preserved their own external tariffs. Unlike the Common Market, which has a court of justice, a parliament, a council of ministers and other organs, the EFTA does not have these supra-state institutions. Nor does it contemplate forming a political union although some of the EFTA countries, Britain in particular, did have their own political aims in proposing the establishment of the little free trade area. Politically, Britain, Norway, Denmark and Portugal are all member states of the NATO bloc while Switzerland, Sweden and Austria are neutral states. All the Common Market Six, in contrast, are member states of the NATO bloc. In short, the little free trade area is a temporary coalition rigged up for limited purposes.

The third form is that of the U.S. bloc, of which the Alliance for Progress is an example. The British Commonwealth too belongs in the main to this form. These blocs are in fact based on the relations between the metropolitan country and its dependencies. Their role is, through political and economic means, to retain a number of regions under their sole control and keep others out.

How are we to appraise such blocs of states as the Common Market that have come into being in the postwar world? Here, three questions need to be clarified. First, what does the emergence of these blocs mean—does it mean that there is a growing tendency towards unity among the imperialist countries, or does it mean that contradictions among them are tending to grow? Secondly, does or does not the Common Market conform with the tendency towards a more internationalized economic life which is supposedly called for by the progress in modern science and technology and the development of the forces of production? Thirdly, against whom is the spearhead of the Common Market directed at the present stage?

“Alliance Between Robbers”

Regarding the first question, we are of the opinion that these three blocs mentioned above, though different in form, have one thing in common: they all are the product of acute contradictions among the imperialist countries. Agreements and alliances between the imperialist countries, as Lenin once pointed out, are agreements and alliances between robbers; a genuine, long-term interest to bind them together is lacking. Lenin also pointed out that groupings among the imperialist powers, no matter how firm they may appear to be, can be overturned within a few days if that is demanded by the interests of sacred private property. Very obviously, contradictions among the imperialist countries are irreconcilable and it is impossible for them to have any “class unity” among themselves.

This is exactly the case with the mutual relations among the Common Market Six and their future development. Because their political and economic development is very uneven and their relative strength quite unequal, their interests are not the same. While there are areas where they need to collude with one another temporarily, there are also areas where their fundamental interests clash.

They all need temporary collusion with one another because they all hope to solve their own market problem through the Common Market. West Germany has hoped to expand its industrial sales in foreign countries, penetrate into the French colonies in Africa, take over the market hitherto dominated by French industrial goods and revive its militarism with the help of France. France has wanted to sell its farm produce to West Germany, exploit French Africa with West German money and, with West German funds and technology, to promote further its own industrialization. A Franco-West German alliance, moreover, will make it easier for them to bargain politically with the United States and Britain. Italy has hoped to secure more jobs for her unemployed in foreign countries. Both the Netherlands and Belgium have planned to expand their exports to France and West Germany when the internal and external tariffs of the latter and Italy are unified. These are the reasons why the Six have agreed to have a Common Market.

There are, however, also many conflicts of interest among them. To begin with, as their economic structures are more or less the same, all having well-developed heavy industries, they are bound to have conflicts with one another when they are brought together. In the second

place, they have extremely sharp conflicts on agriculture because each has a different agricultural policy. Thirdly, keen contradictions arise among them on the question of establishing a "European political union" as each is afraid of the other's hegemony in that union and the lesser states are particularly afraid of coming under the control of the bigger states. Finally, there are sharp contradictions on the question of Britain's application for Common Market membership with the lesser states intending to bring Britain in as a balancing force while the bigger states want to keep Britain out. France at present does not want Britain to enter the Common Market; West Germany shilly-shallies, the Benelux countries, on the other hand, are trying hard to get Britain in while Italy is looking after its own interests by currying favour with both London and Paris.

Contradictions within the Common Market have become very acute indeed and will be more so in future. First, up to now the Common Market has not yet gone through a full economic cycle, that is, it has not yet come to the stage of crisis, so there are still some spoils for all its members to share. But a crisis is inevitable and when it comes they will have no spoil to divide and the contradictions coming to a head will be more acute than ever. Secondly the Common Market has just entered its second stage. The talks for transition from the first to the second were plagued with difficulties. By the time it comes to the question of economic "integration" to unify their financial, monetary and banking policies, of political "integration" to unify their defence and foreign policies, more problems will crop up, things will become even more complicated and difficulties will increase. Thirdly, after the breakdown of the Brussels talks, the quarrel within the Common Market countries over the question of Britain's entry will also become more complicated and a settlement of this question will probably not be in sight for some years to come.

The Common Market is also a tool of the Six used to strengthen themselves in their economic and political struggles against the U.S. bloc and the British bloc, and one used especially to back up their fight for markets. As a British economist has well put it, the Common Market Six have a purpose common to all. Their purpose is, first, to have a common market of the six countries, to raise a common tariff barrier to keep others out and so build up their own strength. They want to intensify the exploitation of the broad masses by means of the state organs. They want to step up the concentration and centralization of production and capital in order to replace the fixed capital and make technological improvements. The consequent increased capacity to compete will lay the foundation for expansion of their overseas markets. After this their aim is to gradually take over the West European market as a whole. Finally they mean to force their way into other industrially developed countries and scramble for markets with the United States, Britain and Japan while also seeking expansion in the "underdeveloped regions." As a matter of fact, the very first thing we see after the establishment of the Common Market is the unfolding of an acute economic and political struggle (especially on the question of nuclear power status) on a larger scale than ever between the Six, mainly France and West Germany, on the one hand and the United States, Britain and other West European countries on the other.

Besides continuing to exert pressure on Paris and Bonn through NATO and its present military and political superiority, the United States has put forth such counter-measures as the Trade Expansion Act and the proposal for a so-called Atlantic community in an attempt to pull down the tariff barriers of the Six and place the member countries once again under its control. Britain firmly opposed the Common Market idea from the start and formed the little free trade area as a counter when it was established. Having failed in its attempt to use the little free trade area in negotiations with the Common Market, Britain singly applied for Common Market membership, trying hard to get in and so exercise leadership in the Common Market and make its influence felt. After the Brussels talks broke down, Britain, while sternly denouncing France, has not relinquished various schemes to undermine the Common Market. Such attempts of the United States and Britain have met, and will continue to meet, strong resistance from France and West Germany.

The emergence of the Common Market and other blocs of states has still further intensified the struggle among the United States, Britain, France and West Germany and among the Six themselves for colonies and the so-called underdeveloped areas. This we shall discuss specifically later on.

The foregoing shows that the emergence of the Common Market has actually caused the Western world to split into three blocs of states. The establishment of the Common Market, therefore, does not mean that the imperialist countries have tended to become more and more united. On the contrary, it signifies that the imperialist camp is divided against itself and there is an unprecedentedly serious crisis threatening the disintegration of NATO.

Scramble for Markets

In regard to the second question, Marxist-Leninists consider the progress of modern science and technology and the internationalization of economic life only from a class viewpoint.

First, under imperialism, capitalist private ownership of the means of production and the quest for high profits have determined that monopoly capital, on the one hand, limits large-scale application of modern science and technology and does not allow an unlimited development of the productive forces. On the other hand, monopoly capital also needs the progress of modern science and technology to bring about some development of the productive forces. In more than a decade after World War II, as a result of the application of the latest achievements in modern science and technology, automation, large-scale production and the reorganization of industry and agriculture, monopoly capital in the United States and the imperialist countries of Western Europe succeeded in expanding the productive forces to a certain extent. But monopoly capital has done this merely to increase its competitive capacity and make still higher profits.

Secondly, under imperialism, the more developed the productive forces and the greater the output, the more serious the question of sales becomes, the greater is the tension on the problem of the market and the more acute

is the contradiction between forces of production and relations of production. The measures for the so-called integration of the Common Market and blocs like it, economically speaking, serve to facilitate the scramble for markets and cannot really solve the contradictions between forces of production and relations of production. The Common Market has not, therefore, evolved in conformity with the objective tendency of internationalizing economic life as is called for by the progress in modern science and technology and the development of the productive forces. It is, instead, born of the situation in which monopoly capital in the Six colludes to redivide the internal market and contend for external markets.

Imperialist Countries More Divided Than Ever

In regard to the third question, it must be pointed out that like the U.S. bloc and the British bloc, such a bloc of imperialist countries as the Common Market is truly reactionary and aggressive in nature. It is true that the Common Market is also directed against the socialist camp for the contradiction between the imperialist camp and the socialist camp is essentially antagonistic and irreconcilable and this contradiction is, moreover, becoming acute. But, as Marxist-Leninists have pointed out time and again, compared with their contradiction with socialism, contradictions among the imperialist countries themselves are more immediate, more direct and more obvious. At the present stage, the most immediate and most real contradiction which confronts the Common Market is its contradiction in competing with the United States and Britain in a daily shrinking capitalist world market, its contradiction with the United States and Britain in fighting for an equal status in the imperialist camp, not its contradiction with the socialist countries. Today, under the banners of fighting against communism and of creating a "Europe for Europeans," the Common Market leaders are actually engaged in a struggle against U.S. control and are striving to edge the United States and Britain out of Western Europe both politically and economically.

There are some people who hold that in this epoch in which the forces of socialism have greatly surpassed those of imperialism, the imperialist countries, to cope with the forces of socialism, are becoming increasingly "united." In making such a statement, these people have apparently seen only some superficial phenomena and are led astray by them without seeing the essence of things. The essence of the matter is that the changes in the balance of forces between the two major camps since World War II have not eliminated the various contradictions inherent in the capitalist world. Nor have they altered, as they cannot possibly alter, the law of survival of the fittest in capitalist society where "the weak falls a prey to the strong." Nor have they precluded the possibility of the imperialist countries splitting into different blocs and clashing with one another in many ways in fighting for their own interests.

