

# PEKING REVIEW

20

May 17, 1963

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報

## As Comrades and Brothers Meet

Chairman Liu Shao-chi in Viet Nam (p. 6).

## Yugoslav Revisionism Exposed

1. *Renmin Ribao* analyses new Yugoslav constitution (p. 11).
2. *Harian Rakjat* refutes Yugoslav revisionists' slanders against the Communist Party of Indonesia (p. 13).

## Economic Independence—Foundation Of Political Independence

Editorial of *Rodong Shinmoon*, organ of the Korean Workers' Party (p. 15).

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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

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## CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES	
As Comrades and Brothers Meet — Su Min	6
Chairman Liu Shao-chi's Speech at Hanoi	9
What the New Yugoslav Constitution Means — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator	11
<i>Harian Rakjat</i> Refutes Yugoslav Revisionist Clique	13
Economic Independence — Foundation of Political Independence — <i>Rodong Shinmoon's</i> Editorial	15
Random Thoughts on "Random Village" (Pen Probes)	16
So This Is Washington (Pen Probes)	17
Correspondence Schools in China — Chou Li-fang	21
Tibet's Rich Harvests, 1959-62 — Li Tsung-hai	23
ROUND THE WORLD	18
DRAMA	26

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## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

● The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam gave Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his party a grand welcome typical of the militant, fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples.

● Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, received Soviet Ambassador to China S.V. Chervonenko. Teng Hsiao-ping and Peng Chen will head the C.P.C. delegation to Moscow for the Sino-Soviet Party talks.

● *Renmin Ribao* on May 10 published an analytical review under the heading of "The Tito Group's New Constitution — Further Development of the Revisionist Programme" and a commentary on Yugoslavia's new constitution.

The Chinese press reprinted an article from *Akahata*, organ of the Japanese Communist Party, entitled "Why Does Yugoslavia Change Its State Name?" The article showing up Yugoslav revisionism is by Junichiro Ide.

The Chinese press last week also carried excerpts of a speech of Njoto, Second Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, made on the occasion of the 145th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx. He rebuked the Tito clique for spreading pessimism and capitulationism.

● The Chinese frontier guards in Tibet released and repatriated another 450 captured Indian military personnel on the northern side of Bang Pass on May 10.

● The Chinese People's Liberation Army is in the news. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party recently promulgated the "Regulations Governing Political Work in the P.L.A." The title of "The Good 8th Company on Nanking Road" has been awarded to a unit in Shanghai by the Defence Ministry for consistently upholding the proletarian revolutionary tradition of plain living and hard struggle.

### Talks Between Chinese and Soviet Parties

Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on May 9 received Soviet Ambassador to China S. V. Chervonenko and had a talk with him regarding the question of the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties.

Vice-Chairman Chou En-lai asked Comrade Chervonenko to convey to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party that Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.C., and Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.C., would lead a delegation to Moscow for the talks between the two Parties. The Central Committee of the C.P.C. also

proposed that the date for the talks be changed to mid-June this year.

Chou En-lai also told the Soviet Ambassador that a reply to the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. dated March 30 would be sent later.

Later, on May 14, Yang Shang-kun, Alternate Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.C., received Comrade Chervonenko. He asked the Soviet Ambassador to inform the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. that the Chinese Party agreed to change the date for the talks between the two Parties to July 5, as proposed by the Central Committee of the Soviet Party.

### New Delhi's Fabrication

Since the first group of Chinese nationals in India came home last month and let the world know some of the horrifying details of the persecution of Chinese nationals by the

Indian Government, New Delhi has started a propaganda campaign in an attempt to cover up its outrages against these innocent people. On April 30, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indian Minister of Home Affairs, himself tried some whitewashing. He said that the Chinese internees "had been looked after very well and given all necessary facilities," and claimed that "we have a fairly good reputation in this regard throughout the world."

Citing one example of "good treatment," he said, "Each family of internees was allowed to take the equivalent of fifty pounds (666 rupees). This was a special concession not allowed to other persons leaving the country." But the victimized Chinese said last week, "This is a sheer fraud on the part of the Indian Government."

In an interview with a Hsinhua correspondent they pointed out that the Indian Government had in fact issued an order forbidding all Chinese nationals to sell and handle their own property and freezing their bank deposits; Chinese residents were deprived of all their gold jewellery and valuables by repeated searches of the person after they had been shut up in the concentration camps.

"When all our property had been plundered by the Indian authorities how could we still afford to get so much as 50 pounds in foreign exchange?" they queried.

Some of them, they said, did receive remittances from relatives or friends after they had entered the concentration camps. But the Indian authorities ruled that all internees must "deposit" their money with the camp authorities. This turned out to be another trick of the Indian Government. As returned Chinese formerly interned at the Deoli concentration camp recalled, the Indian authorities announced on April 7, two days before their departure for China, that internees could draw a maximum of 660 rupees in foreign exchange from their deposits—this meant that beyond that limit nothing would be returned. Furthermore, only a few of the Chinese internees succeeded in drawing such a sum—49 pounds (the other pound was deducted by the camp authorities for some unknown reason) and most of those who had deposited remittances got nothing back at all!

The returned Chinese told the Chinese press that more than 95 per cent of the 227 families which had returned to China had been robbed in one way or another by the Indian Government. Some of them were left penniless.

Shastri claimed that the Chinese nationals had "all arrangements for their comfort" provided for by the Indian Government. He said that "they were taken to Madras by special train" with "adequate accommodation, sanitation, meals and medical attention on the way," and that "rations on a liberal scale were sent with the train and arrangements for cooking were made in a kitchen car attached to the train."

The facts were, according to the returned Chinese, that all the victimized Chinese, including the sick and the children, were jammed into third class carriages, six persons to a bench, with many sitting in the aisles, throughout a journey which lasted three days and four nights.

The rice given them was never washed before cooking, and was often burnt or half-cooked. There was no drinking water on the train. The returnees had to drink the water from the taps in the lavatories. And when this was exhausted they were left to suffer from thirst. There was no proper medical attention. The doctor on the train showed up only once, when the train reached Madras—and that was for the news photographers.

The Indian Minister also claimed that the Chinese internees "were allowed to carry personal and household effects." But the returned Chinese pointed out that the personal and movable effects of the majority of the Chinese nationals interned were either sealed up or seized by the Indian Government or looted by hooligans after their arrest. "We were robbed of almost everything, what was there left for us to carry?" they asked.

In the light of all this, *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator last week asked, "What sort of criteria would be left for the conduct of international relations, if such a government as that of India's which arrests large numbers of nationals of another country with which it is not in a state of war, throws them into concentration camps and treats them so brutally,

could be said to enjoy 'a fairly good reputation'?"

## Czechoslovak National Day

Chinese Communist Party and government leaders last week sent a message to the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and Government greeting the 18th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia.

Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic Tung Pi-wu and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and other Chinese officials attended the National Day reception given by the Czechoslovak Ambassador to China Josef Sedivy on May 9.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said at the reception, "Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and people have always firmly and unswervingly defended the unity of the socialist camp and will continue to make their contribution to this end."

## More Post and Telegraph Services

Postal and telecommunication services have been greatly extended throughout the country in the past few years. A recent survey shows that, compared to 1957, the total length of postal routes and telecommunication lines in China today has increased by nearly 55 per cent.

Telephone lines now link up 95.8 per cent of the rural people's communes. Postal routes, totalling 2.7 million kilometres in length, have spread to almost every part of the country, with the exception of a few remote areas. Postal services reach down direct to practically every people's commune and production brigade across the land.

This is in sharp contrast to the situation before liberation. In the old days, most of the post and telegraph offices were located in the cities in the coastal areas; no county further inland had, if it had any at all, more than one or two such offices. There is an average of about ten post offices per county today.

Chinghai and Tibet in northwest and southwest China respectively, are good examples of the progress made. With an area of 700,000 square kilometres, Chinghai had only five post offices and one telegraph office before liberation. Now the province has 230 such offices serving the

people. In Tibet, too, where vast areas were completely without postal and telecommunication services, every city and county now has its own post office, and postal routes there total 16,000 kilometres.

The extension of postal and telecommunication services is a big help to agriculture and other branches of the national economy. Post and telegraph offices, for example, are an important channel for relaying the daily weather forecasts and the meteorological data needed to make them. Through them, the rural people's communes and all departments concerned receive timely warnings about sudden weather changes as well as regular information on rainfall, water flow, water levels and the regulation of sluice-gates which help to control rivers in spate or to combat drought. Priority is given to cables carrying weather forecasts and data. This makes it possible to collect the daily meteorological records from all parts of the country in less than an hour.

The post offices are also playing an increasingly important part in bringing the Communist Party's directives and policies and the announcements of the People's Government to the doorsteps of the commune members. Half of the subscribers to the 2,000 and more newspapers and periodicals they handle every day are in the rural areas. Such a situation was inconceivable in the past with its mass illiteracy in the countryside.

### **Tehung Autonomous Chou Forges Ahead**

Gay celebrations marked the recent tenth anniversary of the Tehung Tai-Chingpo Autonomous Chou in Yunnan Province, southwest China. It was holiday time for the minority peoples of the *chou*, an administrative unit which embraces several counties, and thousands turned out in their colourful national costumes to take part in the celebrations in subtropical Mangshih, the capital of the area.

Situated in the western part of multi-national Yunnan, the Tehung Autonomous Chou is rich in tropical and subtropical products. It is inhabited by 1.6 million people of Tai, Chingpo, Han, Achang, Penglung, Lisu, Hui, Yi, Miao and several other minority nationalities.

The inhabitants of the Tehung Autonomous Chou had much to celebrate. In the ten years since its establishment, the minority peoples here, led by the Chinese Communist Party, have successfully carried through the democratic reforms, and are now pressing ahead with socialist transformation and socialist construction. They have made great progress in every field of their activities.

**Agriculture.** People's communes have been set up in areas of the *chou* inhabited by the Han people, while socialist co-operation of an elementary type is the basis of the farming economy of the minority peoples. A great deal of water conservancy work has been undertaken in the *chou*. Nearly 80 irrigation projects of varying sizes and 66 small power plants were built since 1958. These and better farming methods have increased farm output. Compared to 1952, grain output in 1962 increased by 33 per cent; cotton, 80 per cent; tea, 63 per cent. There have been increases ranging from 40 to more than 100 per cent in the number of draught animals, pigs and sheep.

**Industry and Education.** Before liberation, the Tehung area had practically no industry at all. Now there are scores of factories and workshops in various parts of the *chou*. These include sugar refineries and food-processing plants. There are 12 times as many national minority industrial workers today as there were ten years ago.

With this general improvement in the economic situation, education has developed too. In this remote border area, over 90 per cent of the population were illiterate before liberation. Now practically every district has a primary school and every county has a middle school. The *chou* today boasts some 1,700 primary schools with 124,000 pupils, and 20 middle schools with an enrolment of thousands of students of the various nationalities studying agronomy, forestry, medicine and other sciences.

To assist the spread of education among the minority peoples, many teachers have come here from other parts of the country. Some of the leading philologists of the country have worked together with the local people to reform the written lan-

guages of the Tai, Chingpo and Lisu peoples.

Large numbers of cadres have come to the fore from among the minority peoples. They have received modern administrative, technical and scientific training. Thousands of them are working in various posts today, promoting socialist construction in their home counties where a little more than a decade ago feudal serfdom still existed.

### **Crop Protection**

Crop protection was the topic of discussion at a recent national conference called in Peking by the Ministry of Agriculture. Scientists and leading cadres of agricultural departments came together to devise ways and means of combating crop diseases and insect pests as an important means of raising farm output.

The conference reviewed last year's work in crop protection and pronounced it in general better than in 1960-61. The rice-producing provinces in the southern parts of the country reported that rice borers had been kept successfully under control. On the eastern coast, Kiangsu and Chekiang Provinces effectively used pesticides to combat rice borers on a larger area in 1962 than in any previous year. In the provinces of Shantung, Honan, Hopei and elsewhere in north China, both ground and aerial spraying of insecticides gave successful results in combating locusts and other insect pests.

According to the conference, the major task this year is to combat crop diseases and insect pests in the grain- and cotton-producing centres in order to keep crop losses to a minimum and ensure a good harvest. Measures have also been worked out to stamp out pink cotton boll worms and wheat smut, and to combat the attacks of insects on fruit-growing areas and market gardens around cities.

The conference stressed the principle of combining prevention with cure, with the emphasis on prevention. Armed with the experience gained in the past few years, with special pest reconnaissance stations set up in all parts of the country on the lookout to report the onset of insect pests or plant diseases, and with more insecticides and equipment available, conference participants are confident of even greater success this year.

# As Comrades and Brothers Meet

by SU MIN

**L**IU SHAO-CHI, Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, arrived in Hanoi on May 10 for a friendship visit at the invitation of Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and President of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party. He was accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit was a happy occasion for both the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. It was also a major event in the relations between the two countries and the two Parties of China and Viet Nam.

