

# PEKING REVIEW

35

August 28, 1964

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報

## The 1964 Peking Symposium

Over 350 scientists from four continents meet (p. 5).

## 20th Anniversary of Rumania's Liberation Celebrated

(p. 10).

## A Flourishing Theatre to Serve The Socialist Economic Base

Speech by Ko Ching-shih — first instalment (p. 14).

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*Across the Land, Round the World  
And Other Features*

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

August 28, 1964 Vol. VII No. 35

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## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• The 1964 Peking Scientific Symposium opened on August 21. Vice-Premier Nieh Jung-chen in his speech greeting the occasion declared that the people can really master science only by carrying out a thorough national-democratic revolution. Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese Party and state leaders received those taking part in the symposium.

• Prince Souphanouvong and his party stopped over in Peking on their way to Paris.

• Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, met M.H. Williams, Chairman of the National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand, on August 22. On August 25, he met the delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela headed by Eduardo Gallegos Mancera, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Venezuelan C.P.

• Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, expressing deep sympathy for the flood victims of East Pakistan.

• The Kiangsi University of Communist Labour, a successful example of the Party's educational policy of study while you work, celebrates the sixth anniversary of its founding.

• The Chinese press published:

— the text of a resolution "On the World Ideological Differences and a Meeting of the World Parties" adopted by the National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand, opposing such a meeting without adequate preparations.

— a news report of a speech by Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Belgian C.P., in which he condemns Khrushchov for serving U.S. imperialism by planning a schismatic international meeting.

— a statement of the Australian C.P. (Marxist-Leninist) condemning the U.S. imperialist attack on the D.R.V. It points out that Soviet support for the U.S. move to transfer responsibility in this matter to the U.N. can only be seen as support of an accomplice of the U.S.

— a news report of a speech by Njoto, Second Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party of Indonesia, who said, in connection with U.S. aggression against the D.R.V., that it was the Marxist-Leninists, not the revisionists, who were defending peace with deeds.

— the full text of the report given by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the C.C. of the Rumanian Workers' Party and Chairman of the State Council of the R.P.R., at a meeting celebrating the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Rumania.

### Chairman Mao Receives Foreign Guests

Peking is currently host to quite a number of foreign guests. They include many delegates to the recent 10th World Conference Against A- and H-Bombs in Japan. Well over 1,000 people, including leaders of various people's organizations, were

on hand to welcome them on their arrival.

The China Peace Committee and the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity gave a reception on August 19 in honour of the visitors. Vice-Premier Chen Yi, and Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the C.C.A.A.S., who were present at the reception, acclaimed the successful

struggle waged by the foreign delegates at the Tokyo conference.

On August 22, Chairman Mao Tse-tung received these guests.

On August 25, Chairman Mao received the delegation of the Federation of Students of Black Africa in France, the delegation of the General Union of West African Students, youth and student delegates from the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Togo, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Haiti. Chairman Mao conversed with his guests and answered their questions. It was a cordial and friendly occasion.

On the same afternoon, Chairman Mao received Kwesi Ghapson and Annoh Opresem, senior lecturers of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute of Ghana and had a cordial and friendly conversation with them. The Ghanaian visitors have come to China after attending the Asian Economic Seminar held in Pyongyang in June.

### **Soong Ching Ling With Algerian Children**

Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling on August 25 met the 75 Algerian children, sons and daughters of martyrs of the Algerian War of National Liberation, who are vacationing in China.

In her chat with them at the Children's Palace of the China Welfare Institute, the Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China expressed the hope that they would grow sturdier, cleverer and healthier and become worthy members of the new generation of the heroic Algerian people. She also wished them a good time in China and especially during their stay in Shanghai.

### **Sino-Ghanaian Anniversary**

Last week both Peking and Accra celebrated the third anniversary of the treaty of friendship signed by Premier Chou En-lai and President Kwame Nkrumah when the latter visited this country in 1961.

In Peking, the Ghanaian Ambassador Joe-Fio Meyer gave a reception which was attended by Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other senior government officials. The new developments which have taken place in

the relations of friendly co-operation between the two countries since the signing of the historic treaty were acclaimed in anniversary speeches by both Ambassador Meyer and the Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Tseng Yung-chuan who spoke at the reception.

In Accra, a reception was given by Chinese Charge d'Affaires ad interim Wang Yi-mu to mark the occasion.