In point of fact, since its establishment in 1958, it is primarily U.S. and British imperialism which have been really anxious to do something about the Common Market. Kennedy has openly admitted that it is the "biggest challenge" to the United States. Macmillan too has been racking his brains to find the best means to deal with the

problem it presents. Following the breakdown of the Brussels talks, the British ruling class has been thinking hard to hit on the most effective way of undermining the Common Market but opinions on how to do it vary.

On January 10, 1963 the French *Le Monde* published an article which lays bare what is in the mind of the French ruling group regarding the Common Market. The gist of the article is this: 1. Europe is no longer a beggar living on handouts, but a powerful competitor vis-a-vis the United States; 2. There are people in France who fear that once Britain enters the Common Market, it may become America's Trojan horse inside the Common Market; 3. It is the hope of the United States that the Common Market represents the first stage towards an Atlantic community but, contrary to U.S. expectations, all institutions that bring the Six together are going in an opposite direction; 4. The Common Market should lead to a European entity enjoying immense independence, not to an Atlantic entity under U.S. control. The breakdown of the Brussels talks has borne out that what is said in that article has in the main reflected what is in the mind of de Gaulle and the big French monopolies which he represents.

At the present stage, therefore, the Common Market is established primarily to fight against the United States and Britain for economic and political domination and also to oppose the working class, to undermine the national independence movement and oppose the socialist countries; it is not organized just to oppose the socialist countries.

Based on the analyses made above we find that, either in relations between the Common Market and the third countries or in relations inside the Common Market, contradictions tend to grow. The Common Market has come into being as a result of the contradictions among the imperialist countries and divisions among them; its establishment has again aggravated the development of these contradictions with the result that contradictions and divisions have been intensified further. Instead of changing the situation in which the imperialist camp is divided against itself, the Common Market has made the situation even worse. The view that the establishment of the Common Market signifies a stronger tendency towards unity among the imperialist countries is entirely wrong. It is an exact copy of Kautsky's "theory of ultra-imperialism." Refuting this argument of Kautsky's, Lenin said: "There can be no doubt that the development is in the *direction* of one single world trust swallowing, without exception, all enterprises and states. But the development in this direction is taking place under such conditions, at such a speed, with such contradictions, conflicts and upheavals — by no means only economic, but political and national, etc. — that certainly *before* things get to a single world trust, to an 'ultra-imperialist' world alliance of national financial capitals, imperialism must inevitably collapse, and capitalism be transformed into its own antithesis."* This statement by Lenin is of great significance as a guide for us to understand the various blocs of imperialist countries that have appeared since World War II.

(To be continued.)

* Lenin, "Preface to N. Bukharin's Booklet 'World Economy and Imperialism,'" *Collected Works*, Russian ed., (1948) Vol. XXII, pp. 94-95.

Indian Reactionaries Are Baring Their Teeth

by CHOU PAO-JU

THANKS to positive measures taken by the Chinese Government to effect the ceasefire and withdraw its frontier guards, tensions caused by India's all-out massive attacks along the Sino-Indian border have been relaxed and the conditions necessary for direct negotiations between China and India created. However, the Indian Government, instead of responding as it should have done, has continued to step up its war preparations, relying as it does on military aid from the imperialists. All facts point to India's deliberate attempt to poison Sino-Indian relations and create tensions between the two countries.

According to a DPA report of March 20, the Indian Defence Ministry has ordered Indian troops immediately to resume patrolling the border areas south of the illegal McMahon Line which were evacuated by the Chinese frontier guards on China's own initiative. AFP reported on the same day that the Indian Army was moving forward in that region. On many recent occasions across the China-Sikkim border, Indian troops have intruded into Chinese territory and Indian planes have violated Chinese air space.

Speaking in the Lok Sabha on March 19 on India's foreign policy, Prime Minister Nehru indicated that the Indian Government would continue to build up its strength for its anti-China campaign. He said that India must meet China "with strength which enables the country [India] to win." He admitted that this policy had not been adopted recently but that as far back as the peaceful liberation of Tibet the Indian Government had "adapted her policy to a considerable extent . . . by building up her strength."

Persecution of Chinese Nationals

In its stubborn intention to carry on its anti-China campaign, the Indian Government has trampled underfoot the principles of international law. By the end of February this year, it has detained without any justification 2,308 Chinese nationals in India. Indian Minister of Home Affairs Shastri admitted on February 27 that of these Chinese nationals, 2,165 were interned in concentration camps and 143 locked up in prisons.

Those detained in the concentration camps were treated most inhumanely. Many had been arrested with their whole families. Children and grown-ups alike slept on damp ground and ate mouldy rice. They had to cook their own meals but making a fire was always a difficult problem. They were either given no fuel at all or supplied with huge logs but no means of chopping them up. Moreover, the internees were forced to do hard labour. When they fell sick owing to the awful living conditions and attacks by malaria mosquitoes, they were denied medical treatment. As a result, many died.

To rescue the arrested and suffering Chinese nationals, the Chinese Embassy in India has repeatedly asked the Indian Government to give the reasons for the arrests, provide a list of the internees and arrange visits to them. But the Indian Government has rejected these requests which merely represent the exercise of the commonly acknowledged rights of a diplomatic representative to protect his country's nationals. It has even evaded answering the question of how many arrested Chinese nationals have died. There can be no explanation for all this except the fear that the real conditions in the concentration camps will come to light.

The Chinese Government has decided immediately to send a ship to India to bring back the Chinese nationals. It is hoped that the Indian Government, in accordance with international practice, will not stand in the way of this, but will provide the necessary facilities.

The Indian Government has not limited itself to persecuting these arrested victims. It has also subjected to many kinds of maltreatment those Chinese nationals who have not been arrested. Police and detectives posted in their residential areas keep them under surveillance and search their houses at any time. The Phapa District of Calcutta, where the Chinese nationals live in a compact community, is divided into several smaller districts blockaded by troops and police and the Chinese residents are not allowed to move in and out freely. Several households together can send only one person each day outside to buy food. The entire district has been turned into a concentration camp.

Chinese nationals in India are being deprived of their means of livelihood. The Indian Government has ordered Indian factories and enterprises to dismiss Chinese workers and employees. It connived at the actions of hooligans who blackmailed Chinese merchants, created disturbances to interfere in their ordinary business operation and even stormed their shops. It has also forbidden Chinese nationals to dispose of their real estate. Under this persecution, many can only get along by selling their clothes and furniture. Furthermore, the Indian Government has sealed the property of the arrested Chinese nationals and requisitioned the houses of those who have left India.

The Indian Government in its press note of March 17 alleged that its persecution of Chinese nationals was a "measure of security" adopted at the time of so-called Chinese attacks against India. But facts give the lie to this assertion. The Indian Government announced its large-scale arrest and detention of Chinese nationals not when it provoked the armed border conflict but when China had announced its decision to effect a ceasefire and withdraw its frontier guards on its own initiative. Afterwards, the Indian authorities arrested Chinese na-

nationals not only in the border areas of Assam and West Bengal as the note admitted, but in all major cities in India. The border situation has now relaxed, but these illegal acts are continuing. Even those Chinese nationals who have permits to leave India are arrested.

The Indian note compared the victimized Chinese nationals with the captured Indian military personnel. This only reveals that the Indian Government attempts to detain Chinese nationals as hostages to blackmail the Chinese Government.

Working Hand in Glove With Chiang's Agents

The Indian Government, while persecuting large numbers of peaceable and law-abiding Chinese nationals, has not scrupled to collude with agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gangsters in India in anti-China activities. K.C. Yap, the "president" of the so-called Overseas Chinese Association of India, is one of these special Chiang Kai-shek agents in Calcutta. He was once a member of the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang General Branch in India and attended a spurious meeting on overseas Chinese affairs in Taiwan; and in February 1960, he went from India to Taiwan to take part in the ceremony celebrating Chiang Kai-shek's continued assumption of the bogus presidency. The Indian Government is well aware of these facts. Clearly, it is with its connivance that in a so-called resolution contrived under the usurped name of overseas Chinese, Yap raised desperate cries against the People's Republic of China. The official Indian Information Service went a step further and published on January 15, 1963, Yap's statement in which he flagrantly demanded the overthrow of the Government of the People's Republic of China. Not content with this, the Indian Embassy in China went to the length of publishing Yap's fabricated resolution in its bulletin. This proves that in taking hostile

actions against China the Indian Government has actually turned an official publication of the Indian Embassy into a propaganda medium for Chiang Kai-shek's special agents and interfered in China's internal affairs. As the Indian Government has asserted that these special agents have identified themselves with its stand, the question naturally arises: Does the Indian Government also want to overthrow the People's Republic of China?

Turning Things Upside Down

To cover up its own expansionist desire and mislead public opinion, the Indian Government has published and poured out through its information and publishing departments, embassies and other agencies a great volume of anti-China propaganda. It finds nothing too despicable if it can only sling mud at the Chinese Government. An I.I.S. article of January 9 this year said: "Annexation of Tibet, border settlements with Burma and Nepal . . . are just a few instances" of Chinese "expansion." What ground is there for a government which has repeatedly declared its recognition of Tibet as Chinese territory to libel China's peaceful liberation of Tibet as "annexation"? This self-contradiction only reveals that the Indian Government seeks to inherit the legacy of British imperialism — attempted seizure of China's territory of Tibet. In citing China's "border settlements with Burma and Nepal" as instances of "expansion," the Indian Government's aim is even more sinister. Clearly it is attempting to sow dissension between China and its neighbours. Carried away by wishful thinking, the Indian Government has reduced itself to the ridiculous position that because it has refused to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question on a fair and reasonable basis, it should have the right to forbid other countries to work out border settlements with China.

National-Liberation Movement

Armed Struggle Flames in Venezuela

by YEN ERH-WEN

A NEW situation is arising in the surging national and democratic movements of Latin America. The people's armed struggles against U.S. imperialism and domestic tyranny are blazing up in yet more countries. A case in point is Venezuela where the struggle is developing with great rapidity.