China and Viet Nam are neighbours who, as the Chinese saying goes, are as close to each other as lips and teeth. The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are brothers sharing each other's weal and woe. As fighters against imperialism and builders of socialism, they always stand shoulder to shoulder with each other. Their friendship, firmly built on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is unbreakable.

## Grand, Comradely Welcome

As the Chinese public followed with the keenest interest Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit, the Vietnamese people gave their distinguished Chinese guests a massive welcome graphically expressive of the comradeship-in-arms linking the two lands of socialism.

Hanoi, the capital, was gaily decorated for the occasion. The flags of Viet Nam and China fluttered side by side. All newspapers carried editorials, many special articles and pictures hailing the visit and acclaiming China's achievements and Vietnamese-Chinese friendship. Meetings were held in government and people's organizations, schools and factories to hear reports by those Vietnamese who have visited China recently or who had taken part in China's revolutionary struggles in the past. Chinese films were shown in the cinemas. Theatres prepared special programmes in honour of the occasion. A stream of welcome messages flowed to the Chinese Embassy.

In factories, Vietnamese workers decorated their workshops with welcome banners, festoons and slogans. Emulation drives were initiated in honour of the visit. Chinese experts working there also joined in the emulation to contribute more to the building of socialism in Viet Nam.

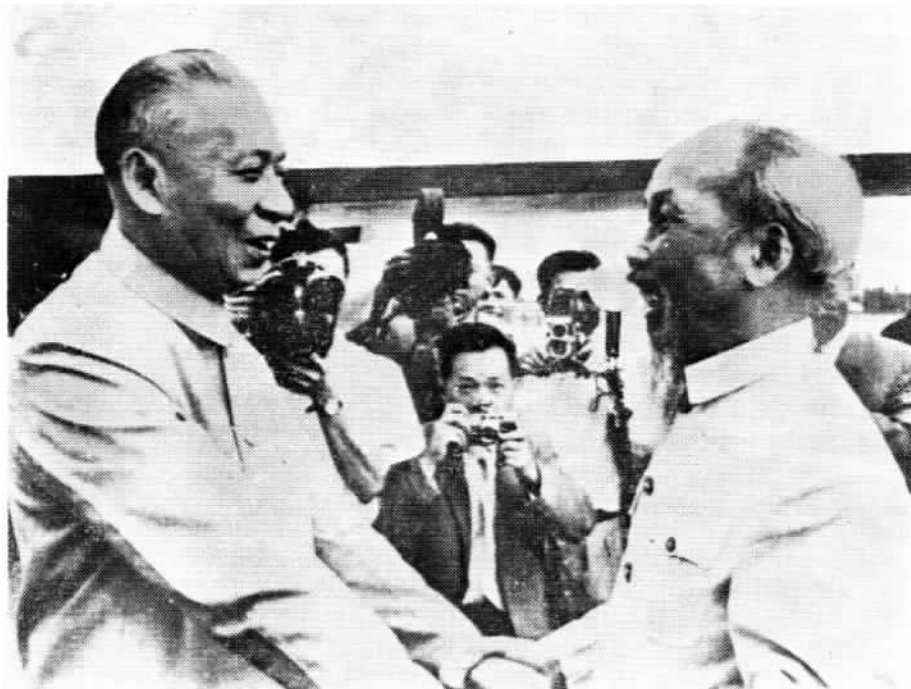
Hoang Minh Giam, Chairman of the Vietnamese Reception Committee and Minister of Culture, flew to China's Kunming specially to welcome Chairman Liu Shao-chi.

The Gia Lam airport and the whole city of Hanoi were enveloped in an atmosphere of Vietnamese-Chinese comradeship on the day of the guests' arrival. When Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Vice-Premier Chen Yi alighted from their plane, President Ho Chi Minh warmly embraced them. Present at the airport were other leaders of the Vietnamese Party and state as well as many ranking officials.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Ho Chi Minh then rode in an open car to the Presidential House. They were cheered by more than 200,000 people assembled along the ten-kilometre route. The joyous crowds, among whom were battle-tested men of the People's Army, Young Pioneers with their flaming red scarves and women dressed in their national-style bright silk gowns, showered fresh flower petals on the guests. Band music and traditional lion dances performed by the welcomers accentuated the popular rejoicing.

The profound feeling of brotherhood which motivated this mass welcome, also found expression in the public speeches of the Chinese and Vietnamese leaders.

Speaking at a state banquet in honour of Chairman Liu Shao-chi, President Ho Chi Minh praised the successes



President Ho Chi Minh (right) warmly greets Chairman Liu Shao-chi at the Hanoi airport

in revolution and socialist construction China has scored under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. He expressed thanks for China's support and assistance to Viet Nam.

The President spoke highly of China's contributions to the cause of anti-imperialism, peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. He reiterated support for the Chinese struggle to liberate Taiwan and said that China's lawful place in the United Nations should be restored. He upheld China's correct stand on the Sino-Indian boundary question.

Analysing the current favourable international situation and the imperialist schemes, President Ho Chi Minh pointed out that the world's people must sharpen their vigilance, concentrate their efforts, resolutely prevent imperialism from unleashing a war, and defend peace.

The Vietnamese people's brotherly affection for China again manifested itself at a mass rally held by 200,000 Hanoi citizens in honour of Chairman Liu Shao-chi. Tran Duy Hung, chairman of the city's administrative committee, paid warm tribute to China when speaking on that occasion. He said that as a powerful member of the socialist camp, the Chinese Government and people had always worked indefatigably for the development of relations of friendship and fraternal co-operation with the other socialist countries in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism. They had always held aloft the banner of struggle against the aggressive and bellicose imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism—the international gendarme, the most dangerous enemy of the peoples of the world, and the enemy of freedom and peace. They had extended constant support to the national-liberation movement and given strong inspiration to the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggles for independence and freedom, Tran Duy Hung said.

### **Warm, Fraternal Greetings**

Chairman Liu Shao-chi, in his speeches both at the state banquet and the mass rally, conveyed the Chinese people's warm, fraternal greetings to their Vietnamese brothers. He said:

The great achievements in socialist transformation and socialist construction in the northern part of Viet Nam, the continuous successes of the Vietnamese people in their sacred struggle for reunification of their fatherland, the efforts and contributions made by Viet Nam in carrying out the 1962 Geneva agreements and safeguarding peace in Indo-China, the increasing prestige of Viet Nam in international affairs—all these are evidence that the Vietnamese people is a heroic people, that the general line of



**More than 200,000 people lining the streets of Hanoi cheer Chairman Liu Shao-chi accompanied by President Ho Chi Minh**

the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam guiding their domestic and foreign policies is correct. The strength of the masses of the people is invincible. Under the guidance of a correct revolutionary line, this great strength will surely overcome any obstacle on the road of progress and accomplish earth-shaking feats.

The Vietnamese people have a glorious revolutionary tradition. Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party headed by President Ho Chi Minh, they won victory in the August (1945) Revolution after many years of hard struggle. This victory made a breach in the imperialist front in Southeast Asia and set a brilliant example for all oppressed nations. Then, for another nine years, they fought heroically against the U.S.-supported French colonialists and eventually defeated them in 1954 when the Geneva conference restored peace in Indo-China. In the years since then, the Vietnamese people have waged a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism. Standing firmly at the southeastern outpost of the socialist camp, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has made outstanding contributions to safeguarding the peaceful construction of this camp and to upholding peace in Southeast Asia and, indeed, in Asia and the whole world.

The Vietnamese people have also proved themselves to be excellent builders of socialism. Within three short years after the restoration of peace in 1954, the people in north Viet Nam healed the ravages of war and completed land reform. From 1958 to 1960 they triumphantly fulfilled their Three-Year Plan, and carried out socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. Now they are successfully implementing their magnificent First Five-Year (1961-65) Plan in order to advance to socialism quickly, vigorously and steadily.

In that part of Viet Nam south of the 17th Parallel, the people are fighting against the U.S. invaders and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. Their intrepid struggle has daunted the aggressive arrogance of U.S. imperialism and

## Chairman Liu Shao-chi in Viet Nam

**May 10.** Flying to Hanoi from China's Kunming, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Vice-Premier Chen Yi receive a rousing welcome upon their arrival. They are greeted at the airport by President Ho Chi Minh and other Party and state leaders of Viet Nam. Over 200,000 Hanoi citizens turn out to cheer them.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Ho Chi Minh exchange calls.

Accompanied by President Ho Chi Minh, Chairman Liu Shao-chi lays a wreath at the Martyrs Tomb in the suburbs of Hanoi.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi receives President Hoang Quoc Viet, and other leaders, of the Viet Nam-China Friendship Association.

President Ho Chi Minh, the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the National Assembly and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front jointly give a grand state banquet at the Presidential House in honour of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his party.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi receives representatives of Chinese residents in Viet Nam.

Wang Kuang-mei, wife of Chairman Liu Shao-chi, and Chang Chien, wife of Vice-Premier Chen Yi, meet President of the Union of Vietnamese Women Nguyen Thi Thap.

**May 11.** Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, holds talks with Ho Chi Minh, President of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, at the Presidential House.

**May 12.** Over 200,000 workers, peasants, cadres, students and people from different walks of life give a stormy ovation to Chairman Liu Shao-chi at a mass rally in his honour. The Ba Dinh Square, filled with huge crowds holding Vietnamese and Chinese flags on high, looks like a sea of rolling red waves. When Chairman Liu Shao-chi concludes his speech which draws repeated, thunderous applause, the audience shouts: "Wan Sui! Wan Sui! Wan Sui!" "Muon Nam! Muon Nam! Muon Nam!" (Chinese and Vietnamese for "long live!"). At President Ho Chi Minh's suggestion, they sing the song *Unity Is Strength*. Tran Duy Hung, Chairman of Hanoi City Administrative Committee, presents Chairman Liu Shao-chi with a streamer inscribed in golden letters: "May Viet Nam-China Solidarity Be Everlasting!"

Chairman Liu Shao-chi gives a dinner party in the Chinese Embassy in honour of President Ho Chi Minh.

Madame Liu Shao-chi and Madame Chen Yi call on Vietnamese women leaders.

**May 13.** Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Ho Chi Minh visit the scenic Tay Ho Lake in Hanoi where they spend the afternoon chatting at the lakeside.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, accompanied by Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong, visits Hanoi's Tran Hung Dao Engineering Works.

**May 14.** Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, holds talks with Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, at the Presidential House.

President Ho Chi Minh gives a dinner party in honour of Chairman Liu Shao-chi. Hosts and guests attend a concert.

provided yet another brilliant example for all oppressed peoples seeking emancipation.

In his speeches, Chairman Liu Shao-chi extolled these achievements of the Vietnamese people. He strongly reaffirmed China's support for their patriotic and just struggle against U.S. imperialism, and expressed firm conviction that this struggle will finally be crowned with victory.

Speaking at the Hanoi mass rally, Chairman Liu Shao-chi also made an analysis of the present international situation (the relevant parts from the speech are carried on p. 9).

With regard to China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, Chairman Liu Shao-chi told his audience that the Chinese people, while scoring a series of great victories over the past few years, also met with difficulties as a result of serious natural disasters and other causes. Now, Chairman Liu Shao-chi said, "The Chinese people have in the main overcome these difficulties. Things for us are getting better with each passing day on all fronts of our national economy." The Chinese people continued to hold aloft the three red banners—the general line for building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's commune, and were striving to develop further the socialist revolution and socialist construction in their country.

"In the light of our own experience," Chairman Liu Shao-chi stated, "class struggle is inevitable in the his-

torical period of transition from capitalism to communism after the seizure of state power by the working class." "The task of the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party is: while engaging in successful socialist construction, it must carry the socialist revolution through to the end on the economic, political, ideological and cultural fronts, and guard against and avert the danger of the restoration of capitalism."

### Abiding, Unbreakable Friendship

Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit was a new milestone in the fraternal relations between China and Viet Nam. These relations, as President Ho Chi Minh has said, are marked by "deep gratitude, fervent loyalty and abiding affection—the spirit of friendship will glow for ever." Chairman Liu Shao-chi, on his part, emphatically stated at the Hanoi mass rally: "The relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation between our two countries are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; they fully conform to the principles guiding relations among fraternal socialist countries, and can withstand the test of all storms. To win victory for our common ideals, common cause and common struggle, the Chinese people will always unite as one and co-operate closely with the brotherly Vietnamese people, and advance with them shoulder to shoulder."



# Chairman Liu Shao-chi's Speech at Hanoi

● Affirming the decisive influence and exemplary role of the socialist camp does not in any way mean replacing or cancelling the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples, nor does it mean replacing or cancelling class struggle in the world arena. The victory of the people of each country can be won only by relying mainly on their own resolute revolutionary struggle.

● The aggressive nature of imperialism will never change. U.S. imperialism is the enemy of world peace and the common foe of all peoples.

● To develop mutual help and co-operation among the socialist countries in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism; to adhere to the policy of peaceful coexistence with countries of different social systems and to strive for peaceful coexistence primarily by waging resolute struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war; to support resolutely the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed nations and peoples—these three aspects are the basic contents of the foreign policy of socialist countries. The foreign policy of socialist countries mustn't be reduced to the single aspect of peaceful coexistence.