### **Neo Lao Haksat Delegation In Peking**

The Neo Lao Haksat delegation led by Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat and Vice-Premier of the Laotian National Union Government, arrived in Peking by special plane on August 22. The delegation was on its way to Paris for the meeting of the leaders of the three Laotian groups. At the airport, the Laotian party was met by a crowd of well-wishers headed by Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Lo Jui-ching. Cheers and cries of "Welcome Prince Souphanouvong!" and "Long live Sino-Laotian friendship!" greeted them as they alighted.

That evening, at the banquet given in honour of the Laotian guests, Vice-Premier Chen Yi condemned U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention in Laos and reiterated that only by convening a 14-nation conference can a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question be achieved on the basis of the Geneva agreements. Wishing success to the meeting of the three Laotian groups, he said, "We hope that the results of this meeting will help stabilize the Laotian situation, realize peace and neutrality in Laos and promote an early 14-nation conference."

Prince Souphanouvong, in his reply, said that the present grave situation in Laos was caused by U.S. armed intervention in Laos, as well as in Cambodia and Viet Nam. "The Neo Lao Haksat has always stood for a peaceful solution of the Laotian question on the basis of the Geneva agreements, the Zurich agreement and the Plain of Jars agreement," said the Prince. Referring to the forthcoming meeting in Paris, he

## **Supplements to "Hongqi" Published**

*Hongqi* (Red Flag), the fortnightly organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, announces that from now on it will publish supplements from time to time. The first came off the press last Friday. It carries two articles: "World Communist Differences — The New Zealand Party's Firm Stand," by V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, and "The Malayan People's Experience Refutes the Revisionist Fallacies" from the monthly *Malayan Monitor*.

declared that "its aim is to attain a better understanding among the three Laotian political forces, reach unanimity on measures helpful to the solution of the Laotian question and promote the reconvening of the 14-nation conference."

### **Condolences on Togliatti's Death**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on August 22 sent a message of condolences to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy on the death of its General Secretary, Palmiro Togliatti. It said:

"We were shocked to hear the unfortunate news of the death, after illness, of Comrade Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Italy. On behalf of the Communist Party of China, we express to you our profound condolences and request you to convey our sympathy to Comrade Togliatti's family."

### **African Missions to China**

**The Kenyan Goodwill Mission**, headed by R. Achieng Oneko, Minister for Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, has concluded its 18-day visit to China. While in Peking they saw the sights of the city and visited Tsinghua University, China's biggest polytechnical institute, and a people's commune on the capital's outskirts.

(Continued on p. 31.)

Peking Review, No. 35



Opening ceremony of Peking Symposium

# Scientists From Four Continents Join Forces

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**I**MPRESSIVE was the word for the formal opening of the 1964 Peking Scientific Symposium on August 21. All in all, this meeting — unique in the history of international scientific gatherings — is being attended by more than 350 scientists from 44 lands on four continents (Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania). Before the symposium runs its course this international body of scientists will have exchanged experience and results of their scientific research and will have studied problems of common interest. Part of the symposium's rich fare will be the reading of more than 200 papers on the natural and social sciences.

The magnificent Great Hall of the People was bedecked for the auspicious opening. Banners with the words "The 1964 Peking Symposium" in Chinese, English, French and Spanish, written in white against a gold background, formed the backdrop for the rostrum which was lined with huge red flags and potted flowers and palm trees.

## Solidarity and Friendship

From four continents sat scientists who had looked forward to this meeting for nearly a year following last September's preparatory meeting. Many were men and women highly reputed in international scientific circles. Many were research workers with acknowledged outstanding achievements in their special fields.

Others were leaders of scientific institutions and organizations. Although the colour of their skins and their costumes differed all reflected full confidence they would write a new page in the history of world science.

The opening ceremony was attended by Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Nieh Jung-chen; Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences; Lin Feng, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee; and Li Ssu-kuang, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Chairman of the Scientific and Technical Association of China.

Also present were leading officials from various Chinese government departments, well-known representatives of Peking's scientific and cultural circles, non-participating guest scientists from Asia, Africa, Europe and America, peace champions from different countries and foreign specialists now in the Chinese capital.