In the Grip of U.S. Imperialism

Venezuela has a population of 6.7 million. Its oil exports are the biggest in the capitalist world and its oil output is second only to that of the United States. Taxes from the oil industry constitute more than 70 per cent of the state budgetary revenue. But this lifeline of the national economy is almost entirely controlled by foreign capital, especially U.S. monopoly capital. The \$3,000 million invested by U.S. capitalists in Venezuela tops U.S. private investment in any other Latin American country.

Of this figure, \$2,570 million is invested in the oil industry from which alone the U.S. capitalists squeeze an annual profit of \$600 million. Big landlord ownership dominates the countryside where the overwhelming majority of the peasants are landless. Latifundium owners and big firms, though comprising only 1.5 per cent of those owning land, possess 78.7 per cent of the cultivated area; many of these landlords are U.S. companies. The United States controls Venezuelan foreign trade, providing 54 per cent of the country's imports and taking 49 per cent of its exports. As a result, the Venezuelan workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie are directly oppressed and exploited by U.S. imperialism.

The Betancourt government of the Democratic Action Party, since it came to power in 1959, has been protecting by violence the interests of U.S. monopoly capital and the domestic compradors and big landlords. Time after

time, it has deprived the people of their constitutional rights, banned the Communist Party and the Left-Wing Revolutionary Movement and made mass arrests of revolutionaries and patriots. A necessary outcome of the social and political developments in Venezuela is that students, workers, peasants, professional people and army officers have formed their armed forces and engaged in unyielding struggles.

Birth and Growth of the Guerrilla Forces

In 1959 after the victory of the Cuban revolution, peasants in Venezuela started seizing land. In the beginning of 1962 they took back the land of almost all the latifundists and big firms in the flourishing agricultural state of Yaracuy. In the wake of the peasant movement, guerrillas made their appearance. Shortly afterwards, guerrilla activities spread to the villages and mountain areas of several states in western Venezuela. As shown in the war bulletins issued by the Venezuelan National Liberation Army and by admissions of the reactionary Government, the guerrillas are now operating in many states and in the area of Caracas, the nation's capital. These states include most of those with big populations and developed production.

These guerrillas who are fighting for national liberation and against U.S. imperialism and the feudal system started their activities in the villages and mountain areas, arming themselves with weapons captured from the local police. Now a national command of the guerrilla forces of the National Liberation Army has been set up; the guerrillas have extended their activities in the cities to hit hard at the reactionary Government and destroy enterprises owned by U.S. monopoly capital. Last year, for instance, they attacked Coro, Valencia, and Maturin, capitals of the states of Falcon, Carabobo and Monagas. Since 1962, they have launched surprise attacks on villages near Caracas. Recently, they occupied a police office in a village 14 kilometres south of Caracas, arresting the police chief and his men and seizing all their weapons. In Caracas, U.S. offices and enterprises have been frequently attacked. The installations of the U.S. oil companies in the states of Zulia and Anzoategui have been blasted many times. During the U.S. imperialist military blockade of Cuba in October last, the destruction of four U.S. power stations in Maracaibo, Zulia, by the guerrilla forces reduced the country's oil output by one-sixth.

All these facts show that the guerrilla forces of the Venezuelan National Liberation Army are steadily growing more powerful. A single spark is setting off a prairie fire.

A recently published programme of action of the Venezuelan National Front (F.L.N.) declares: "The F.L.N., realizing that we cannot defeat our enemies without destroying their repressive forces and arms and without transforming the present armed forces—the repressive apparatus serving the U.S. monopolies, the local oligarchic groups and other reactionary forces, has decided to set up a national-liberation army as its military arm." The programme points out that "this armed instrument of the Venezuelan revolution will be created for the purpose of retaliating to government violence; overthrowing the government; of forming a national, democratic and pop-

ular regime; of restoring the dignity of the nation's armed forces; of defending the fatherland, the legal system and the fruits of the revolution and, finally, of restoring sovereignty and freedom to the people."

Wide Support for the Venezuelan People

The armed struggle in Venezuela not only has its deep roots among the people at home, but also enjoys the ever increasing support of other Latin American peoples.

A "Support for the Venezuelan People Week" was held on a large scale in Cuba in November last. Addressing the closing session of the Women's Congress of the Americas on January 16, this year, Premier Castro said: "... the heroism of the Venezuelan people is a horrible nightmare to them [the imperialists]." At a recent meeting held by the Uruguayan Union of Communist Youth in support of the Venezuelan people's revolutionary struggle, Senator Enrique Rodriguez, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, said: "Following the example of Cuba, Venezuela and some other countries, we are mustering our forces for our own revolution. The land of Latin America is burning beneath the feet of the imperialists." Mass organizations and other representatives of public opinion in Chile, Brazil and other countries have one after another voiced their support for the Venezuelan people's armed struggle.

Dirty Role of U.S. Imperialism

U.S. imperialism has all along given the reactionary Betancourt government men, money and materiel to cruelly suppress the Venezuelan people's armed forces. In March last year when the Venezuelan guerrilla forces began their operations, the United States sent a military mission to Venezuela to speed up the training of the Betancourt troops in anti-guerrilla tactics. This mission also inspected the war zones and issued military orders. U.S.-piloted planes dropped napalm bombs on villages in mountain areas. The Venezuelan army officers receiving training at the U.S. anti-guerrilla school in Panama were called back home early to take part in the military suppression of the people. Recently, U.S. naval planes and destroyers had a direct hand in tracing the Venezuelan freighter *Anzoategui* seized by men of the Venezuelan National Liberation Army. And it has been disclosed by the U.S. press that Washington is thinking of sending special forces to repress patriots in Venezuela, as in south Viet Nam. Venezuela would thus be used as a "test case" in Latin America.

The Betancourt government, a puppet of U.S. imperialism, has always resorted to frenzied measures to suppress the just struggle of the Venezuelan people. In January this year, it threw a large part of its 15,000-men army, supported by planes, into what it called "the most powerful offensive" in the state of Falcon where the guerrilla forces were most active. The reactionary Government is arresting without any scruples Communists and the Leftists who are supporting the people's struggle. It is clamouring for the jailing of all the Communists in Venezuela. All this shows that the imperialists and reactionaries will never change their blood-thirsty nature.

But historical development always runs counter to their wishes. With the awakening of the Venezuelan people and the mounting strength of the guerrilla forces,

"the most powerful offensive" launched by the Betancourt regime was soon defeated. Following up their victory, the guerrillas liberated several villages and towns.

Betancourt Regime at Bay

The reactionary troops are becoming more and more demoralized. Many soldiers have refused to fight the guerrillas; when forced into battle, they often revolt and go over to the people's side. In one engagement in the state of Lara, for instance, of 30 men in a government detachment, 16 went over to the guerrillas, 2 deserted, and 10 were killed. Only 2 fled back to their quarters.

The development of the guerrilla forces has also exerted influence on the armed forces of the ruling clique. Last summer, a thousand marines in Carupano, a major city in northeastern Venezuela, and garrisons in the largest Venezuelan naval base of Cabello successively staged uprisings. Although they were put down by the Government, it is reported that the insurgents left to join the guerrillas in the mountain areas, taking large quantities of military materiel with them.

Betancourt's reactionary domestic and foreign policies have also met with opposition within the ruling clique itself. As early as May 1960, the Leftists in Betancourt's Democratic Action Party withdrew from it because of their disagreement with the reactionary government policies and formed an opposition party, the Left-Wing Revolutionary Movement. In December 1961, another group in the

Democratic Action Party, headed by Senator Raul Ramos Jimenez, also withdrew for the same reason and organized a new party. The Republican Democratic Union, the second largest party in Venezuela, left the Government and became an opposition party in October 1960 owing to its differences with Betancourt's policies, especially those towards Cuba. The Betancourt clique, supported only by the Christian Social Party, a Right-wing party, has lost its majority in the parliament.

Faced with the deteriorating situation at home, the Venezuelan Government, apart from intensifying its suppression of the people, has sought more help from the U.S. Government. For this purpose, Betancourt visited the United States in February this year. In the joint communique issued by Kennedy and Betancourt, the United States "pledged full support" for the dictatorial regime of Venezuela in its repression of the national-democratic movement.

No Force Can Block Revolution

It is clear that the imperialists and reactionaries will never be reconciled to their defeat; they will never leave the arena of history of their own accord. With the support of U.S. imperialism, the reactionary Betancourt regime will carry on its desperate struggle. But this can in no way block the advance of people's revolution. Convinced of the correctness of the path of armed struggle, the Venezuelan National Liberation Army is looking into the future with full confidence.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Motorized Fishing. The spring fishing season has started all along China's coasts. With four times as many motorized junks and twice as many trawlers as they had in 1957, the fisheries are much better equipped than ever before. They have high hopes of landing another big catch.

All the state fishing fleets operating off the coast from Lushun-Talien in the north to Hainan Island in the south now have trawlers equipped with two-way radios, sonars and other instruments for detecting shoals. Most of these vessels are made in China.

Only a few years ago, China's fishing industry depended mainly on old-type wooden junks. Since these could not weather the rough seas, fishing had to be confined to coastal waters. With their modern motorized vessels, the fishermen can now fish in new rich grounds further afield.

To handle the increasing number of motorized vessels, fishing wharves in Lushun-Talien, Choushan, Shanghai, Canton and elsewhere have been

extended. Many new fishing ports have been built.

Grand Canal. A section of the 2,000-year-old Grand Canal, the biggest north to south shipping artery in China, has been reconstructed. Four hundred kilometres long, the reconstructed section extends northwards from Yangchow by the Yangtse River and cuts through the northern part of Kiangsu Province.