● Peaceful coexistence refers to relations between socialist and capitalist countries. It mustn't be stretched to cover relations between oppressed and oppressor nations, or between oppressed and oppressor classes. Peaceful coexistence mustn't be used to abolish the socialist countries' duty of supporting the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples. It is all the more impermissible to use the foreign policy of socialist countries to replace the revolutionary line of the proletariat of various countries and their Parties.

*Following are excerpts from the speech delivered by Chairman Liu Shao-chi at the Hanoi mass rally on May 12. — Ed.*

**T**HE present world situation is excellent. This situation is favourable to the peoples of the world, and not favourable to imperialism and the reactionaries in various countries. It is favourable to the revolutionary struggle and the struggle for maintaining world peace of the peoples of all countries, and not favourable to the aggressive activities and war plots of imperialism. The strength of the countries in the socialist camp has grown greatly. The national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America continue to achieve new successes. The working people in the capitalist world have made new progress in fighting for improved livelihood and democratic rights. The peoples of the world are unfolding an extensive mass movement against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and in defence of world peace. At the same time imperialism is confronted with a daily worsening crisis. The contradictions inherent in imperialism are growing increasingly acute. The imperialist camp is fast disintegrating. U.S. imperialism is more tightly besieged by the revolutionary people of the world. Imperialism and its lackeys in various countries are declining like the setting sun. Socialism and the national-revolutionary movement and people's revolutionary movement it supports are rising like the sun from the eastern

horizon. This is the main trend in the present world situation.

These favourable changes in the world situation are the result of the long and repeated trials of strength and struggles on a worldwide scale between the socialist camp and the people of the world on the one hand and imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys on the other. It is these trials of strength and struggles that have radically changed the international balance of class forces. Supremacy belongs to the socialist camp and the revolutionary people of the world. The combined forces of the socialist camp, the international working-class movement, the national-liberation movement and the peace movement have greatly surpassed those of imperialism and its lackeys.

**T**HE existence and development of the socialist camp have considerably diminished the scope of the rule and activity of imperialism, accelerated the revolutionization of the oppressed nations and peoples, and so have been exercising a decisive influence on the general course of development of world history. The achievement of the socialist countries in their construction, the development of their national economy and their progress in science and technology play a great exemplary role. However, we cannot fail to see that two-thirds of the world population are still under imperialist and capitalist rule. Affirming the decisive influence and exemplary role of the socialist



A section of the mass rally held in Hanoi to welcome Chairman Liu Shao-chi

camp absolutely does not mean replacing or cancelling the revolutionary struggle of oppressed nations and peoples, nor does it mean replacing or cancelling class struggle in the world arena. The victory of the people of each country can be won only by relying mainly on their own resolute revolutionary struggle. We are in the midst of an era of serious and sharp class struggle, as it is well said by Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, in his speech of a high Marxist-Leninist level on the occasion of the eightieth anniversary of the death of Marx.

The aggressive nature of imperialism will never change. U.S. imperialism, in the face of an increasingly unfavourable world situation, is using more adventurist and cunning means to realize its counter-revolutionary global strategy. The Kennedy Administration of the United States talks about peace and disarmament, but actually is frantically expanding armaments for war, making preparations for both nuclear and conventional warfare, and is already fighting "special warfare." Backed by military strength, it pursues aggressive activities everywhere. U.S. imperialism is pushing ahead with neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America by means of armed suppression, political fraud and economic infiltration. Besides engaging in military aggression and war threats against socialist countries, it is intensifying activities of subversion and infiltration, and pursuing a policy of "peaceful evolution," attempting to restore capitalism in these countries. It has never ceased to threaten the Cuban people with war. It continues armed aggression in southern Viet Nam. No sooner were the Geneva agreements on the Laotian question signed than U.S. imperialism colluded with Laotian reactionaries to undermine the unity of the Laotian patriotic forces in an attempt to subvert the Provisional Laotian Government of National Union and rekindle civil war, thus seriously threatening the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos. Innumerable facts have shown that U.S. imperialism is the gendarme suppressing the people's just struggle in various countries, the chief bastion

of modern colonialism, the main force of aggression and war, the enemy of world peace and the common foe of all peoples.

In these circumstances, the socialist countries and the international proletariat must form the closest possible alliance with the oppressed nations and peoples, unite with all forces that can be united, organize and expand the most extensive possible united front against imperialism headed by the United States in order to wage determined and unremitting struggles against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. So long as we uphold unity and persevere in struggle we shall be able to defeat the aggressive activities and war schemes of U.S. imperialism and prevent a new world war, and the people of the world will certainly be able to win final victory in their lofty cause of safeguarding world peace and striving for the progress of mankind.

In order to win a lasting world peace and victory for the socialist cause, the defence and strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is of paramount importance. The primary task for every socialist country and ruling fraternal Party is to develop mutual help and co-operation among the socialist countries in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism. The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement specifically stipulate that the socialist countries must respect each other's independence and sovereignty, treat each other with equality, refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs and co-operate on the basis of mutual benefit and help each other. If these principles are strictly observed instead of being violated, the unity of the socialist camp can certainly be strengthened.

**T**HE socialist countries have always adhered to the policy of peaceful coexistence with countries of different social systems, including the imperialist countries. Obstacles to the realization of peaceful coexistence never come from the side of the socialist countries, but from that of the imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries. In order to realize peaceful coexistence, what is required is, first of all, to carry out resolute struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war, and not to liquidate this struggle, and it is even more impermissible to liquidate the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples.

While building socialism, socialist countries must resolutely support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed nations and peoples. This is their compelling international duty. Wherever there is oppression by imperialism and reactionaries, the people will certainly rise to make revolution. The revolutions of the oppressed nations and peoples constitute a direct ally for the forces of socialism. The relation between the oppressed nations and peoples and the socialist forces is one of flesh and blood, of mutual support and help. The imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries are invariably trying

by all means to cut off this relation of flesh and blood, so that they may stamp out the people's revolutionary movement and, furthermore, to destroy the socialist countries. The great Lenin pointed out time and again: It is the external policy of the proletariat to ally with the revolutionaries in the advanced countries and with the people in the oppressed countries against all the imperialists.

We hold that the three aspects mentioned above constitute the basic contents of the foreign policy of socialist countries. These three aspects are inter-related and indivisible, and none of them can be missing. That is to say, the foreign policy of socialist countries must not be

reduced to the single aspect of peaceful coexistence. Peaceful coexistence refers to relations between socialist countries and capitalist countries. It must not be interpreted at will, or stretched to apply to relations between the oppressed and oppressor nations, or between oppressed and oppressor classes. Peaceful coexistence must not be used to abolish the socialist countries' duty of supporting the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples. It is all the more impermissible to use the foreign policy of socialist countries to replace the revolutionary line of the proletariat of various countries and their Parties.

人民日报  
RENMIN RIBAO

# What the New Yugoslav Constitution Means

by COMMENTATOR

*Following is a translation of the commentary of "Renmin Ribao" published on May 10, 1963, entitled "A Comment on the New Yugoslav Constitution." Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

ON April 7, the Yugoslav National Assembly adopted a new constitution and the Tito group have gone all out to advertise the "socialist" nature of the new constitution, describing it as "a constitution of a socialist state and a socialist society." What is more, they have taken special care in this new constitution to change the name of the state from "the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia" into "the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia." Obviously, they hope in this way to conceal their revisionist features and the fact that capitalism has been restored in Yugoslavia.

But the trick of "selling dog meat while hanging up the sign of a sheep's head" will fool nobody.

In his report on the draft new constitution, Edward Kardelj stated explicitly that the new constitution was "the legal-political and organizational embodiment" of the conceptions elaborated in the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. "The task of our new constitution," he said, "is not to open new ways in principle or to seek certain essentially new forms." For, he explained, "the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has explicitly defined these questions in principle and has determined directions for their solution."

The Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia as described in the Statement of the 1960 Moscow Meeting is an anti-Leninist, revisionist programme. Since the new Yugoslav constitution is the legal

embodiment of that programme is not its nature very clear?

## To Ensure the Restoration of Capitalism

The new constitution defines the Yugoslav state as a "federated socialist community of the working people," a community in which all people are "free and equal" and all are "free and equal producers and creators." In the new constitution the Tito group have thus copied the hypocritical phraseology much used by the bourgeoisie to gloss over with such abstract concepts as "freedom and equality" the reality of class antagonisms in Yugoslav society. In his reports on the new constitution made this year as well as last year, Kardelj stressed again and again that "our society is not divided by antagonistic classes or antagonistic interests," and that "people in the main have interests and aims in common." Furthermore, he repeated the revisionist banality that the "social function at present" of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is not to ensure the dictatorship of the proletariat. "The means of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, namely, the means of the socialist state system, are becoming less and less necessary."

The reality in Yugoslavia, however, is that private ownership of the means of production, the system of exploitation and class antagonism are widespread and exist in great measure. Private holdings of arable land account for over 90 per cent of the total arable acreage. Rich peasant economy dominates the countryside. In the cities, there are large numbers of privately owned industrial enterprises. According to the 1961 statistics, there were more than 115,000 such enterprises and some of them employed a considerable number of workers. What is more important is the fact that the so-called public-owned enter-

prises, or "socially owned" enterprises as the new constitution calls them, have long become capitalist enterprises of a special type.

So it can be seen that the new Yugoslav constitution is actually so framed as to consolidate the system of exploitation in various forms as mentioned above and to make the restoration of capitalism in the country constitutional.

Under the new constitution, the so-called socially owned enterprises enjoy extensive "self-government rights." They have the right of disposition of the means of production and means of labour and the right to distribute the income. They have the right to decide on the exchange of products and services and other questions in the management of enterprises and to decide on the separation, merger and amalgamation of enterprises. This means that the "socially owned" enterprises are to be enabled to continue to develop along capitalist lines.

The new constitution confirms the maximum arable land holding by individual peasants at ten hectares as previously determined by law. This means continued protection for the private ownership of land existing in large measure in agriculture.

Under the new constitution, private individuals may run handicraft shops and services and own means of production. This is continued protection of private ownership in the cities.

The new constitution also stipulates that "the extra labour of other workers may be employed" in agricultural production, handicraft trades and services. This means that wage labour and exploitation are legal in Yugoslavia.

It can be seen from these provisions that the new Yugoslav constitution is not a socialist constitution at all. On the contrary, it is a constitution to protect the restoration of capitalism.

### Serving U.S. Imperialism

The foreign policy of Yugoslavia as defined in the new constitution sheds a luminous light on the true colours of the Tito group as running dogs of U.S. imperialism. In their new constitution, under the signboard of so-called peaceful coexistence and active co-operation, the Tito group negate altogether class struggle in the international arena, negate the antagonism between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, negate the antagonism between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and colonialism on the other.

According to the new constitution the objectives of the foreign policy shaped by the Tito group are the "establishment and development of every form of international co-operation," "comprehensive political, economic and cultural co-operation," "to develop a free community of all the peoples of the world" and so on and so forth. Explaining these provisions, Kardelj said: "Human life at present is leading all nations of the world towards a daily consolidating internal integration," and, "people living in the more advanced stage of the development of productive force and international division of labour are no doubt being united for their new common interests which surpass national boundaries to a daily increasing

extent." From this it is not difficult to see that the so-called free community of all the peoples of the world advertised by the Tito group is in reality "the big community of the free world" by which U.S. imperialism seeks to establish its domination of the world. The so-called integration advertised by the Tito group is in reality the world political and economic "integration" sought by U.S. imperialism, and attached to U.S. monopoly capital.

The new constitution stipulates that Yugoslavia is a "receptive community," which means opening the door to U.S. imperialism, to U.S. imperialist infiltration in the political, economic and cultural spheres. This fully exposes the Tito group for what it is—the willing henchmen of U.S. imperialism.

Everyone knows that the U.S. imperialists have always slandered the socialist countries as "closed societies," advertised the United States as an "open society" and declared their intention to make the socialist countries participate in a "world community made up of open societies." Their objective is very clear, that is, to make the socialist countries give up their revolutionary cause half way and abandon the socialist revolution and socialist construction so that the socialist system will degenerate into the capitalist system and the socialist countries become appendages to U.S. monopoly capital.

The latest events in the relations between the Tito group and U.S. imperialism have further exposed the nature of the Tito group. U.S. Secretary of State Rusk has visited Yugoslavia, and Kennedy and Tito have exchanged letters. The U.S.I.S. considered this as "an important step in strengthening the traditional ties of friendship between the United States and Yugoslavia." Welcoming Rusk, the paper *Borba* of the Tito group stressed that Yugoslavia's policy aims had remained unchanged and that Yugoslavia "has been and still is interested in maintaining lasting good, stable relations with the United States of America." Another Tito-group paper *Politika* said: "Yugoslavia has always showed goodwill to stabilize her relations with the United States of America and to avoid everything impeding or threatening these relations." This most clearly explodes the lie that the Tito group is an "anti-imperialist force." It also proves that they were talking sheer nonsense who consider that the Tito group have shown some repentance and changed their wrong policy.