When the reconstruction work started in 1958, this section of the canal was from one to two metres deep and from 10 to 30 metres wide. It is now four metres deep and 60 metres wide. Altogether 45 big locks, sluice-gates, culverts, docks and bridges have been built. The canal can now handle six times as much shipping tonnage as before.

The reconstruction is part of a long-term plan to improve navigation along the entire length of the 1,782-kilometre-long Grand Canal from Peking to Hangchow. Shipping apart, the reconstructed section acts as a reservoir protecting 15 million *mu* of farmland in northern Kiangsu against flood; at the same time its waters are being used for irrigation.

Better Health Service for Women.

Medical care for women in Peking municipality has made much headway. A network of hospitals, clinics and health centres for women and their babies has been set up in all its urban districts and rural areas.

Every people's commune on the outskirts of the city has its own medical workers looking after the health of women members. Thousands of midwives working in the villages give mothers pre- and post-natal checkups and care.

In addition to obstetric and gynaecological departments attached to all its general hospitals, Peking has a well-equipped maternity hospital housed in a new five-storey building. This has 250 beds and its out-patients' department handles some 350 cases each day.

A new research institute of maternal health has been established by the Municipal Public Health Bureau. It has three departments for research on gynaecology, obstetrics and women's occupational diseases; it gives advice and guidance in these fields to all the capital's local medical and health centres.

ROUND THE WORLD

SAN JOSE CONFERENCE

The Peoples Trouble Kennedy

Before moving into their new 96,000-dollar weekend retreat near Middleburg, Virginia, the Kennedys are confronted with the problem of how to screen their country house from people on the nearby highway without blocking off their own view of the Blue Ridge Mountains beyond. As President, Kennedy currently also faces the dilemma of how to "build a wall around Cuba" and to stifle it without causing a veritable eruption of the volcano of the Latin American revolutionary movements.

According to the *New York Times*, the U.S. President and his entourage were given a "gala welcome" in the capital city of Costa Rica, where he conferred with the heads of the six Central American countries between March 18 and 20. But it took care not to mention the real sentiments of the Central American peoples, their hatred for U.S. imperialism and its lackeys—the reactionary rulers of these "banana republics"—and the fact that during the conference San Jose was literally under the occupation of U.S. secret agents and their local henchmen.

The San Jose conference was part of Kennedy's scheme to throttle socialist Cuba. The Central American states being close to the heroic island, the U.S. imperialists are as much concerned with using these countries as bases against Cuba as with preventing them from "going the Cuba way." Hence, it was reported that at San Jose Kennedy assured the conference participants that Washington would "provide military help" to any Latin American government which would clamp down on the popular movement and "take military action to restore the governments to office" should they be overthrown by the people.

But if Kennedy thinks that he has built a *cordon sanitaire* around Cuba, he is badly mistaken. As the Western papers have admitted, the Central American regimes represented at San Jose are hated dictatorships and shaky facades. Central America is "a prime candidate for unrest" where

poverty-stricken masses are awakening and putting up a fight.

A storm of indignant protest against the San Jose meeting has swept Latin America. The people's answer to Washington's latest manoeuvre is the convocation in Brazil of the American Continental Congress in Solidarity With Cuba.

In an interview on the eve of the San Jose conference, Premier Fidel Castro declared that "throughout the Americas, the imperialists are perched on a volcano which would erupt at any moment."

With unconscious irony the *New York Times* spoke of the almost perfect weather on the day of the U.S. President's arrival in San Jose, adding that "the only marring element was the excessive amount of volcanic dust in the atmosphere drifting in from the sporadically erupting volcano Irazu." "The volcano," the paper noted, "which virtually destroyed the city of Cartago in 1910, began erupting last week for the first time since then." Indeed, when one reads between the lines, one's ear catches the rumble of the 20th-century tumbrils.

BRAZIL

Crude Pressure Backfires

When Brazilian Minister of Finance Santiago Dantas was in Washington to negotiate postponement of U.S. loan payments, the State Department suddenly released a report on the Brazilian "political situation." Based on testimony in the House of Representatives from Gordon, U.S. Ambassador to Brazil, it alleged that the Government under President Joao Goulart was heavily "infiltrated with communists." This immediately roused a clamour from the U.S. monopoly press and there was talk of cessation of U.S. "aid" to Brazil.

Why did Washington pick the present moment to meddle openly in Brazil's internal affairs and exert such crude pressure? Because Brazil observes the principle of the people's right to self-determination. In the words of an AP dispatch, she is one of the countries in the Western Hemisphere "most reluctant to take any

strong action against Cuba." This is considered by the New Frontiersmen as a stumbling block to their policy of armed intervention and aggression in Latin America. Washington, by turning the political and economic screws, is using the present occasion to try and force the Brazilian Government to change its policy. The move takes on special significance on the eve of the San Jose conference.

The Brazilian Government and public reacted strongly to this unwarranted interference from the north. President Goulart sent a note to Kennedy demanding clarification of the State Department statement. The Brazilian Foreign Ministry in a statement declared the Brazilian Ambassador to the U.S. "has been instructed to express to the U.S. State Department the Brazilian Government's repudiation of the accusation made in the U.S. House of Representatives." The Brazilian Nationalist Parliamentary Front denouncing Yankee interference demanded that Ambassador Gordon be declared *persona non grata*.

TRADE WAR

Tit-for-Tat

The U.S.-Japan cotton goods wrangle which this column reported a few issues back is only one instance of the trade war now going on in the capitalist world. Despite lip-service to free enterprise—free trade areas, Common Markets and the like—high tariffs, import quotas and other protectionist moves are common coin on both sides of the Atlantic.

Farming interests in America are loudly complaining about the "variable levy system" introduced in the Common Market countries after July 30 last year. This has already caused a 26 per cent drop in U.S. exports of wheat, flour, poultry, eggs and pork to the Six. This is the famous "frozen chicken question" so much talked about in Washington.

The West Europeans, on the other hand, are irritated by the special waiver clause (allowing the U.S. the right to impose quotas on foreign agricultural products) which Washington got from GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and uses as a legal justification for its protectionist practices.

Britain, for example, suffers from the high import duties keeping mil-

lions of pounds worth of British woollen cloth from the U.S. market. During a recent trip to Washington, president of the British Board of Trade Erroll warned U.S. officials of the consequences of American tariffs on British wool imports. As an example of Anglo-American trade inequalities he said that per head of population in 1962 British exports to the U.S. averaged about \$5 while British imports from the U.S. averaged about \$25.

The Belgians, too, have repeatedly demanded that Washington reconsider the 40 per cent boost in carpet duties introduced in March 1962. The measure has slashed Belgian carpet sales to the U.S. by 40 per cent and was cause for a retaliatory move by the Common Market countries in the form of curbs on organic chemicals, which they accuse American firms of dumping on West Europe.

Competition in industrial products is also fierce. While American papers are charging European and Japanese steel firms with dumping pipe, reinforcing bars and sheet steel in America, these countries are complaining too of unfair U.S. steel practices. European car-makers are angered by the expansion of General Motors and Ford subsidiaries in Britain and West Germany. Recently when Chrysler bought control of the French Simca, Paris threatened curbs on U.S. investment.

Things are little different within the Common Market. There is, for example, a "refrigerator war" going on between Italy and France. When Paris imposed a special import levy on underpriced Italian refrigerators to protect French production, Rome retaliated and took the case to the high court of the Common Market.

A recent number of the *U.S. News and World Report* wrote: "Europeans accuse Americans of being protectionist-minded. Americans return the compliment. More of this tit-for-tat sort of thing is bound to emerge, if business conditions on both sides of the Atlantic don't pick up."

MALAYSIA

A Paper Federation

Like many other Whitehall-conceived federations, Malaysia is doomed before it is born. The Brunei

uprising last December having shattered once and for all the carefully built up myth that the people of the region (Malaya, Singapore, Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo) wanted or supported the federation, the British imperialists have not hesitated to throw away the kid gloves and revert to type. Altogether some 5,000 colonial troops as well as air and naval forces have been thrown in against the nationalist insurgents. Patriots and people suspected of sympathy with the guerrillas have been put into concentration camps. In Malaya and Singapore, there were many pre-dawn raids against progressive party and trade union leaders, a move clearly aimed at muzzling public opinion and paralyzing the patriotic forces.

The people's opposition has not been weakened by this terror campaign, however. The Brunei insurgents are carrying on a guerrilla war in the jungles. They have fought many successful engagements, forcing the colonialists to restore the curfew in several areas. In Malaya, the opposition parties and all independent M.P.s have formed a united front against Malaysia. Struggle against the project is also growing in other territories.

A White Paper published recently in London makes it very clear who will be the master in the proposed federation. The English Queen and the head of state of the Federation of Malaya will jointly nominate the first governor and the first *Yang Dipertuan Negara* (the paramount ruler)

of North Borneo. According to the *London Times*, a high proportion of British officers will remain in Sarawak and North Borneo. There will be no change in the British-Malayan military agreement, which will also cover the Borneo territories. General Hull, Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, said in Australia that Britain would keep its base in Singapore and British forces would remain in the Borneo territories after the formation of Malaysia.

Meanwhile, U.S. imperialism is cashing in on British difficulties. Philippine President Macapagal recently proposed the formation of a "pan-Malayan confederation" which would include all the "Malaysian" territories and the Philippines. This confederation, according to the pro-U.S. *Manila Daily Bulletin*, would probably also include Thailand and others, while Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo would be placed under U.N. trusteeship with the "pan-Malayan confederation" countries as joint administrators. No wonder that the U.S. State Department gave immediate support to the proposal. Even before the wolf is driven out from the front door, the hyena is trying to edge its way in by the back door.

To prolong its colonial rule, London has concocted all sorts of federations, e.g. Central Africa Federation, Southern Arabian Federation and West Indies Federation, in various continents. But, in the face of the people's opposition, none of them have really worked. Neither will Malaysia.