In framing such a new constitution at this juncture the intention of the Tito group is very obvious. Repeatedly exposed and censured by Marxist-Leninists of various countries, the Titoites now stand more and more revealed as modern revisionists and they are having an ever tougher time. So the Tito group are vainly trying to further hide themselves behind the facade of a "socialist country" so as to continue to peddle their revisionist line, to co-ordinate with U.S. imperialist grand strategy and to step up their criminal activities to undermine the international communist movement and the national-liberation movement.

### Further Exposure of Yugoslav Revisionists

The Statement unanimously endorsed by 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960 correctly points out:

"After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called 'aid' from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries."

The new constitution of Yugoslavia once again proves that the Tito group, renegades to Marxism-Leninism, far

from rectifying their mistakes, have gone further down the road of betrayal. However thickly the Tito group may powder themselves with their "socialism," they cannot cover their true colours as renegades.

The 1960 Statement stipulates: "Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties." Strictly to carry out this stipulation is an inescapable duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. The Chinese Communist Party will, in close unity with all fraternal Parties in the world which adhere to Marxism-Leninism, continue to struggle for the accomplishment of this sacred task.

### International Communist Movement

## "Harian Rakjat" Refutes Yugoslav Revisionist Clique

On April 19, "Harian Rakjat," organ of the Communist Party of Indonesia, carried an article replying to the attack made on the Indonesian Communist Party by "Communist," a weekly published by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The title is: "Yugoslavia's 'Communist' and 'Harian Rakjat's' Reply: According to Yugoslavia, Opposing Imperialism Is 'Short-Sighted' and 'Irresponsible.'" The subtitle is: "They Called the First Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party 'Primitive.'" Below we print the full text of "Harian Rakjat's" article. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

**T**HIS month's *Yugoslav News*, a mimeographed sheet of the Information Department of the Embassy of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in Djakarta, carried a commentary by *Communist* — weekly of the L.C.Y. — on the First Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party. The full text reads:

The weekly *Communist*, published in Belgrade, in an article in one of its recent issues, analysed the appraisals of certain questions, primarily the Cuban incident, made during the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party held in Djakarta in February this year.

The Indonesian Communist Party said: "Force, and not co-operation or compromise, must be used to oppose the imperialists." The weekly called such an attitude irresponsible and short-sighted. It said that such an attitude was equivalent to rejecting the policy of coexistence and supporting the approach that differences must be solved by force.

With regard to this kind of approach, the weekly said, the terms already used [by the Indonesian Communist

Party] on the L.C.Y. were not surprising. "While repeating its usual language used for the L.C.Y. and persisting in 'reasons' of an extremely primitive form, the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party openly plays a part in the plot to divert attention from basic and important questions of socialism and the international working-class movement."

### Cuba Standing Up to U.S. Aggression

What did Comrade D.N. Aidit say on Cuba in his political report made on February 10 to the First Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party? This was what he said: A glorious epic in the history of the liberation of the peoples has been written by the heroic people of Cuba. Relying upon the granite-like unity of the people, with full confidence in the strength of the people which is the most powerful weapon of all, and relying on its Marxist-Leninist Party, its revolutionary government led by Comrade Fidel Castro, as well as the tremendous assistance given by the socialist countries and the progressive peoples of the world, Cuba has stood firm and refused to bend its knees to aggression or intimidation from the U.S. imperialists. Resolutely and unshakably, the Cuban people are taking the path of building socialism. Abiding by Castro's five-point demands, they have safeguarded the sovereignty and independence of their country and saved their socialist state. Comrade Fidel Castro was very correct indeed when he said that the basic experience of the recent Caribbean incident is: "Do not trust in the words of the imperialists," and the imperialists and reactionaries must be met and defeated by force and not through co-operation or excessive compromise.

The Cuban revolution and the two Havana Declarations which it has produced have inspired the activities

of the people throughout the entire continent of Latin America who are defending this revolution, and have further stimulated the people's resistance in Venezuela, Ecuador, Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala and other Latin American countries against the enslavement policy of the U.S. imperialists.

From the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, is there anything wrong with Comrade Aidit's political report? Of course, from the revisionist viewpoint, everything is wrong with that political report.

Any reader able to think, not necessarily a Marxist, can easily see from the above-mentioned commentary in the weekly *Communist* that the Yugoslav revisionists have, firstly, criticized Comrade Fidel Castro who put forward the "basic experience of the Caribbean incident." Secondly, they have justified "co-operation or excessive compromise" with the imperialists, primarily the U.S. imperialists; and thirdly, they have directly attacked the policy of opposing imperialism, calling it "irresponsible and short-sighted."

Now it is even clearer why at the "summit conference of non-aligned countries" in Belgrade there existed such a serious opposition of ideas between the "short-sightedness" of President Sukarno and most of the other participants in the conference on the one hand and the "far-sightedness" of Yugoslavia and India on the other. So "far-sighted" are the revisionists that they no longer hate imperialism, no longer oppose imperialism and even defend the imperialists by protecting them from attacks (as President Sukarno put it) by the people of various countries who are "irresponsible and short-sighted."

### **Yugoslav Revisionists Reject Revolution**

The above-mentioned commentary in the *Communist* obviously tries to obscure the line of distinction between the people and the enemies of the people, places the policy of coexistence in opposition to the policy of national independence and rejects "the use of force to settle" the question of colonial rule. What does this mean? This means that the Yugoslav revisionists reject revolution more than at any other time in the past. If "force" were to be avoided completely, it is quite obvious that the August 1945 Revolution of the Indonesian people would not have taken place, and neither would the Cuban revolution!

The people of the various countries must not use force against imperialism; and when imperialism uses force, it should not be interfered with, because to oppose this would be irresponsible and short-sighted — just see, how faithful the modern revisionists are to imperialism and how they betray the struggle of the people of the world!

This stand fully conforms to the "Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia." In the chapter entitled "The Significance of the Struggle for National Independence," the "Programme of the L.C.Y." only asks for "independence" from the socialist countries; it makes no mention at all about imperialism, let alone mentioning Dutch, British and U.S. imperialism by name!

What did Comrade D.N. Aidit say about the L.C.Y. in his political report? This is what he said: Revisionists

may go on saying that Marxism is obsolete, but the fact is that Marxism, which is only just over a hundred years old, has already demonstrated and is demonstrating its superiority over philosophies that are thousands of years old; and it is demonstrating its superiority over all other political and social thought. This is happening every day and every hour, both on a world scale and within our own country.

The 1957 Moscow Declaration correctly points out that revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement today and the 1960 Moscow Statement calls on all Marxist-Leninist Parties to continue exposing and actively struggling against Yugoslav revisionism which is now dependent on U.S. imperialist "aid."

As a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, our Party will continue its struggle against revisionism, both classic and modern. To stop opposing revisionism means to stop taking the path of revolution, and to stop waging serious struggles against imperialism and other enemies of the people; a Party that acts thus will be spurned by the masses of the people before it realizes it.

### **The Disease of Revisionism**

A Communist Party afflicted with the disease of revisionism cannot possibly become strong; on the contrary, it will become weaker and weaker and lose its fighting spirit more and more, while its internal splits will grow worse and worse. It cannot be otherwise, because revisionism does not mobilize the Communists and the masses of the people to oppose their enemies; on the contrary, it gives priority to compromise with the enemies of the people. A Party that does not wage a relentless struggle will not be tempered by the fire of revolutionary struggle. Such a Party will continually lose its vitality, wilt and become more and more isolated from the masses, and its internal unity will not be steeled and tempered. A Communist Party that does not struggle dauntlessly and militantly can only produce bureaucrats in communist garb, whose thoughts are old-fashioned and frozen. It cannot produce genuine leaders of the people. This is why the Indonesian Communists must carry on their brilliant tradition of opposing revisionism which we started from the very first days of the founding of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

From the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, is there anything wrong with Comrade Aidit's political report? From the revisionist viewpoint, naturally everything is wrong.

Any reader able to think, not necessarily a Marxist, can easily see from the above-mentioned commentary in the weekly *Communist* that the Yugoslav revisionists, firstly, oppose the 1957 Moscow Declaration (and the representative of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia V. Vlahovic refused to sign that Declaration). Secondly, they oppose the 1960 Moscow Statement (V. Vlahovic in a pamphlet called this revolutionary statement "A Step Backward"); and thirdly, they oppose Marxism-Leninism itself.

The commentary in the *Communist* said that the Communist Party of Indonesia "repeats its usual language." This language is no other than the language of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow State-

ment, the language of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism.

"Reasons of an extremely primitive form"? This is tantamount to a confession by the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia — that not only is Comrade D.N. Aidit's political report "extremely primitive" but that the Moscow Declaration, the Moscow Statement and Marxism-Leninism are also "extremely primitive"!

Of course, the revisionists are not primitive, and modern revisionists least of all. They are so modern that, as Comrade Aidit put it, they do not mobilize the masses to fight their enemies, but give priority to compromise with the enemies of the people.

### The Moscow Statement

The Yugoslav modern revisionists have never considered the 1960 Moscow Statement correct, but is there any Marxist-Leninist who considers the Statement incorrect or no longer valid?

The Moscow Statement says:

The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form. After

betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called "aid" from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The Moscow Statement, which is only two and a half years old, is being confirmed more and more by what the Yugoslav revisionists themselves have done. And now the *Communist* (in name only), published by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (in name only), has supplied additional proof of the correctness of the glorious Moscow Statement.

# Economic Independence—Foundation of Political Independence

(“RODONG SHINMOON’S” EDITORIAL)

“NO nation on earth can build an independent country and make it rich and strong and achieve national prosperity without a self-supporting economic foundation,” says *Rodong Shinmoon*, organ of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers’ Party, in an editorial on April 23 entitled “Independent National Economic Construction Is the Road to the Unity, Independence and Prosperity of the Fatherland.”

“Economic independence,” says the editorial, “is the foundation of political independence. Economic dependence on foreign forces will inevitably entail political dependence on those forces. Economic subordination will inevitably result in political subordination.”

### The Right to Equality and Independence

The editorial states: “We hold that all nations are equal and independent and that they alone have the right to decide their own fate. But how can the right to national equality and independence be guaranteed if there is no economic independence? He who refuses to recognize the necessity of building an independent national economy actually negates the right to national equality and independence. It is precisely the policy of imperialism to use ‘aid’ as a bait in enslaving other countries economically and thereby encroach upon their independence and sovereignty in order to achieve its aggressive designs.”

“Only an economically independent country,” the editorial says, “can establish economic ties with other countries on the basis of the principle of full equality and mutual benefit. Only when it has achieved economic independence can it appear on the international stage as a dignified independent country enjoying equality among all other countries of the world, big or small.”

“Dependence on foreign forces, dependence on imperialist ‘aid’ leads to enslavement and destruction,” the editorial says. “The path of independent development and of building an independent national economy is the only correct way to safeguard national independence and national well-being and prosperity. The two realities standing in sharp contrast in the southern and northern parts of Korea bear out this point most conclusively.”

### Sharp Contrast

The editorial points out: “The south Korean economy which is controlled by the U.S. aggressors cannot develop in a direction in keeping with the interests of the south Korean people and of our entire nation. The economy of south Korea today is completely subjugated to the U.S. imperialist policy of military aggression and colonial plunder.” “As a price for U.S. ‘aid,’ the south Korean ruling circles have not only completely handed over the sovereignty and economic life-lines of south Korea to

the United States, but also given to it far more wealth than the total amount of 'aid' received."

The editorial points out that under the wise leadership of the Korean Workers' Party, by taking their destiny firmly into their own hands, unflaggingly exploring their road of advance and overcoming manifold difficulties and trials, the Korean people have laid a solid foundation for an independent national economy in the northern part of the Republic. The editorial says: "We trust our own strength, oppose the tendency of relying entirely on others and have consistently striven, on the principle of self-reliance, to build an independent national economy mainly with our own strength and resources."

Referring to the economic and technical aid given by the other socialist countries to Korea after the Korean war, the editorial says: "This aid, of course, helped promote our economic construction. However, even at that time, our own strength played the decisive role in rehabilitating and developing our national economy. Even under the difficult circumstances in those days, instead of relying on foreign aid alone, we relied on the maximum mobilization of the strength of our people and our domestic resources while endeavouring to make effective use of the aid of the fraternal countries. We devoted that aid to the laying of the foundation of an independent economy for our country."

"Aid from the socialist countries," the editorial states, "is fundamentally different from 'aid' from the imperialist countries, whose object is aggression, domination and plunder. Among the socialist countries aid cannot be used as a means of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. Socialist countries give other countries genuinely internationalist aid, which consolidates the

national independence of the recipient countries and helps them build their own independent national economy."