THE PASSING SHOW

In Black and White

All-white Mercer University run by Southern Baptists in Georgia, U.S.A. is in a dither after receiving an application for admission from Mr. Oni, a 22-year-old Ghanaian. Some have suggested that he be admitted "as a foreign student, but not as a Negro." One Baptist minister has appealed for his acceptance on the grounds that if rejected by segregationist Georgia he might "be promptly welcomed by one of the countries of the communist bloc." At the same time he comforted his fellow Georgian Baptists, saying that "his acceptance will not signify a change in our traditions, but it will mean a slight change in our hearts."



Quite an Education

New-Type Urban-Rural Relations In China

An examination of the relationship between the cities and the countryside in China during the period of socialist construction

by KAO CHENG-SHENG

THE nature of relations between town and country depends on the prevailing socio-economic system. Different social systems give rise to different types of urban-rural relations. In all societies based on private ownership of the means of production, these relations are antithetical. This antithesis runs through the entire history of class societies. It becomes unprecedentedly acute under capitalism where the town dominates and ruthlessly exploits the countryside. The growth of capitalist industry, commerce and the credit system results in the expropriation of the peasantry, the bankruptcy of the majority of the agricultural population, the lagging of agriculture far behind industry, and the overall subordination of the countryside to the town.

But "abolition of the antithesis between town and country is not merely possible. It has become a direct necessity of industrial production itself."* In order to abolish this antithesis, it is necessary to abolish completely the system of private ownership of the means of production, to abolish the capitalist mode of production.

In old semi-colonial and semi-feudal China, and especially during the period of Kuomintang rule, the antithesis between town and country was more acute than in any other period in China's history. In those days, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, with the town as their centre and the reactionary Kuomintang regime as their tool, completely dominated and ruthlessly exploited the countryside. They used their monopolist concerns and their control of the market to widen the price "scissors" between industrial and agricultural products to the utmost. They fleeced the peasants through well-organized usury—using banks and credit and loan operations, local money-lenders and landlords. They plundered the rural areas by means of a vast array of taxes and levies, driving millions of peasants to the verge of bankruptcy and completely ruining millions of others.

Great Change in Urban-Rural Relations

Since the founding of the People's Republic the relations between town and country in China have undergone a fundamental change. Under the leadership of the

* F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, p. 411.

Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, farm collectivization went ahead immediately after completion of the land reform in the rural areas. At the same time, in the cities the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was accomplished. In this way, feudal private ownership of land and capitalist private ownership of the means of production were abolished and socialist public ownership of the means of production was firmly established. This uprooted the economic basis of the antithesis between town and country that prevailed in old China. Today, the vital interests of the two friendly classes—the working class and the peasantry—coincide. Their common goal is to build China under the leadership of the Communist Party into a strong socialist state with a modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and culture and modern national defence. This determines that the vital interests of the cities and the countryside are one and the same. In this way, mutual assistance and co-operation have been formed between the cities and the countryside—a new-type relationship between town and country in the history of human society.

Under China's socialist system, antagonistic contradictions no longer exist between town and country; non-antagonistic contradictions, however, still exist. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said more than 20 years ago: "Economically, in capitalist society where the town under bourgeois rule ruthlessly plunders the countryside and in the Kuomintang-controlled areas in China where the town under the rule of foreign imperialism and the big native comprador bourgeoisie most savagely plunders the countryside, the contradiction between town and country is one of extreme antagonism. But in a socialist country and in our revolutionary bases, such an antagonistic contradiction changes into a non-antagonistic one, and it will disappear in a communist society."* At the present time, the following are the main non-antagonistic contradictions between town and country in China:

Industry in general is owned by the entire people whereas collective ownership prevails in agriculture;

Industry on the whole is equipped with modern technology and labour productivity in industry is relatively

* Mao Tse-tung, *On Contradiction*.

high whereas agriculture depends primarily on manual operations and animal power, and labour productivity in agriculture is relatively low;

The conditions of material and cultural life in the towns are generally somewhat better than those in the countryside and workers and peasants still form two distinct classes with different economic status.

Why Towns Lead Countryside

The town occupies the leading position in urban-rural relations in China. Under socialism the town leads the countryside. This means that the town transforms the countryside along socialist lines. In the course of the democratic and socialist revolutions, the old towns of China have undergone a fundamental change. They have changed from centres of exploitation into socialist towns and they no longer serve as strongholds for dominating and exploiting the countryside. Instead, they have become centres for leading the countryside politically, economically and culturally. In the first place, the socialist towns are the heart of our nation's political life; they are where the leading organs at various levels of the Communist Party and the state are located. The Communist Party is the leading core of the nation and the peasants can advance victoriously towards socialism only under the leadership of the political power of the working class and its Communist Party.

Secondly, the socialist towns are the focuses of the nation's economic life, the sites of large-scale modern socialist industry. Large-scale modern industry provides the material basis for the technical reform of the national economy, and especially of agriculture. Only under the leadership of large-scale modern industry can agriculture grow rapidly.

Thirdly, the socialist towns are the centres of the nation's cultural life; they are where its scientific and cultural establishments are concentrated. The cultural revolution is a key aspect of socialist construction, and the countryside can overcome its cultural backwardness only with the assistance of the scientific and cultural establishments of the towns. It is therefore clear that politically, economically and culturally the towns are more advanced than the countryside; they play a leading role in urban-rural relations. Town and countryside are building socialism together with the former leading the latter.

Integration of Industry and Agriculture

Mutual assistance and co-operation between town and country is an important relationship in the period of socialist construction in China. Urban-rural relations are expressed economically in the integration of industry and agriculture. Industry and agriculture are the two basic departments of material production in the national economy. They are interlinked and mutually interdependent. All the marketable grain, most of the manpower and much of the raw materials needed for the growth of industry come from agriculture. On the other hand, the means of production needed for the growth of agriculture and the industrial consumer goods needed by the peasants have to be supplied mainly by industry. The general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the

foundation and industry the leading factor put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung makes a profound statement of the relationship between industry and agriculture both in theory and in practice. Guided by this general policy we are correctly handling the integration of industry and agriculture and properly arranging urban-rural relations.

Technical reform in agriculture follows in the wake of the further consolidation and development of the collective economy of the rural people's communes. This means not only a steady increase in the quantity of tools and other means of production demanded by agriculture but also a structural change in this demand. Large quantities of small and medium-sized farm tools and implements are needed by agriculture at the present time, but in the near future, agriculture will need increasing quantities of large farm machines. This trend is becoming increasingly evident. The great task of modernizing the farms has become a major item on the agenda of the entire Party and people in building the national economy. In order to meet the needs of technical reform in agriculture all industrial departments are readjusting their work according to the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy. The relationship of mutual assistance and co-operation between town and country in China will further develop on the basis of the accelerated integration of industry and agriculture.

Key Links in Urban-Rural Relations

The entire Party and people are turning their attention to agriculture. They are giving top priority to support for agriculture and the collective economy of the people's communes. The key links in reinforcing urban-rural relations today are:

Strengthening the town's aid to the countryside and industry's aid to agriculture;

Further consolidating the collective economy of the people's communes; and

Developing farm production.

At the same time, in developing industry and the town, due consideration must be given to what help the countryside can give. In urban construction and development, in capital construction and industrial production and in developing other undertakings, in planning increases in the number of office staff and other employees and the urban population as a whole, full consideration must be given to the amounts of marketable grain, industrial raw materials and other farm and side-line products that the countryside can supply as well as the manpower that the villages can provide. The growth of industry and urban construction can proceed on a firm footing only when agriculture is taken as the foundation of the national economy, when the rate of industrial growth and the scale of urban construction are determined on the basis of the level of agricultural production, and when proper proportions are maintained between the urban and rural populations.

The integration of industry and agriculture is effected mainly through the economic link between town and country. In China today this link operates in a planned way under the centralized and unified leadership of the Communist Party and the state. This leadership therefore

serves as a powerful lever for integrating industry with agriculture.

Economic Link Between Town and Country

Commodity exchange is the basic form of the economic link between town and country in China during the period of socialist construction. There are two forms of socialist public ownership of the means of production in China during the current stage of development, namely, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. In the case of ownership by the whole people, the means of production are the property of the whole people and products are controlled by the state whereas in the case of collective ownership, the means of production are the property of the collective which also controls their products. These two different forms of ownership must exchange their products through a certain form of economic link. The collective farmer will only part with his farm produce as a commodity in exchange for the industrial goods he needs. Commodity exchange by buying and selling is the only form of economic link acceptable to the collective farmer. Commodity exchange is therefore a most important factor in the economic interchange between town and country in the period of socialist construction in China.

Commodity exchange between town and country under socialism is, however, fundamentally different from that under capitalism. Under capitalism, based as it is on private ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie of the towns ruthlessly exploit the peasants of the countryside by "buying cheap and selling dear" and by other means, commercial or otherwise. This gives rise to clashes of economic interests between town and country. In contrast with capitalism, commodity exchange between town and country under socialism is based on public ownership of the means of production. Socialist commerce, in which there is no exploitation of any kind, serves as a bridge linking town and country economically.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, and especially since the great leap forward which began in 1958, under the guidance of the Communist Party's general line for building socialism, tremendous achievements have been made in strengthening the economic links between town and country. In the three years 1958-60, there were big increases compared with the entire First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) in the amounts of both state investments in agriculture and the means of production supplied to agriculture by the state trading organizations. Compared with 1957 the farms by the end of 1960 had far more tractors, irrigation and drainage machines, chemical fertilizers and insecticides, etc. Agriculture was hard hit by natural disasters during those three years. China's peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party, nevertheless gave tremendous support to the cities and industry, meeting the essential needs of the nation's production and construction and of the urban population.