### A Good Example

The editorial says: "Our country, as a fully independent state permitting no interference from foreign countries, is independently solving all questions by itself. We have established our independent system in ideology, are economically independent, carry out independent internal and foreign policies, and have a power of self-defence to safeguard our independence and sovereignty from the encroachment of any external enemy." The editorial goes on to say: "The achievements and experiences gained in the northern part of the Republic prove that our nation can build up an independent national economy through self-reliance and that only by taking this road can genuine national independence be achieved and economy and culture develop rapidly. The independent national economy established in the northern part of Korea is not only the source of the happy life of the people in the northern part, but also the wealth of the whole nation, and it constitutes the foundation for an independent development of the national economy of the whole of Korea."

The editorial emphasizes that in order to rehabilitate their economy and solve the question of livelihood, the south Korean people must get rid of their dependence on foreign countries, rely on the foundation of the independent national economy existing in the northern part of the Republic, and bring about economic and cultural exchanges between north and south.

The editorial calls on the entire south Korean people to fight against the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists and the traitorous policies of their stooges, and to struggle for the realization of co-operation and intercourse between the northern and southern parts of Korea.

## Pen Probes

### Random Thoughts on "Random Village"

LAST month President Kennedy described for the American Society of Newspaper Editors a cross-section of America, which he called "Random Village," where "the typical family income is \$5,700 a year" and "most of the families are home-owners," where "the proposed tax cut would reduce the average family man's federal taxes by about 20 per cent and the whole community would benefit from this situation," and so on and so forth.

This cross-section of American society does not include bloated multi-millionaires, nor is there a hint of the misery in which the lower classes live, so it is more than doubtful if this "cross-section of American society" really gives a true picture of the United States at all. Still, it would not be fair to say that the U.S. President is not telling some of the truth. These inhabitants of "Random Village," these "average Americans," as President Kennedy himself admits, are clearly not as happy as

the inhabitants of an "affluent society" are supposed to be. Kennedy said:

"Despite gradually rising incomes, little, if any, money can be saved by these families for a disastrous illness or for a college education.

"If his [an average family man in Random Village] son wants to look for a job after graduation from school he finds that his chances are increasingly slim.

"For some, there may be no vacation trip this year—for nearly one out of five of these employed in Random Village will be unemployed at some time during the year, not counting the 10 per cent who will be changing jobs.

"Of the 100 people in Random Village, 10 will at some time need mental treatment for mental illness or behaviour disorders. Three can be classed as mentally retarded."

Thus, in spite of an "increase" in the money income of these U.S. citizens, they are finding themselves less secure than ever in their daily life, their health conditions and the future of their children. Mr. Kennedy did not explain why this is so, but he went on to say:

"We must continue our housing and urban renewal programmes, because one-fifth of the houses in Random Village are classed as deteriorated or dilapidated.





Paper Work

Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

"We must continue our job retraining programmes because roughly one-third of the unemployed in Random Village will be out of work for 15 weeks or more.

"We must continue our efforts against racial discrimination because the Negro families in Random Village are more than twice as likely to have poor housing; they are likely to earn half as much money; they have only two-thirds as much chance of finishing high school, and they are twice as likely to be unemployed. And neither injustice nor crime nor disease nor slums can be confined to one group in the village."

Kennedy has occupied the White House for over two years. Since then, and back in the days when he was a candidate in the presidential elections, he has said quite a lot about the welfare of the people. But, in his own words, "the fact of the matter is, in the non-defence, non-space expenditures, we've put in less of an increase in our three years than President Eisenhower did in his last three years."

A thorough miser in non-defence spending, he nevertheless indulges in lavish talk about the sufferings of the people. But why at this particular moment?

The reason is not far to seek. The 1964 election fight between the donkey and the elephant for the U.S. presidency is already on. Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York State, the principal contender for the Republican presidential nomination, has begun his campaign against Kennedy's domestic policies. Former President Eisenhower too is taking Kennedy to task through Charles Halleck, the Republican House leader, for his lavish spending on the space programme at the expense of the people's well-being. In the meantime, the economic situation in the U.S. is deteriorating; unemployment continues to be Kennedy's No. 1 problem; his prestige is on the wane. "Frustration and stalemate now seem to be the order of the day for the administration," writes James Reston in the *New York Times*. "The President is beset by stalemate and sluggishness," echoes Robert J. Donovan of the *New York Herald Tribune*. It is under these circumstances that Kennedy parades his "concern" for the people, asking Congress to approve social welfare plans with which he hopes to win more votes in the coming election.

But the trouble with him is that Congress is currently not interested in some 30 of his social welfare projects costing less than \$2,000 million, because his military and space expenditures running to more than \$60,000 million have already accounted for the lion's share of the budgetary outlay and the deficit for the new fiscal year is already \$12,000 million. If anything, Congress will cut down expenses on social welfare.

By painting his "cross-section" of American society for the people, President Kennedy hoped to show how his heart bleeds for his people, but what he actually showed is that the American people are today worse off than before; that it is the people who are the victims of his policies of bigger armaments and war preparations.

## So This Is Washington

"MUGGERS attack in broad daylight. Churches lock their doors because, as one clergyman explains, 'Too many bums come in, wander around and take what they like.' Last week a purse snatcher was shot to death by a rookie patrolman; a 40-year-old man was beaten to death in his home with a leg wrenched by a couple of intruders from his end table; a bank was robbed and police pursued the bandits through the streets while passers-by scattered to escape the gunfire. . . ." Thus goes a story in the 100 per cent American weekly newsmagazine *Time*.

Where did all this happen? *Time* reported: "All this is in Washington, D.C., the nation's capital and a city tortured by poverty and crime."

Sizing up the general trend, *Time* has this to say:

"Crime in Washington has increased every month during the past eight; February's rate was 8.9 per cent higher than a year before. Of 16 U.S. cities with populations between 500,000 and 1,000,000 Washington has more cases of assault with a dangerous weapon than any other—2,280 in the eight months between January and September 1962. Tourists have been slugged while taking pictures on the Capitol steps, women assaulted while praying in church at high noon. . . ."

*Time's* job, its publisher boasted, "is to sort out the essential from the transitory, to get to the bottom of conflicting claims, to pierce through the propaganda and the puffery, to try to get the facts right and to make the conclusion sound." So there can be no doubt that *Time* is giving the right facts and making a sound conclusion about the way things are going in Washington.

In the meantime, Police Chief Robert Murray predicts that Washington's "crime rate will continue to increase." Reading the handwriting on the wall, School Superintendent Carl Hansen wailed in horror: "There is a seething discontent in this city which is both justified and frightening. We're sitting on a keg of dynamite with the fuse lit."

So this is Washington as the American publicists see it themselves.

Where is the "preservation of law and order" and "protection for life and property," a pretext used by U.S. imperialists for butting into the internal affairs of what they call "underdeveloped" countries?

# ROUND THE WORLD

## INSIDE U.S.A.

### Racialism Runs Riot

For more than a week, Birmingham, Alabama, was the scene of fascist repression. Police in their thousands, equipped with armoured cars, sub-machine-guns, tear gas and shot guns, worked overtime. Their target—unarmed Negroes demonstrating against the colour bar and for desegregation.

The Birmingham Negroes early in April launched their current campaign for desegregation in restaurants and public places. They asked for a city committee to examine school desegregation, discrimination against Negroes in pay and work recruitment and other racial problems. For these modest demands they had been staging peaceful demonstrations. Yet the racist authorities turned on them with full violence, using truncheons, high-pressure fire hoses and even dogs. Countless numbers were wounded. Over 2,000 demonstrators were arrested, including many women, and children aged only six. They were charged with "parading without a permit."

The brutalities touched off widespread protests both inside and outside the United States. There were demonstrations in New York, Washington. . . . In London and Djakarta, angry youth protested before the U.S. embassies. In Africa, the Ghana

*Times* wrote: We know of the predicament of the 18 million third-class citizens of the United States, but could anything be more heartless, more inhuman and more wicked [than the assault on Negro children]?

Throughout Birmingham's reign of terror, the U.S. Federal Government did nothing to protect the Negro people, only expressing the pious hope that "the situation can be solved by the people of Birmingham themselves." When pressed by newsmen about the Alabama police outrage, Kennedy admitted it was "shameful," and "damaging" the reputation of the United States. What really worried him was that it showed up the ugly realities of racialism in the United States and exposed the glib talk of his New Frontiersmen about U.S. "kinship with the Africans"!

## LAOS

### The Ugly Americans

In Washington's dirty work of undermining the Laotian Government of National Union and fomenting civil war in Laos, the U.S. military is assigned an especially vicious role. In glaring violation of the Geneva agreements, these military personnel introduced into the country in the last few years were not withdrawn from Laos as required. They simply donned mufti or hid themselves among Phoumi Nosavan's Rightist troops. Recently, these ugly Americans have become increasingly active, and undisguisedly so

At present, more than 1,000 U.S. militarymen are busily moving up Nosavan's troops to the front. They have also introduced into Laos battalions of Thai and south Vietnamese forces which are preparing for massive attacks on the liberated areas before the monsoons set in.

Under U.S. command, an air transport network linking Vientiane, Savannakhet, Champassak and Luang Prabang, and with Udorn in Thailand as headquarters, has been set up to supply Nosavan's troops with arms and supplies. Air America and other U.S. para-military organizations were responsible for moving five battalions of Nosavan's regulars and 19 companies of commandos to the Plain of Jars to attack Xieng Khouang City and nearby localities. Even now, planes of Air America are taking off from the Wattay military airport in Vientiane for the Plain of Jars.

The office of the U.S. International Development Agency in Vientiane has more than 100 members in the guise of technicians. They provide the Rightist forces with military supplies and help train their troops, collect military intelligence and plan operations. They are also active among the Meo bandits and irregulars airdropped behind the positions of the Pathet Lao Fighting Units.

To all these should be added the hundreds of U.S. and Thai special agents introduced into Vientiane. Following the assassination of Quinim Pholsena, they are openly conspiring to murder other government ministers of the Neo Lao Haksat and the neutralist faction. Recently, a rumour was spread in Bangkok about an imminent attempt on the life of Laotian Interior Minister Pheng Phong Savan. These imported toughs are arresting patriots and letting loose terror in the city. They are even planning provocations against the Chinese and Vietnamese Embassies.

## INDIA

### Satrap of Imperialism

While publicly insisting on China's acceptance of the Colombo proposals "in toto" as their precondition for negotiations, the rulers of New Delhi are conditioning India to serve as a satrap for U.S. imperialism's anti-communist, anti-China schemes in Southeast Asia.

Right after the New Delhi visit of U.S. Secretary of State Rusk, Nehru announced in Parliament that the Assam Rifles had moved up to Kinzeman (a point north of the illegal McMahon Line in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border). He also



Cover Man

Cartoon by Jack Chen

disclosed that during the talks Rusk had assured him of "U.S. sympathy and support" and had made it clear that there could be no question of compromising with "the Chinese threat."

The tie-up between New Delhi and Washington has become daily more evident. A stream of U.S. dignitaries have flown to the Indian capital and Indian bigshots have hot-footed it to Washington. American "aid" is coming in to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars. While the Nehrus engage in double talk, Indian and U.S. papers explain the real meaning.

"All the journeying and talk are not merely for military assistance, for planes, and weapons for mountain war and machinery for ordnance factories, nor are they for halting the Chinese march across the Himalayas (sic). There are larger issues . . .," commented the *Indian Express*, bluntly stating that "India had fitted into new patterns of Western strategy." The paper continued that India's eastern seaboard faced Southeast Asia, "an underdeveloped land seeking skill, industry and human sympathy." "Both for India and the West this whole area is important, strategically, commercially and for peaceful international life," it said.

The *Hindustan Standard*, taking its cue from U.S. imperialism, unblushingly claimed Southeast Asia "as India's backyard." It noted that "it is not without significance that the ruling leaders of the Philippines, south Viet Nam and Thailand are changing their tone towards India and are willing to listen to Nehru's counsel." The paper might have added the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan to this list of U.S. puppets.

In an article entitled "India and Allies Buttress Anti-Red Defences," the U.S. *Christian Science Monitor* quoted a high Indian government official as saying that there has been a change in New Delhi's evaluation of "the Chinese menace," "which perhaps is seen not only in the Indian context but as affecting the whole of the Southeast Asian region." The United States and India, revealed the article, were working to build the "free world's" first substantial Southeast Asian "wall" against China.

Perhaps the plainest statement comes from the big Indian monopolist

G.D. Birla. Currently in the United States, he publicly called for more U.S. military and economic aid "with full understanding that India is the great citadel against communism in Asia."

When all this is put together, is it not clear that New Delhi is only using the boundary issue as a fig-leaf to cover up its expansionist ambition? To get their dollars from Washington, the self-styled Indian neutralists are willing to act as the U.S. cat's-paw to fight the peoples of Southeast Asia.

### That Widening Gulf

Overnight, New Delhi's Kushak Road, close to Prime Minister Nehru's residence, became a rural township with parked bullock carts and food cooking over open fires. Encamped were 5,000 peasants from nearby villages protesting directly to Nehru against the requisition of their land.

"It is impossible to check the rapid growth of Delhi," Nehru told the peasants. He was probably right for, according to a reader's letter in the *Hindustan Standard* (March 21), his own ministers each need "servants' quarters ranging from 14 to 16 in number." The same letter protested that while 60 per cent of the Indian people lived on a per-capita income

of 20 rupees monthly, some ministers spent more than 500 rupees of government money on electricity and water in the same period. (On May 1, 1,500 slum dwellers in Delhi demanded water taps and electric light in their shanty towns!) The last cent, the letter added, was being squeezed out of the pocket of the common man by increasing taxes, soaring prices, compulsory savings schemes, etc.

**Taxation.** Early this year, the Indian Finance Minister Morarji Desai proposed additional taxation of 2,750 million rupees for fiscal 1963-64. Thus in heavily taxed India, excise and import duties on various consumer goods like kerosene, tea, soap, and cigarettes again increased considerably. In addition, rail freight rates have risen and the Government has doubled the central sales tax.

**Compulsory Savings Scheme.** Wage earners whose monthly income is only 125 rupees and who were formerly exempt from income tax, are now required to earn the exemption by a "voluntary" saving of 11 per cent of their total earnings.

**Skyrocketing Prices.** Market prices are soaring in New Delhi and in many states. The wheat price increase varied from 1.75 rupees to 2.5 rupees per maund [37 kilogrammes] at the end of April; this despite the fact that

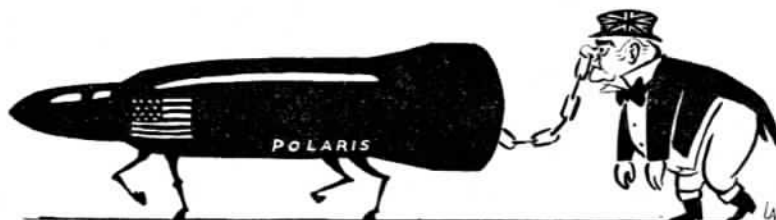
## THE PASSING SHOW

### Through the Nose and By the Nose

Britain's "nuclear deterrent" may not be "credible" but it's certainly expensive.

British tax-payers are shelling out £1,400,000 for training equipment for the U.S. Skybolt missile which nobody wants and which they won't get. Now they are being saddled with another £300,000,000 needed to switch to U.S. Polaris nuclear submarine equipment.

And as for being "independent"—the *Daily Express* attacks the Macmillan government for making Britain "utterly dependent on America for her nuclear shield. If America changes weapons, we must change—or have nothing. . . . American nuclear strategy is a jungle of conflicting theories in which first one group of experts then another gain favour, the rival claims of each weapon are promoted in Washington by powerful commercial lobbies. . . . The decision is taken 3,000 miles away in Washington, after argument in which Britain has no voice . . . with only American needs and interests in mind."



the new crop is already on the market. Price of sugar has risen so much that one Indian housewife commented bitterly that "The time seems to have come to put salt in tea!" Rice, kerosene and other essentials are costing more. In West Bengal food prices are steadily rising and rice is at its dearest in 20 years; already the situation is being compared with the 1942 famine period (*Indian Express*).

Under these circumstances, class struggle is on the rise again. In April alone, the Indian press reported strikes by Calcutta's Lakshmir Flour Mill workers (more than a hundred were arrested under the "Defence of India Rules"), Bombay's taxi drivers (breaking the city's "industrial truce" called when the "state of emergency" was declared), building workers at Barauni, Bihar State, and textile workers in Northern Gujarat. There were also demonstrations against government levies and the gold control rules. These are sure signs that the Indian people are becoming increasingly aware that, while crying out about the mythical Chinese threat, the big-business government in New Delhi is pulling the wool over their eyes and cleaning out their pockets.

## JAPAN

### An Emerging Trend

Japanese Foreign Minister Ohira has announced in Tokyo the formation of a new Anglo-Japanese consultation body. It will meet every six months to discuss political, economic and cultural questions. The Foreign Minister himself will be Japan's chief delegate at the first meeting in London this autumn. Ohira also revealed that he and the French Foreign Minister have agreed to hold further talks. Viewed in the context of growing U.S.-Japanese squabbles, these latest moves underscore a new trend which has become increasingly evident in Japanese diplomacy.

Tokyo found a lot of common ground with London when British Foreign Secretary Home was there last month. Both expressed a desire to strengthen political and economic ties and to boost mutual trade. Home's statement that trade with the socialist countries need not impair ties with the United States or call for the latter's concurrence was received with appreciation by his Japanese hosts. But for Franklin D. Roosevelt

Jr., U.S. Under Secretary of Commerce who arrived in Tokyo the same day as Home, the same cordial atmosphere seemed to be lacking. There was hard bargaining over trade and other questions; in the end nothing was agreed upon.

There was a similar pattern to the visits of French Foreign Minister de Murville and Kennedy's special envoy Herter, which also coincided in time. The *entente* with the French diplomat was in sharp contrast to the rebuff given to the U.S. representative. Despite much cajolery, Herter failed to sell his proposal for a reciprocal across-the-board 50 per cent reduction in customs levies on U.S. and Japanese imports.

The Japanese weekly *Economist* recently noted that as its economy advanced, Japan was ready to join the ranks of the world powers, and its relations with the United States could not remain the same. It wrote: "As in Europe there is a tendency towards disengagement from the United States and establishment of a third force, so in Japanese-U.S. relations similar indications, though developing very slowly, have begun to appear on the scene."

## NEWS IN BRIEF

The China-Nepal Friendship Association gave a reception in Peking on April 27 to celebrate the third anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Nepalese Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

Kazuo Suzuki, Director-General of the Japan-China Trade Promoting Association, who has recently arrived in Peking, was guest of honour at a banquet given by Nan Han-chen, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, on April 28.

On the occasion of the birthday of Queen Juliana of the Netherlands, the Charge d'Affaires ad interim A. Van Der Willigen of the Office of the Netherlands Charge d'Affaires in Peking gave a reception on April 30. Vice-Foreign Minister Tseng Yung-chuan and other Chinese officials attended.

Nan Han-chen, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, gave a banquet on April 30 in honour of Guillermo Nasser, member of

the Mexico-China Economic Relations Promotion Committee and managing director of the Mexican International Compensation Stock Company, and Dr. Hisa Arai.

The 1963 goods exchange and payments agreement between China and Poland was signed in Warsaw on April 30.

On May 1, between 13:06 hours and 13:43 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the area of Yunghsing Island, Shih Island, Pei Island, Chaoshu Island and Tung Island of the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued the 243rd serious warning against such U.S. provocation.

A protocol concerning management of the Sino-Albanian Joint-Stock Shipping Company was signed in Peking on May 2 following talks between Chinese and Albanian communications delegations.

A Chinese forestry delegation, after a month's visit in Finland, left Helsinki on May 4.

Chu Tu-nan, President of the China-Latin America Friendship Association, and his wife gave a banquet on April 29 in honour of General Enrique Oeste, Vice-President of the Rio Brazil-China Cultural Association, and his wife, the educationist Paula Moacil Oeste.

Premier Chou En-lai received two delegations from Algeria on May 4. They are the delegation of the General Union of Algerian Workers and the delegation of Algerian women.

The tenth session of the Sino-Polish Committee of Scientific and Technical Co-operation was recently held in Peking and representatives of China and Poland signed a protocol on scientific and technical co-operation.

The Vietnamese medical delegation led by Minister of Public Health Pham Ngoc Thach, which is in China for a three-week visit, was received by Premier Chou En-lai on May 5. The delegation is now touring south China.

A Danish electronics exhibition opened on May 6 in Peking Exhibition Centre.

# Correspondence Schools in China

by CHOU LI-FANG

**Surveyors in Sinkiang, building workers in Yunnan, steel smelters in Anshan, miners in the Fushun collieries, school-teachers in Inner Mongolia . . . are just a few of the scores of thousands taking lessons by correspondence from such famous institutions as the Chinese People's University, the Steel, Mining, and Geological Institutes in Peking and the Tungchi and Chiaotung Universities in Shanghai. These and many other educational institutions provide a great variety of correspondence courses. They have proved to be a most effective way of training cadres in many specialties for socialist construction.**

**T**HE correspondence course is well adapted to the mass training of specialists in socialist China. Liberation brought with it the rehabilitation of the country in a remarkably short space of time and this has been followed by an immense upsurge of socialist construction in every field of work in the country. Modern factories have been built by the thousand, huge areas of land have been reclaimed and brought under the mechanized ploughs of great state farms. New ways of socialist farming demand thousands of modern agricultural specialists. Hundreds of hospitals have been established and scores of scientific institutions and schools. . . . All of these need qualified executive and technical staffs. The regular educational system has already supplied great numbers of these and are training more. In the 13 years since liberation 900,000 students have graduated from colleges. This is four times the total number trained in all the 87 previous years since modern school education was introduced into China a century ago. In addition, the secondary technical schools have trained several million more students. Millions more—for we are talking about China with a population of 650 million—have been trained in a great variety of short-term adult vocational schools and courses. But even these great numbers are not enough to satisfy the ever growing needs of socialist construction. And this is where correspondence education courses come in.

China's educational policy observes the principle of "walking on two legs." This means advancing by using both regular educational means and various supplementary means including adult whole-time and spare-time schools and classes of various kinds as well as correspondence courses.

In this matter of correspondence course training China did not carry over much experience from before the liberation. The Commercial Press, the big Shanghai publishing house, set up the first correspondence courses in China in 1914. It offered courses in the Chinese and English languages, in mathematics and various commercial subjects. Its activities were confined mainly to the population of the coastal areas but many who had profited from these courses remembered them with gratitude. After liberation, as the demand for trained staff increased by leaps and bounds, the educational authorities cast around for all available means of training needed cadres. It was

then that the idea of starting correspondence courses on a larger scale was raised. The first such course after liberation was started by the Chinese People's University of Peking in late 1952. By 1956 such courses were being run regularly as part of their normal work by a fairly large number of colleges.

At the present time a number of universities and colleges have fully staffed correspondence departments with branches in many provinces. There are even a number of entirely independent correspondence colleges in Peking, Changchun, Shenyang, Wuhan and other cities.

The most varied courses are now available by correspondence. Amoy University has a department offering correspondence courses specially for overseas Chinese. A correspondence course institute in Nanchang, Kiangsi Province, gives instruction in traditional Chinese medicine.

## How They Are Run

Methods of tuition used in correspondence courses vary greatly according to the subject taught and the purpose of instruction. Students wishing for qualifications equivalent to those of regular college graduates—in mining, engineering, Chinese language, literature or history, for example—must take full courses which last between four and six years. Those who wish to concentrate on certain specific aspects of a particular field of study—such as mathematics or meteorology, for instance—can take partial courses lasting for about two or three years.

There are still more flexibly arranged courses whereby a student who wants to brush up his knowledge on some specific subject of a course—such as accounting, cultivation of specific crops, pest control or a particular period in history—can concentrate on that and finish the lessons in a few months to a year. When he has finished such a limited specialized course he can stop or he can go on to other subjects. In this way it is possible to take a full course, subject by subject. The Chinese People's University, to cite one example, runs all kinds of correspondence courses—from a six-month course in logic to a five-year course in factory management.

In most cases the sponsoring college or institute sets up a special department to run its correspondence courses: enrol students, work out curricula, prepare the necessary teaching materials and answer students' queries. In addition to the full-time staff, the best available teachers in the organization will be called upon to help in drawing up the training plans and teaching materials, textbooks, study guides and tests. The accepted principle is that the correspondence courses should be on a level with courses in any faculty for regular students.

In areas where there are large concentrations of correspondence course students, it is no unusual thing for an institution's correspondence course department to set up branch offices for on-the-spot guidance. The Peking Mining Institute, for example, maintains a number of such branch offices in major mining centres in north and

northwest China. The post and telecommunications institutes which have correspondence course departments have an even larger and more far-flung network: they maintain 222 local branch offices. Since students of correspondence courses usually work in the trade covered by the course they take, such branch offices keep in close touch with the organizations which employ their students. In many cases they are, in fact, established with the help of the organizations concerned. Those of the Peking Mining Institute have been set up with the help of local mining administrations and some of the branches of the post and telecommunications institutes' correspondence course departments are operated by local post offices. Government public works departments in Hangchow, Tsinan, Hofei, Foochow, Chengteh, Huhehot and other cities have helped Shanghai's Tungchi University, which specializes in civil engineering, to organize branch offices in those places for its correspondence course department.

It is the duty of these branch offices to organize the students in their locality into groups, to give them lectures, answer their questions, help them in laboratory work and hold examinations. From time to time teachers and instructors from the sponsoring college or institute visit the branches to give lectures and personal instruction to students.

### Help From All Sides

As the correspondence courses are regarded as part of the whole socialist educational system of the country, local schools and other organizations and technical and scientific associations do all they can to help these local branches. They "loan" them engineers, administrative officials or teachers to help tutorial work or give them the use of lecture halls and laboratory facilities.