To exchange industrial goods for farm produce according to the principle of exchange of equal values is an important aspect of the correct handling of the economic intercourse between town and country; and it is in the vital interests of the socialist relationship of mutual

assistance and co-operation between town and country. Socialist trade is the bridge for commodity exchange between town and country. It is necessary to set correct price ratios between industrial and agricultural products so that the selling prices of industrial goods and the purchasing prices of farm products can be fixed at proper levels. If the purchasing prices of farm products were set too low and the selling prices of industrial goods too high, the peasants' incomes would be adversely affected and this would naturally affect their enthusiasm in work. This would be detrimental to the growth of agricultural production. If, on the other hand, the purchasing prices of farm products were set too high and the selling prices of industrial goods too low, the state accumulation of capital and the livelihood of the urban population would be adversely affected. This would be detrimental to the growth of industrial production. In either case, harm would have been done to the worker-peasant alliance and to the cause of socialist construction. Only by correctly implementing the price policy of the Communist Party and the state can we facilitate commodity exchange and the interflow of goods between town and country.

Reasonable distribution of industrial and agricultural products is another important element in correctly handling the economic link between town and country. The principle governing this work is that proper attention must be paid to both town and country. This work is done chiefly through the trading departments. When drawing up plans for the distribution of industrial and farm products, these departments should take the needs of both town and country into account so as to bring into full play the enthusiasm which both the workers and peasants have in their work and their initiative in increasing production. In distributing industrial goods, it is necessary in the first place, in order to stimulate the peasants' enthusiasm for production, to invoke the spirit of the town aiding the countryside and follow the principle of priority for the countryside in the case of all the essential industrial consumer goods needed by the peasants. The towns are the political, economic and cultural centres of the nation. To do the work of commodity distribution in the towns well, to ensure that the essential needs of the workers and residents in the towns and the industrial and mining areas are met is also an important guarantee for the smooth progress of socialist construction.

In distributing farm products, it is necessary to observe the principle of paying proper attention to the interests of all three parties—the state, the collective and the individual, to adhere strictly to the policy of the Communist Party and the state concerning the purchase of farm products, to consult the peasants and reasonably determine the proportion of products to be purchased by the state and the proportion to be retained by the peasants, and to stabilize these proportions around certain levels over a certain period of time.

Worker-Peasant Alliance

The relations between town and country in China in the period of socialist construction are manifested politically as the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The worker-peasant alliance in China has

been steadily consolidated and developed during the democratic and socialist revolutions under the leadership of the working class. It has gone through two stages since the founding of the People's Republic and is currently in its third stage of development. During the first stage, the worker-peasant alliance rested on the basis of carrying the land reform to a thorough completion. During the second stage it was built on the basis of socialist farm collectivization. The task of the current — third — stage is to build the alliance on the new economic basis of gradually implementing technical reform in agriculture while further consolidating and developing the collective economy of the people's communes.

Constant consolidation and development of the worker-peasant alliance during the period of socialist construction is the basic guarantee for carrying the cause of socialist construction to victory. Comrade Liu Shao-chi said that "of our over 600 million people, more than 500 million are peasants who constitute a most powerful force both in the revolutionary struggle and construction. Only by relying on this powerful ally and giving full play to the peasants' initiative and creativeness can the working class of our country achieve victory."^{*}

Strengthening the Economic Basis of Worker-Peasant Alliance

In order to consolidate and develop the worker-peasant alliance in the period of socialist construction, it is necessary to strengthen the economic basis of this alliance. The worker-peasant alliance is built on the basis of the common interests of the two classes — workers and peasants. It is a class alliance of mutual benefit and mutual assistance of the workers and peasants based on socialist principles. Safeguarding the common interests of the workers and peasants and strengthening the economic basis of the worker-peasant alliance are therefore important conditions for consolidating and developing the worker-peasant alliance in the period of socialist construction. Under the centralized and unified leadership of the Communist Party and the state and guided by the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry the leading factor, we are constantly strengthening the economic links between town and country in a planned way, and properly organizing mutual support between town and country and between industry and agriculture, so that heavy industry is supplying more and more means of production and technical equipment for farm production and the technical reform of agriculture; light industry is providing the peasant masses in the countryside with increasing quantities of consumer goods; while agriculture, in its turn, is supplying the cities and industry with ever greater amounts of marketable grain, industrial raw materials and other farm and side-line products. Only in this way is it possible to

consolidate and develop the worker-peasant alliance further on a new economic basis.

Strengthening Working-Class Leadership

In order to consolidate and develop the worker-peasant alliance further, it is also necessary to strengthen the leadership of the working class over the peasantry and give the peasants political and ideological education. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the over 500 million Chinese peasants overthrew the rule of the feudal landlord class; they have victoriously taken to the broad path of socialism, collectivized the farms and transformed themselves from individual peasants into socialist collective farmers. The mass of peasants actively support farm collectivization because it creates immense possibilities for increasing agricultural production and for the peasant masses to achieve a common prosperity. It is the only road by means of which the peasant masses can liberate themselves and rid themselves of poverty. But, influenced by the system of private ownership which held sway for centuries, it is not possible for the peasants to rid themselves in a short while of the force of habit as petty producers and of their sense of private ownership. The peasant has a dual character. As a toiler, he can take the socialist road; as a private owner, he has a spontaneous capitalistic tendency. It is quite possible for the overwhelming majority of the peasants to advance resolutely along the socialist road under the leadership of the Communist Party. As for the well-to-do middle peasants, however, their force of habit as petty producers is stronger and they have a more deep-seated sense of private ownership, so their spontaneous capitalistic tendency which runs counter to the socialist collective economy will inevitably find expression in one way or another. When an opportunity presents itself, they will try to depart from the socialist road and take the capitalist road.

The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads will last throughout the entire historical period of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, throughout the entire historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism. The education of the peasantry is therefore an important task. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Opposition to selfish, capitalistic spontaneous tendencies, and promotion of the essence of socialism — that is, making the principle of linking the collective interests with the interests of the individual the standard by which all words and deeds are judged — these then are the ideological and political guarantees that the scattered, small-peasant economy will gradually be transformed into a large-scale co-operative economy."^{**} Provided we constantly strengthen the political and ideological leadership of the working class over the peasantry, we shall certainly be able to heighten the socialist consciousness of the peasant masses and enhance their enthusiasm for collective production, turn them into truly socialist toilers, consolidate and develop the worker-peasant alliance further, and promote the rapid progress of our socialist construction.

^{*} *Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1958, pp. 46-47.

^{**} Editor's note to "A Serious Lesson," *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1957, pp. 302-303.

Northwest Agricultural College

by TU HSING-YUN

The Northwest Agricultural College is playing a big role in modernizing the farms of Shensi and its neighbouring provinces. It has trained nearly 4,000 graduates in agricultural science and technique in the past 13 years, and done a great deal directly to help farmers boost crop yields.

THE new seven-storeyed building of the Northwest Agricultural College is a landmark in Wukung County to the west of Sian, capital of Shensi Province. Set in Shensi's wide and fertile wheat and cotton belt, it is linked with Sian by a railway running through the valley of the Wei River. Looking south from the NAC campus one can see both the Wei River and the snow-capped peaks of the Tsinling Mountains.

Down on the Farms

These rural surroundings seem to symbolize the essential feature of its educational and research work: an intimate link with practical farm problems. Its faculty and students have made a large number of surveys and on-the-spot studies particularly on the local farms, and the well-confirmed results of this practical work and of the peasants' rich store of experience have been incorporated into its textbooks and work. This approach gives its graduates a good knowledge of actual farm conditions and problems in China and particularly those in Shensi. It has also put its staff on the trail of a number of fruitful lines of investigation and research.

NAC surveys in the past 13 years have taken its researchers to 15 provinces and autonomous regions and led to the discovery of many new aids to farm production.

Data collected during one such survey led, for instance, to the devising of better methods of checking the spread of sand dunes, once a serious problem in northern Shensi. Thanks to the adoption of the improved methods of planting windbreaks suggested by the NAC, large areas of shifting sands were halted in their tracks and pinned down, and the cultivated area in northern Shensi enlarged.

The college at all times maintains close links with the peasants. On their frequent visits to the farms on research projects or surveys, its professors and students make use of the opportunity to help the peasants systematize their farming experience, passing on at the same time relevant scientific information and giving a helping hand in training farm technicians on the spot. The peasants on their part look forward eagerly to such visits, knowing that on these occasions they can be sure of getting expert advice on any new farming methods they

have evolved or in solving difficult problems in new fields of farming.

A good example of these fertile contacts is the friendly co-operation that exists between the college and the Fenghuo (Beacon) People's Commune. This dates back nine years ago when Wang Pao-ching, then a member of the Fenghuo farm co-op, harvested a particularly high yield of maize—more than 1,000 *jin* per *mu*—on an experimental plot. Professor Su Hsien-chung and two associate professors were immediately dispatched by the NAC to study his methods, and they gave them high praise making suggestions on how to make them even more effective. Since then Professor Su has been treated by the Fenghuo members like one of the family. They write him regularly to tell him about their latest achievements and to consult him on technical matters. The professor is always a welcome guest at their farms and his visit at each Spring Festival is now an institution.

"If I don't manage to get out to the villages for some time," the professor says, "I feel something is missing. I learn a lot from hearing the farmers talk shop. It sets me thinking. Knowing how much I've learnt from them, I am more than happy to be able to help them straighten out whatever problems I can."

The NAC faculty and students have conducted a great deal of research and many experiments at the Fenghuo People's Commune and some members of the commune have attended classes in the college. Thanks to the college's help, the commune has made notable advances in training accountants and various kinds of technicians, in summing up and systematizing its farm experience, adopting scientific methods of cultivation and getting higher yields. It now boasts its own laboratory for scientific studies and undertakes a wide range of experiments on its own.