Individual home study is, of course, the mainstay of the correspondence courses. Students are mailed textbooks and explanatory notes and a tutorial guide. The most important and complicated theoretical questions are explained with the help of such teaching aids as charts and illustrations. But wherever possible such home study is reinforced with lectures and, where needed, opportunities to do laboratory work. In some cities local radio stations lend a hand by broadcasting lectures. Lectures from tape-recordings are another handy way of enabling correspondence course students to hear lectures by highly qualified instructors. Some sponsoring colleges and institutes use their own premises during the vacations of the regular students for lectures, demonstrations and laboratory work for their correspondence school students.

The length of correspondence courses is calculated on the basis of a dozen hours of study per week. Peking Mining Institute correspondence course students spend about 300 hours in individual study and 80 to 90 hours on lectures each term. Those of the Northeast Engineering Institute spend a total of 3,200 hours in individual study and about 800 on lectures during the five-year course. Four to six weeks' vacation are allowed for each year and several months are set aside before graduation for students to do their diploma work. The organizations where they work are expected to give them time off from work when needed to attend lectures, take examinations and do their graduation work.

Correspondence courses in China cover a very wide range of subjects from literature to engineering, from

music to agronomy, from mathematics to physical culture. But inasmuch as the students have to squeeze time out of their leisure hours for study, the curricula have to be made as compact as possible. Organizers usually try to reduce them to the minimum of necessary subjects in a speciality. It is calculated that the students' own practical experience in their work makes it possible for them to dispense with courses covering this practical side of their subject. The main emphasis is therefore laid on basic principles, the basic theory of a subject, the sort of knowledge that is needed by people who lack a regular theoretical education and that will help them to lay a solid foundation for further studies. Tungchi University has 28 subjects on the curriculum of its regular house- and factory-building department but in drawing up its course for correspondence students it incorporated only 24 of them: these included mathematics, physics, chemistry, heat engineering, structure and material mechanics, electrical engineering and plumbing.

One of the big problems faced by correspondence course departments has been the need for suitable teaching materials; textbooks that can get across their information to the student in plain, straightforward and easily understood language. Some still use the textbooks written for their regular courses supplemented by notes. Others have issued a different set of textbooks which give fuller explanations and go into greater detail, are simpler in language and linked more closely with practical work. Certain specialists in the field of education by correspondence are now proposing standardization of home-study textbooks on basic theoretical subjects while agreeing that those on more specialized subjects must be edited separately to suit different requirements.

To ensure that students exercise the necessary self-discipline when taking correspondence courses and make a success of them, a regular system of periodic tests and examinations has been set up. Students must pass an entrance examination before being admitted to a course. There are also final examinations at the end of each term and those who fail must repeat the course concerned. Like regular college students, correspondence course students must submit diploma theses or designs and defend them in an oral test before graduation. These tests are as strict as in any regular college. Professors, engineers and sometimes government officials sit on the panel of examiners. Successful students receive diplomas.

### Funds and Results

Hitherto funds for running correspondence courses have been allocated out of the regular budgets of the sponsoring institutions. Beginning with this year, however, the Ministry of Education will be earmarking annually a special appropriation to develop this form of education more rapidly. Those taking correspondence courses themselves pay very small or no tuition fees at all and only a very small sum for textbooks. In many cases even these small sums are paid for by the management of the organization to which the student belongs. Where a student has to travel to the sponsoring college for lectures and laboratory work his or her management or trade union organization will, where necessary, pay the fares.

The effort made to develop and perfect this popular form of education has given highly encouraging results. The Chinese People's University and the Kirin Teachers'

University who were the two pioneers in starting correspondence courses on a big scale some ten years ago have alone trained at least 10,000 specialists in economics, finance, political science and factory management as well as over 3,000 middle-school teachers. The many engineering and other institutes which set up correspondence school departments since 1956 have also begun to turn out their first graduates in large numbers.

Men and women who carried on with their education by means of correspondence courses are already playing a big role in the life of the country thanks in no small part to those courses. Such people are found in many government organizations, large factories and other enterprises. Many of them have become outstanding workers known for their excellent work or the innovations they have helped introduce to improve the work of their collectives.

Four young employees of a building company in Shanghai who have just completed a six-year correspondence course in industrial architecture run by Tungchi University designed for their diploma work a new factory to make high-precision instruments and meters. The examiners gave high praise to their project—a four-storey building with a total floor space of 8,000 square metres whose function required the solution of some tricky building problems.

Many of the 870 skilled workers and junior technicians who have graduated from correspondence courses run by the various engineering institutes in Peking have been promoted foremen, workshop managers or engineers. In publicizing the work of the correspondence schools, the press has naturally devoted some considerable attention to their progress but it singled out the experience of 12 young technicians in the coalmines west of Peking for special attention. After graduating in 1955 from secondary schools specializing in mining these youngsters went to work as technicians in the Peking collieries. Keen on the job they also devoted their spare time to intensive study in their speciality. In the past five years they have taken Peking Mining Institute correspondence courses in 22 subjects including mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, metal-working, shaft designing and mining technology. Last summer they completed these courses. Six of these budding young mining specialists were as-

signed for their diploma work a task that had taxed the abilities of veteran mining engineers. It concerned exploitation of an unopened deposit located between two existing pits of the Chinghsi Mining Administration. With the help of instructors at the institute and engineers of the mining administration they made a thorough investigation of the deposit and related questions, and finally came up with a thoroughly satisfactory solution of the problems involved including blueprints and plans for the proposed shafts, methods of mining, underground transportation, ventilation, drainage and electrical power supply. Their project arranged for a satisfactory sharing of the work by the two neighbouring pits. The six defended their comprehensive proposed scheme at a rigorous oral test before a 15-member panel made up of professors of the Peking Mining Institute and engineers and officials of the Ministry of Coal Industry. For three hours, scrutinizing every detail of the project, the examiners fired an average of eight questions each. The verdict was unanimous approval. Professor Chang Cheng-ping, known to be sparing of compliments, was full of praise for the project and the students' answers at the test. Engineers from the Ministry, and the Peking Coalmine Designing and Research Institute endorsed the project as "well thought out and economical" and it has been formally accepted by the Ministry.

The six other students of this group also presented a diploma project that was judged fully satisfactory. This dealt with the extension of an existing mine and included some ingenious devices to rejuvenate the old pits.

The remarkable results achieved through correspondence courses have so impressed educational and other authorities that they have decided to put even greater stress on developing this form of education. Reviewing its work in this field recently, Tungchi University described it as "an indispensable component part of higher education in China . . . an effective way of training large numbers of employees as specialists in construction work—an important means by which production departments can help their employees raise their scientific and technological levels." This well reflects the general assessment of the value of correspondence courses in China as it builds socialism.

## Highland Farming

# Tibet's Rich Harvests, 1959-62

by LI TSUNG-HAI

**The peasants of Tibet, busy with spring sowing, are determined to get another good harvest this autumn, the fifth since the initiation of democratic reforms in 1959. They attribute their past successes and current encouraging prospects to the guidance of the Communist Party, democratic reforms, nationwide support and the organization of mutual-aid teams.**

**A** TURNING point in the history of the Tibet region was marked by the defeat of the armed revolt staged by the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in the spring of 1959. The people's victory over reaction

brought changes in every aspect of the life of the region, and not least of all in agriculture. The former serfs, freed from the yoke of feudalism, became masters of their own fate. With land, animals and tools in their own hands for the first time in their lives, they were eager to boost farm yields.

In 1959 the liberated serfs and slaves of Tibet produced more than 10 per cent more grain than in the preceding year. In 1960 they produced 15 per cent more than in 1959. In 1961, the weather was calamitous but this did not prevent them from getting a further increase



Bumper Crop in Tibet

Woodcut in colour by Chao Tsung-tso

in grain output. In 1962 heavy rain and hailstorms flattened crops on quite a number of farms but losses were made good by bigger harvests on others. As a result, total yields were held firm at around the 1961 level.

During these past four years various areas have reported big increases in per-*mu* yields. Gyantse County, southwest of Lhasa, gathered an average of 5 *khal* (one *khal* = 12.5 kilogrammes) per *mu* last year. This is double the pre-democratic reform yield. Taking the Tibet region as a whole, the average per-*mu* yield of grain used to fluctuate between 2 and 4 *khal* per *mu*. Now it already exceeds 5 *khal*.

Many new varieties of crop have been introduced to Tibet in recent years and a dozen of them have proved that they can flourish in most parts of the arable areas of the high plateau. These are being planted now on a large scale. Improved strains of soya beans, peas, potatoes, rapeseed, hemp and flax have been adapted to the local climate. Vegetables like tomatoes, peppers, eggplants and cucumbers ordinarily grow in warm climates but they too have been acclimatized to the weather of Tibet. All of these new crops have the desired characteristics of early ripening and resistance to drought and cold.

In the old days because of superstition and convention certain districts were actually prohibited from planting food crops. These backward ideas have been exploded by recent developments. Peasants living in Phari, 4,500 metres above sea level, had been told that "if *qingke* is grown here, Tibet will suffer disaster and the whole Phari population will be wiped out." Today Phari has raised several good harvests of this highland barley and not even the old crones believe any longer in the foolish superstition.

Thanks to their good harvests the peasants of Tibet are living much better than before. Not a few townships

are now self-sufficient in food grains though only three or four years ago they still had to rely on state relief to make ends meet. By 1961 nine out of ten townships in the Loka Special Administrative Region were already producing enough to feed themselves. Today large numbers of Loka peasants have built themselves new houses and equipped their farms with newly bought animals and farm tools.

### Backward Serf Agriculture

Tibet, occupying a large part of the huge Chinghai-Tibet Plateau, is cut through by several great mountain ranges. Some run from north to south, others from east to west.

Their towering peaks give Tibet an average altitude of more than 4,000 metres above sea level, hence its name "the Roof of the World." In the warm seasons their snow-capped peaks and glaciers supply the lower lying valleys with abundant water.

The broad valleys of the Tsangpo, Kinsha, Nu and Lantsang Rivers enjoy a warm climate and have plenty of fertile soil. With a convenient supply of water, they make the southeastern part of Tibet the region's best farming area. The valleys and intermontane basins of south Tibet, lying at a lower level and with an adequate rainfall, are particularly well suited to growing crops.

Farming has thus always been one of the important branches of the local Tibetan economy, but agricultural yields were extremely low in the past. This backwardness was caused primarily by the social system. Until democratic reforms were introduced Tibetan society was a serf society based on manorial estates. All the land belonged to three kinds of estate-owners or serf-owners, namely, the officialdom (the feudal government), the monasteries and the nobles. None of the peasants owned any land and the only alternative left them was to toil for the serf-owners.

The serfs used their own draught animals and farm tools to cultivate the land of the estate-owners, and sometimes they even had to bring their own food while on the job. In return, the lords allotted them small plots of inferior land for their own use. The serfs spent the greater part of their time every year (between two-thirds and three-fourths) working on the land of the serf-owners. In addition they had to do all kinds of corvée as well.

Unable to live on what they raised, the serfs were forced to borrow on usurious terms from the estate-owners. Most serfs were unable to repay the loans they borrowed, so their debts multiplied from generation to generation. Some had accumulated into huge sums over a period of 200 or 300 years. Serfs were deprived of all political rights and they were subjected to frightful tortures if they opposed the will of their feudal masters.

Under this reactionary and barbarous serf system, with the ignorance and superstition it fostered, the peasants could naturally not be expected to be keen on raising farm yields. The monstrous system of exploitation to



which they were subjected denied them any possibility of improving their lot. This was why the overthrow of the serf system through democratic reforms grew to be the unanimous demand of the peasants in Tibet ever since the region's peaceful liberation in 1951.

### Democratic Reform and After

Democratic reform was being carried out in 1959 even while operations to put down the armed rebellion still continued. The essential part of the reforms consists of the "three antis" (opposition to rebellion, unpaid *ula*—corvée—and chattel slavery) and the "two reductions" (reduction of rents and interest charges) as well as land reform. During the land reform the land, houses, draught animals and farm tools of the serf-owners who took part in the rebellion were confiscated. The surplus land, houses, draught animals and farm tools of those serf-owners who did not take part in the rebellion, were bought and paid for. But whether confiscated or redeemed, this property was all distributed among the former serfs and slaves. On the average each got 3.5 *mu* of land and a certain number of draught animals and farm tools.

The land reform and the destruction of the serf system gave a tremendous impetus to farm production. The peasants began to put their full strength and wisdom into getting better harvests. They brought large tracts of land under irrigation, adopted the practice of applying fertilizers and learnt a great many ways of improving their farming techniques. Not a few peasants are even trying their hand at soil amelioration or seed selection, and starting to go in for intensive farming.

Women are working side by side with their menfolk. This sounds quite natural in liberated China, but to the Tibetans it means another superstition exploded—"if women plough the fields, the crops won't grow well."