Short-Term Courses

This kind of close, on-the-spot aid can naturally not extend beyond a few people's communes but many more get help through the special short-term courses for peasants offered by the college. These courses lasting from one to two years, give instruction in particular branches of farming such as the cultivation of cotton, maize and sweet potatoes, pig breeding, sericulture and plant protection and so on. Special classes have been arranged for model farmers and also for leading members of county governments who want to know more about practical farming. Correspondence courses are also available.

Much effort has gone into selecting the proper teaching materials for such classes and devising appropriate

teaching methods. In preparing the class for county heads in charge of agricultural work, for instance, the NAC bore in mind the fact that the prospective students would be mostly middle-aged cadres with a high political level and a rich experience in practical organizational work of various kinds. The ten-month course finally arranged for them gave a concentrated dose of general and specialized farming knowledge. Teaching materials covered both theory and practical ways of solving problems common to the farms of Shensi. Lectures were combined with classroom discussions, experiments and individual study.

By the time these students finished the course, they had a systematic general knowledge of the basic elements of agricultural science and techniques and knew besides a great deal about the physiology, conditions of growth and methods of cultivation of the major Shensi crops as well as ways and means of preventing and eradicating the major local insect pests and plant diseases. Several of them have subsequently written some extremely useful articles on how to get higher yields under local conditions.

Fruits of Research

Research by the college faculty has produced some outstanding results and these have been widely popularized among the peasants. The famous wheat strain Bima No. 1 (a hybrid of Quality and Locust strains), bred by Professor Chao Hung-chang is one important fruit of NAC research. It is resistant to leaf rust and smut; stands up well to cold, spring frost and drought; ripens early and gives high yields. With its fame firmly established, it has been well received by the peasants and is now sown on some 90 million *mu* in eight provinces.

Another example of good NAC work comprises a breed of excellent milch goats seen in the people's communes near the college. They belong to a breed raised on the experimental farm of the college, and the peasants are highly satisfied with them. The average milk yield of one herd of 100 goats on the farm over the last three years is the highest for any herd of that size in China.

This herd has an interesting history. The breed was originally introduced to the college in 1937 from Saanen, Switzerland. Improper tending, however, steadily reduced their milk output. After liberation more and more villages in Shensi started to breed milch goats and the supply of good bloodstock became ever more urgent. NAC Associate Professor Liu Yin-wu and his assistants made an extensive survey in the districts where milch cows were bred in large numbers, and collected a great deal of valuable experience in tending these animals. As both milch cows and goats are ruminants, there are certain similarities in tending them.

The result of several years of intensive research and study produced a method of tending that more than restored their high-milking qualities to the Saanen goats. The newly bred Saanen goats now produce nearly 2.5 times as much milk in one lactation as those bred by the college farm before liberation. One thousand head of Saanen goats have already been supplied by the college to farms in nearby counties and provinces and there is

a big demand in different parts of China for more of them.

Still another NAC achievement is in the field of fruit farming. At a time when other orchard trees have shed both leaves and fruit, a number of apple and peach trees in the college's orchard, though stripped of leaves, still bear luscious fruits on their branches. These are the winter apple and peach trees bred by the college. Their fruits ripen in December and October respectively, late for this climate. Owing to their resistance to cold weather, they are now being planted in high mountain regions in a dozen provinces.

Before and Now

Such close relations, that exist between the NAC faculty and the peasants and between teaching and practice, were unimaginable before liberation. The Northwest Agricultural College was actually founded in 1933 but it did little to help farming in the old days, not to speak about linking its curriculum and research work to the urgent farming problems of Shensi and the rest of China. The Kuomintang government never provided the necessary conditions for it to make bold advances in this field. As a result, even the Shensi peasants round about failed to get any substantial benefits from the work of the college.

In spite of the fact that China was predominantly an agricultural country and only a handful of students graduated from its agricultural colleges each year, few NAC graduates could find suitable jobs. Many were unemployed when they graduated.

At the time of liberation, the college had one main building, three ill-equipped chemistry laboratories, and a library of 36,000 books and periodicals. There were just over 500 students.

Since the liberation in 1949 the college has made tremendous advances in every respect. It has expanded into an institution with eight departments including agronomy, horticulture, livestock breeding and veterinary, agro-economy and forestry. Its enrolment has increased four-fold. The proportion of students coming from families of the working people has risen to 90 per cent. Many new buildings including modern, well-equipped labs grace the campus. The library's collection of books and periodicals is ten times as large as in 1949.

Nearly 4,000 students have graduated from the NAC in the past 13 years. This is 2.6 times as many as all the graduates of the previous 16 pre-liberation years. Every graduate is placed by the People's Government in a post suited to his or her abilities in Shensi or other provinces. Some are teaching and doing research work in schools and scientific institutes, but the majority hold technical posts in the machine and tractor stations, agro-technical stations and other units of the national network of rural technical organizations and institutions.

These graduates have big achievements to their credit in many fields—in improving seed strains, in protecting the crops against pests, soil amelioration and irrigation and in increasing output in general—worthy products of the Northwest Agricultural College which will soon be celebrating its 30th anniversary.

LITERATURE

Do China's Farmers Like Novels?

Do China's peasants enjoy reading novels? If they do, what's their preference? How about short stories? What should be done to serve the peasants better in the literary line? To answer these questions the Union of Chinese Writers last December sent a team to make a survey in Tinghsing, Wangtu and Tanghsien, three rural counties in Hopei Province. In a recent issue, *Wenyi Bao* (Literary Gazette), a leading magazine of literary and art criticism, published the findings of the team: Chinese peasants like novels very much.

The report says: "Tinghsing is an outstanding example. A wide variety of cultural activities are a regular feature of local life. There are frequent performances of *pingju*, the local-style opera, story-telling and *quyi* balladry (ballad singing with musical accompaniment), exhibitions on many subjects, blackboard and wall newspapers. . . . The county cultural centre has a reading room well stocked with books. Good novels are in constant circulation. Some of the most popular have not returned to the shelves for years but go literally from hand to hand. Describing the popularity of fiction in his village, Li Hui, member of Pingwang People's Commune in Yuncheng Township, told us: 'After the autumn harvest, we have story-telling almost every afternoon. The old people love old stories like *Tales From the Liaotsai Studio*, *Water Margin*, *Swords of the Three Knights-Errant*. The young people prefer stories taken from modern novels, like *The Hero Scout Yang Tsuyung Defeats the Bandit-Tinker in a Battle of Wits*, a chapter from *Tracks in the Snowy Forest*.* Sometimes the story-telling goes on till nearly midnight and still no one wants to leave!' Wang Ko-hsuan of south Chihho Village in Tinghsien told us: 'Electri-

* *Tracks in the Snowy Forest*, by Chu Po, was first published in 1958. Set in 1946 in the northeast, it describes how a detachment of P.L.A. men round up a band of brigands and Kuomintang agents in the depths of the forests. In its first year of publication, it sold more than a million copies and since then has never gone off the best-seller list.

fication has come to our village. There are some 50 radio sets here. When it's time to tune in for the reading of the novel *Red Crag*,* which is being serialized, you'll find an eager audience gathered in front of each set.' These were no isolated cases. We found things very much the same in all the places we visited. It's certainly most heartening."

The team found that the novels most popular among the peasants generally have the following characteristics: 1. They're militant and inspiring; packed with fascinating incidents; 2. They're written in popular language, racy and easy to understand; 3. Their characters are well-conceived and are full of vitality, the breath of real life.

Novels on contemporary themes have a big readership in the countryside and so too do the great classical novels. Editions of both are quickly sold out. Modern or classical, all good novels have the good fortune of being passed swiftly from hand to hand. For this reason, the villagers asked the interviewers to take a message to the publishers: "Print novels on extra sturdy paper with strong covers—and we are quite willing to pay the extra cost!"

Short story writers like Chao Shuli, Li Chun, and Ma Feng enjoy a great popularity in the countryside; all three are well known for their earthy language and their superb portrayal of country people. But compared with novels, short stories in general are less widely read in the villages.

The survey points out that it is not that rural readers do not like short stories, but that

* *Red Crag*, by Lo Kuang-pin and Yang Yi-yen, appeared in 1961. It deals with the bitter struggle waged on the eve of Chungking's liberation by the political prisoners in the Kuomintang-U.S. concentration camps. It has already sold more than three million copies, and been adapted for the stage in more than a dozen versions including modern drama and local operas.

not enough has been done to bring this type of fiction to them in more accessible forms. Those which have been reprinted in *Renmin Ribao*, *Zhongguo Qingnian Bao* (Chinese Youth Gazette), and in the provincial and local press, the team found, are widely known and discussed by the villagers, a fact leading the investigators to suggest the publication of anthologies of short stories selected specially with rural audiences in mind.

The survey attributes the popularity of fiction to the literacy campaign that has been so energetically carried out in the countryside, and to swift spread of primary and middle school education in the villages. The return of intellectuals to the farm, in a campaign that has taken on a larger scale in the last few years, has also played no small role in this.

Alongside its report, *Wenyi Bao* published an article by its deputy editor-in-chief Hou Chin-ching, a well-known literary critic, in which he put forward a number of suggestions based on the interviewers' findings. One of these is how to cater to the traditional village custom of listening to story-tellers, especially of those old people who have still not been embraced by the literacy campaign. "A good start has been made



During a Work-Break — Woodcut by Chu Ming-kang

in Shanghai," said the article. "Recently, the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Youth League has helped to train 300 storytellers from villages on its outskirts."

MUSIC

Cuban Conductor Mantici in Peking

The guest appearance of Gonzalez Mantici, conductor of the State Philharmonic Society of Cuba, with the Symphony Orchestra of the Central Philharmonic Society of China was a memorable musical event in Peking. It was memorable not only because it introduced Peking concert-goers to contemporary Cuban orchestral music which, rich in national flavour, reflects the patriotic sentiments of the Cuban people, but also because it was a splendid demonstration of the militant friendship between the Chinese and Cuban peoples and their artists.