Having learnt about the benefits that organized co-operative activities have brought in other parts of China, the peasants of Tibet began forming mutual-aid teams, the initial form of collective farming, soon after the democratic reform got started. They set up 8,000 mutual-aid teams in the winter of 1959 and the following spring. Members of each team work collectively on each other's individual plots and the work each contributed is recorded. Later the scores are settled among the team members primarily on the basis of labour exchange: equal amounts of work and the use of draught animals cancel each other out and the balance is paid for according to an agreed scale. Participation or withdrawal in these teams is entirely voluntary, but their advantages have been so fully proved that once the peasants have joined very few leave them.

These teams help the peasants solve the problems of shortage of labour power and lack of draught animals and farm tools which they face when they work on their own. The mutual-aid teams have helped the peasants get bigger and better crops and higher incomes. Energetically supported by the local Communist Party organizations and people's government, these teams have mushroomed until they now embrace more than 90 per cent of Tibet's peasants.

### Nationwide Support

The whole nation has backed this effort to improve the agricultural situation in Tibet. As far back as in

1955, the People's Government adopted a decision on measures to help Tibet speed up industrial and farm construction. Among other things, this called for the building and repair of dykes and dams, expansion of experimental farms, allocation of pumps, and so on. Since the rebellion was put down, the Government has distributed 260,000 iron farm tools and lent the peasants 3.5 million *jin* of seeds.

A dozen provinces sent samples of their best strains of seed to the experimental farms in Tibet so that the most suitable could be selected and adapted to local conditions. These farms sorted out those giving the best results and recommended them to the peasants. In addition to being centres for the spread of advanced farming techniques, these experimental farms have also trained large numbers of Tibetan agro-technicians.

With the democratic reform coming to an end, cadres of local Party and government bodies in Tibet have been able to devote more of their time to the task of boosting farm yields. They give top priority to problems of farm production; they assist the peasants sum up and popularize successful local experience and do their best to pass on the farming techniques recommended by the local experimental farms.

The continued good harvests represent one of the outstanding successes gained by the people of Tibet since the democratic reforms. They drive home with concrete facts how urgently necessary those reforms were, and how fully they conform to the people's interests. In face of these facts how mean and foolish are the slanders which the reactionaries have uttered about recent changes in Tibet! The Tibetan people have welcomed those changes with open arms; they are tasting with delight the first results they have brought them in increased production, in better living and in even brighter prospects for the future.

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# DRAMA

## ***"On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights"***

When the victorious P.L.A. entered Shanghai in May 1949, they found this "paradise of adventurers" glittering with a million lights and shadowy with spies and agents left behind by the U.S.-backed Chiang Kai-shek clique.

Shanghai was liberated—a city with a glorious revolutionary tradition of working-class struggle but also one of the darkest corners of the imperialist-dominated old China; a city of gangsters and speculators, cabarets and gambling hells, vice and corruption. Huge neon-light ads blazed with American film titles and coca-cola ballyhoo, American jazz filled the night air on Nanking Road, the flashiest thoroughfare in China. The sights and sounds of luxury and decadence surrounded the people's fighters like a miasma. The underground enemy swore: "We'll see to it that the Reds turn black in three months' time and stink and rot right here on Nanking Road!" One way they tried was murder and sabotage; another was corruption. With bribery, flattery, and the lure of the bourgeois "way of life" they tried to sap the revolutionary will of the people's fighters and rob them of their vigilance. P.L.A. men found filled purses suddenly appearing at their feet; overdressed women accosted them and "friendly" advice poured

into their ears: "Why, you lads have done a lot for the revolution. It's time to relax and have some fun!"

Guarding Nanking Road, the Eighth Company had a particularly difficult job. Yet, when the three months were up, it was the underground enemy who had been beaten by the Eighth Company—defeated by their steadfast, vigilant revolutionary stand, their self-education in communist principles, their close ties with the people, and their tradition of simple living, thrift and diligence. The company came to be called by Shanghai people the "Good Eighth Company on Nanking Road." Fourteen years have elapsed since then; company personnel has been changed several times, but it has kept its traditions ever alive and shining brighter than ever. Today its fame has spread to every corner of China.

### **Phenomenal Stage Success**

This is the real-life theme and drama which inspires the new play *On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights*, an outstanding theatrical success first performed by the Nanking Frontline Modern Drama Troupe in Nanking, later in Shanghai, and recently in the capital. Tickets became so hard to get that people took out their bed rolls and queued up at night to be on hand when the box office opened the next day. Tickets are still hard to get. Today half a dozen other top-notch modern drama troupes are staging the play simultaneously in Peking and other cities.

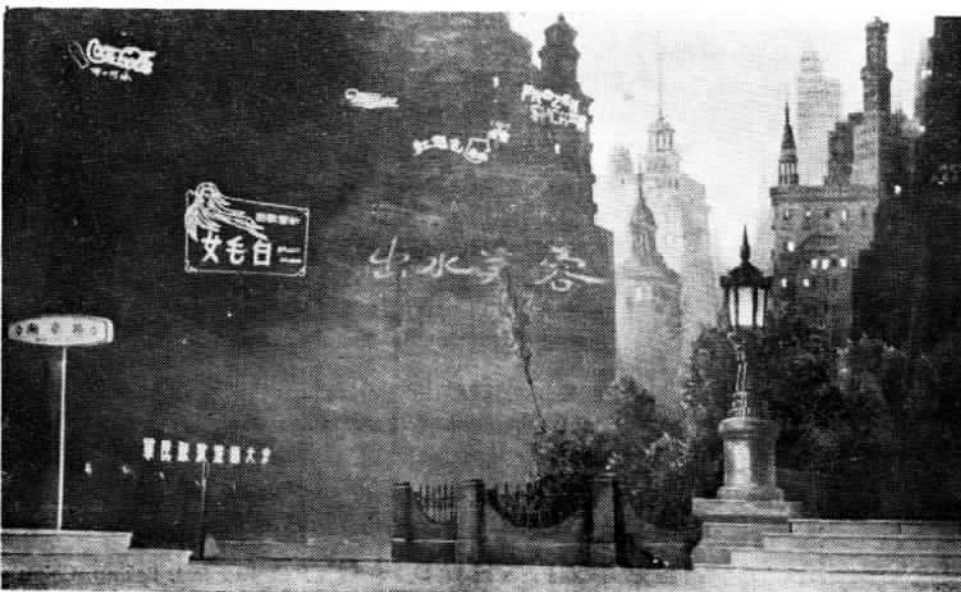
The authors Shen Hsi-meng, Mo Yen and Lu Hsing-chen have written a play which vividly brings out the significance of the Eighth Company's victory on Nanking Road: This was a victory in a tense class struggle fought out behind the battlelines. Defeated on the battlefield, the class enemy engaged in a new kind of struggle: it brought to bear all its guile and venom in an ideological attack on the people's fighters and the people's state power—with violence ever ready to use—to disintegrate the revolutionary ranks and stage a comeback.

### **The Plot**

Act one brings the P.L.A. company into the midst of this complex struggle on Nanking Road. Workers and ordinary citizens bid them welcome; but the secret agents are also welcoming them: the "school girl" who asks for the fighters' autographs and invites them to parties; the friendly loiterer who hums progressive tunes; the treacherous "K" and his gang.

The company commissar and company commander Lu Hua and Lu Ta-cheng, old revolutionaries, immediately take stock of the new situation and form their plan of action. But Chao Ta-ta, the husky hero of a dozen battles, is revolted by these unaccustomed and offensive surroundings and momentarily losing his bearings, cries: "Let me go back to the front!" Then under the enemy's attacks, he quickly regains his spirit. The old mess officer Hung Man-tang, with a veteran revolutionary's unerring nose for foul play, gives the young men warning and sound advice. All of them realize they are in for a sharp class struggle. Rallying together with the people, they go into action. They gather together the intricate threads of their enemies' net and catch them in their own trap.

In reorienting themselves to the new situation some face a more difficult task than others. There is the raw recruit Tung Ah-nan. There is Chen Hsi, a platoon leader, who finds everybody friendly and everything fine on Nanking Road. "Why even the wind is fragrant here!" he exults. He complacently signs autographs, is impatient with the "country man-



Stage setting from "On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights"

ners" of his old comrades, and gets ashamed of his wife when she visits him, a sweet peasant girl with whom he had fallen in love while they were fighting together in the war. Symbolically with a "time you stood aside!" he throws away the cloth socks that had been with him at the front. A good fighter on the battlefield, he totters under the impact of the "fragrant wind" on Nanking Road. With patience, comradely criticism and the education of facts, the rest of the company help him realize his error. In a dozen ways the authors show the strength of the revolutionary collective and its ways of education: in typical anxiety, affection and indignation, the hot-tempered company commander thrusts Chen Hsi's discarded cloth socks at him and demands: "Your self-criticism had better start from these! Put them on. Then you'll stand steadier on your feet!" The play skilfully shows not only how the P.L.A. mobilizes its own ranks to resist and defeat the enemy but also how in the process it mobilizes many elements — of the national bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals, for instance — that, at first wavering and unstable, are finally led to support the revolution.

It is a broad canvas with many figures that the authors sketch in; but against the kaleidoscope of the city, its bright lights and dark shadows, the collective image of the P.L.A. stands out in bold relief, an army led by the Communist Party, with an ever present consciousness of the class struggle, thoroughly educated in Marxism-Leninism, and with its roots deep in the people.

#### Soldier Authors and Actors

This play was no chance product of the authors — they had long wanted to show the feats of the Eighth Company on the stage. One of them, Shen Hsi-meng, is a leading member of the political department of the P.L.A. units stationed in Nanking. Not satisfied with his personal and already intimate knowledge of the people's soldiers, he took up sentry duty on Nanking Road himself and lived among the Eighth Company as a rank-and-file member for several months prior to writing the play in order to learn as much as he could about the Eighth Company and the people and events which are treated in the play.

Shen and his co-authors Mo Yen and Lu Hsing-chen subsequently spent two more years writing and polishing their play.

The members of the Frontline Modern Drama Troupe are thoroughly at home with their subject too. Most of them are veteran P.L.A. men and women themselves. Kung Tzu-pi, who acts company commander Lu, has worked in a cultural group of the P.L.A. for over 20 years. Liu Hung-sheng, who acts the old mess officer, is a former machine-gunner. Yuan Yo, who is Chao Ta-ta on the stage, lived among the coast guards on the Fukien front. All have succeeded in creating memorable stage characters.

The Frontline Troupe had its beginnings in the time of the war against Japanese invasion. Then and later in the War of Liberation, its members fought and acted for the people's forces in the frontlines. They were in the thick of the celebrated Huaihai Campaign. Since liberation they have carried on this tradition. They spend most of the year acting for the people's forces, and part of each year as rank-and-file soldiers themselves in the P.L.A. They have written and performed many outstanding plays and films based on army life, such as *Prelude to the Eastward March*, *I Am a Soldier*, *Reconnaissance Across the River*, and others.

The sets and lighting by Chou Lo, Hsia Cheng and Yuan Wen-ping deserve special mention. Their main backdrop of the shadowy skyscrapers on Nanking Road lit up by the changing neon lights most effectively brings out the flavour of just-liberated Shanghai.

*On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights* is a phenomenal success because it is a meaningful, realistic drama with a lesson for today, effectively staged by a group of players with a vivid sense of revolutionary reality. It describes more than just a struggle between one P.L.A. company and a counter-revolutionary gang. It is a microcosm of the post-liberation struggle between the forces of reactionary bourgeois ideas and the revolutionary proletarian outlook.

#### SHORT NOTES

**Albanian Singers in Peking.** Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee

of the N.P.C. was among the 1,000 music-lovers who warmly applauded the first performance of the visiting Albanian singers here on May 10. The four male solo singers from the Albanian State Opera and Ballet Theatre include Hysen Pelinku, a bass and the theatre's vice-manager; bass Mentor Jhemali, gold-medal winner at the 7th World Youth Festival; tenor Malich Herri and baritone Ramiz Kovach, silver-medal winner of the 8th World Youth Festival. The Chinese audiences particularly appreciated the performances of revolutionary songs, rendered with great power, warmth and spirit by the visitors, among whom two are former members of the Albanian guerrilla forces. Songs from China, Korea and Cuba, Albanian folk songs and arias from famous operas completed the programme. After three concerts in Peking, the Albanian singers have left to tour other Chinese cities.

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**A Bulgarian Oil Painting Exhibition** opened in Peking on May 9. It is at the Peking Exhibition Centre and will last until the 30th of this month.

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"**Plains Ablaze,**" a new feature film released this month, marks a fresh success for Shanghai's Tienma Studio. It has a gripping and dramatic story based on the famous strike of the Anyuan coalminers in 1922, one of the earliest and most important strikes that were led to victory by the Chinese Communist Party. Acting, direction and photography are of a high order.

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**Paintings on People's Communes.** Two recent art exhibitions in Canton and Shanghai were given by artists who have been visiting the rural people's communes. Pictures of rural electrification and water conservancy works, peasant labour heroes, girls working in the fields, fishing villages of Kwangtung and the terraced tea plantations of Kiangsu, and lyrical sketches filled with the serenity and beauty of village life in after-work hours are among the many works which give a glowing record of the colourful and bustling rural life of today.

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