In addition to the standard concert items such as Brahms' *First Symphony*, Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique* and a dazzling performance of Liszt's *First Piano Concerto* with the young Chinese pianist Liu Shih-kun as soloist, Mantici's concerts also featured a number of contemporary Cuban works.

In *Memory of Frank Pais*, written last year by Harold Gramatges, currently Cuban Ambassador to Paris, is dedicated to a revolutionary who gave his life in 1957 in the fight against the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. A deeply moving piece, it makes fine use of folk melodies. The three little poems *The East*, *The Street Hawker's Cry* and *Negro Festival* by Amadeo Roldan, one of the best known contemporary Cuban composers, aroused great interest. Roldan, in his time, was active in the struggle for the independence and liberation of his country. His works, marrying Cuban folklore and art to modern symphonic forms, have such a strong national colour that a contemporary of his described them as having "awakened the national pride in us Cubans." Mantici's reading of these three compositions was at once restrained and penetrating. In the case of such genre works, it is easy for a conductor to sacrifice their quiet charm for bravura orchestral colour and effect. But

with deep understanding Mantici treated them just right—they were lyrical, without affectation, lively without being strident.

Mantici rendered his own *Street Hawker's Cry and Dance* in a similar spirit. Here as in Chopin's polonaises or Smetana's polkas, the dance form becomes a vehicle for the music filled with an ardent love for the motherland. This is a modest work, but it shows Mantici as a composer striding forward along the path of modern Cuban orchestral music so brilliantly pioneered by Roldan.

The last concert, given on March 7, may well be called a concert of friendship. Mantici conducted the Central Philharmonic in Ma Sze-tsung's *Longing for Home* and *Mongolian Dance*; he also led China's youngest orchestra—the orchestra of the middle school attached to the Central Conservatory of Music—in selections from the ballet *Maid of the Sea* by Wu Tsu-chiang and Tu Ming-hsin. In a spirit of reciprocity, Han Chung-chieh, conductor of the Central Philharmonic, took over the baton in a performance of the Cuban works given in earlier concerts.

Adding fresh animation to the occasion, soprano Liu Shu-fang, the Central Philharmonic Society's soloist, sang the popular Cuban song *Sibone* and *A Child in Havana* by the Chinese song-writer Chieh Fu. The climax was reached when the chorus of the Central Philharmonic Society sang four revolutionary songs accompanied by the orchestra under Mantici. They were: *The 26th of July*, *Freedom and Peace Can Only Be Had by Crushing the Tyrant*, *Song of the Guerrillas* by Mantici (effectively accompanied by a single snare drum) and *On the Taihang Mountains* by the late Chinese composer Hsien Hsin-hai—all sung in Chinese.

SPORTS

World Table Tennis Championships

China's top-notch men and women players have arrived in Prague to participate in the 27th World Table Tennis Championships to be held on April 5-14 in the Czechoslovak capital. Led by Jung Kao-tang, Vice-Presi-

dent of the All-China Athletic Federation, the team comprises 16 men and 12 women.

Two years ago, when the 26th World Championships were held in Peking, Chinese players scored tremendous successes. They captured the men's team championship, and both the men's and women's singles titles. This year they will defend their titles and be out to win further honours. With Japan, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other countries throughout the world fielding strong teams, it is to be expected that competition will be keen and tough at the Prague Championships.

Defending the Swaythling Cup (men's team championship) for China are: Chuang Tse-tung, reigning world singles champion; Li Fu-jung, 1961 world singles runner-up; Hsu Ying-sheng and Chang Hsieh-lin, 1961 singles semi-finalists; and Wang Chia-sheng, a 1961 men's doubles semi-finalist.

Representing China in the Corbillon Cup (women's team championship) competitions are: Chiu Chung-hui, reigning world singles champion; Wang Chien, a 1961 world singles semi-finalist; Sun Mei-ying, who with Chiu Chung-hui was a runner-up in the 1961 women's doubles; and Liang Li-chen, a 1961 women's doubles semi-finalist.

Among other members of the Chinese team contending for honours in the individual events are Jung Kuo-tuan, who captured the men's singles title for the first time for China at Dortmund in 1959, and Ti Hsiang-hua, who won the women's consolation matches during the 1961 World Championships.

SHORT NOTES

Hungarian Acrobats in Peking. The acrobatic troupe of the international prize winning Hungarian Circus gave a sparkling first-night performance in Peking last Friday to a capacity crowd of 15,000 at the Workers' Gymnasium. Chinese Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi was among those who went into the ring after the show to congratulate the performers. In this and subsequent shows in the capital the Hungarian artistes won round after round of applause for their superb acts on the flying trapeze and on the tight rope, and in juggling, tumbling, gymnastics and clowning. The thrilling finale of

six aerial acrobats performing on a tall pole spinning on its axis brought the house down. After six performances in Peking, the troupe led by Nagy Endre has left for a tour of Shanghai, Nanking and other cities.

"Revolutionary Cartoons of the Paris Commune." To mark the 92nd anniversary of the Paris Commune which fell on March 18, Peking's People's Art Publishing House has put out a Chinese edition of the collection of revolutionary cartoons of the Paris Commune published by the Soviet artists in Moscow.

The album contains 83 cartoons by 27 artists of the Commune period. They are divided into five sections

according to subjects and chronological order: "On the Eve of the Commune," "The Revolution of March 18," "The Paris Commune in Action," "The Commune and Religion" and "The Struggle Against Versailles."

There was a prolific output of cartoons during the Commune period. Many were printed as broadsheets to be stuck on street walls or for display in shop windows. Some were published in serial form. They were immensely popular among the masses. The present volume aims to introduce the most significant of these works to readers while adequately representing the outstanding cartoonists of the time.

New Theatre Magazine for Peasants. *Little Theatre*, a new pocket-size magazine, has just appeared in Shanghai. Published at irregular intervals, it offers a wide choice of stage material: short operas in different local styles, comic skits and other small stage items, new songs, ballads and folk songs. The first issue contains a score of such pieces chosen from several hundreds recommended by cultural centres in Shanghai and Kiangsu Province, where that city is located, and the neighbouring province of Chekiang. They are all works by amateur worker- or peasant-writers. Some of the simplest items are easily performed during a work-break concert.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Chairman Liu Shao-chi sent a message of greetings to King Frederik IX of Denmark on March 10 on the occasion of His Majesty's birthday and Denmark's National Day.

An agreement on exchange of information was signed in Vientiane on March 11 between the Hsinhua News Agency of China and the Laotian Ministry of Information, Publicity and Tourism.

China was represented at the preliminary conference of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference and the I.O.J. presidium session in Indonesia by a two-man delegation which returned to Peking on March 14.

The China-Latin America Friendship Association gave a party in Peking on March 15 to celebrate the third anniversary of its founding.

A shipment of 50,000 blankets—a gift from the Chinese Government and people to the Algerian Government and people—was handed over at a ceremony held at the port of Algiers on March 14. Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy Hsien Yi handed the gift over to Bourboune, representing the Algerian Government.

The mass murder of Communists and other progressives by the Iraqi authorities has stirred the Chinese people to bitter indignation. The China Peace Committee, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and other popular or-

ganizations have issued appeals calling on the Iraqi Government to put an end to such atrocities.

Chinese public opinion has also denounced U.S. imperialism for using poisonous chemicals to kill the south Vietnamese people. Throughout recent weeks Chinese people's organizations have been issuing angry statements denouncing this new crime of the U.S. aggressors.

Between 21:04 hours on March 16 and 03:38 hours on March 17, a U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters east of Paichuan in Fukien Province.

The spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry has issued the 235th serious warning against this naval provocation.

Marshal Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, sent a message of greetings to General Z. Lkhagvasulen, Minister of People's Army Affairs of Mongolia and Commander of the Mongolian People's Army, on the 42nd anniversary of Mongolia's Army Day.

Chinese film weeks were held in various cities in North Sumatra, Indonesia, during the first half of March.

Professor Wu Chieh-ping and other medical experts left Indonesia for home on March 19. They were received by President Sukarno on March 17.

A goods exchange protocol for 1963 between China and Mongolia was signed in Ulan Bator on March 18. In accor-

dance with its terms, China will supply Mongolia with silks and satins, machines and other equipment, chemicals and daily necessities. Mongolia will supply China with horses, butter and other livestock products.

Premier Chou En-lai sent a message greeting the opening of the Conference of African Local Authorities in Accra on March 20. A delegation of Chinese municipal officials led by Feng Chi-ping, Vice-Mayor of Peking, attended the meeting.

The 1963 executive plan for implementation of the Sino-Bulgarian Cultural Co-operation Agreement was signed in Peking on March 20.

Premier Chou En-lai received Korean Ambassador to China Han Ik Soo on March 19. The Korean Ambassador presented to Premier Chou a copy of the feature film, *The Red Propagandist*, on behalf of the collective of the Korean State Art Film Studio, which produced the film.

After a cordial talk, Premier Chou En-lai and the Ambassador had dinner together, and later in the evening saw the film.

The instruments of ratification of the Sino-Mongolian Boundary Treaty signed in Peking on December 26, 1962, were exchanged in Ulan Bator on March 25.

The instruments were signed by Hsieh Fu-sheng, Chinese Ambassador to the People's Republic of Mongolia, and S. Sosorbaram, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia.

Quality Tyres

WHITE SIDE WALL

Warrior Tyres



EXPORTED BY
CHINA NATIONAL CHEMICALS IMPORT & EXPORT CORP.
SHANGHAI BRANCH

27 Chung Shan Road, E. I. Shanghai, China. Cable Address "SINOCHEMIS" Shanghai