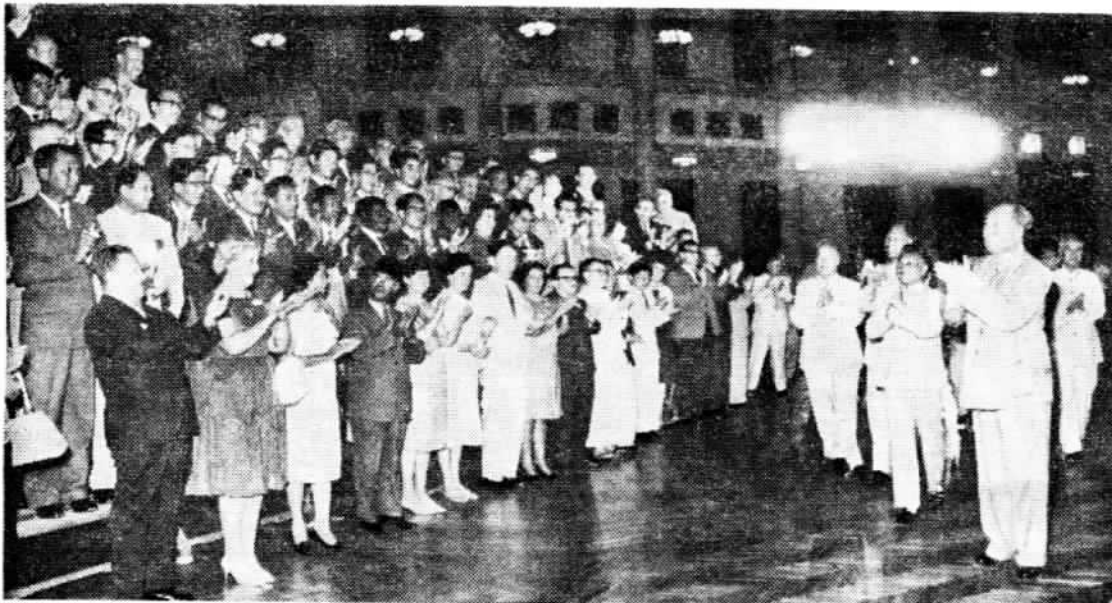
Members of the presidium of the Peking Symposium sat on the rostrum with the Chinese leaders. According to the decision of the preparatory meeting, it included representatives of scientists from all participating countries and regions with each country or

region, large or small, having one member. The plenary session of the symposium is being presided over in rotation by presidium members acting as rotating executive chairmen.

### Historic Scientific Meeting

The ceremony began with a group of Young Pioneers running up to the rostrum to present bouquets to the members of the presidium amidst thunderous applause and lively music.

After a welcome speech by Kuo Mo-jo (excerpts of speech on p.9.), a message of greetings was read by Vice-Premier Nieh Jung-chen, Chairman of the Scientific and Technological Commission of China.



Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other leaders receive the scientists

On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, Nieh Jung-chen extended hearty congratulations to the symposium and a warm welcome to the participating scientists from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania. He said that it was an event of historic significance that the scientists of these four continents, as masters in their own house, have been able to prepare and convene this unprecedented international conference embracing multiple branches of science. (Full text, p.7.)

Cables and letters of salutation from Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; Kim Il Sung, Premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; Sukarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia; Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia; Ahmed Ben Bella, President of the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria; Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Southern Viet Nam National Front of Liberation; and Dr. Subandrio, First Vice-Prime Minister of Indonesia, were read at the opening ceremony.

Speaking at this occasion, 37 leaders of delegations and scientists hailed the symposium as a meeting of unity and co-operation of scientists from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania. It was pointed out that the meeting demonstrated that the day had gone for ever when imperialism and colonialism could monopolize science, and that there were infinite prospects for scientific work on these four continents. The speakers expressed full confidence the meeting would successfully promote the exchange and development of science and culture between the four continents.

### Welcomed by Chinese Leaders

On August 23, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the Government, including Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, Chen Yi, Tan Chen-lin, Lu Ting-yi, Kang Sheng, Lo

## Peking Symposium Presidium

Abdul Shokur Wali (Afghanistan), David P.S. Wasawo (the East African Academy—Kenya, Uganda, United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar), Touri Rachid (Algeria), Rocha (Angola), W.N. Christiansen (Australia), Mario Miranda Pacheco (Bolivia), Nyi Nyi (Burma), Museru Bonaventure (Burundi), Phlek Chhat (Cambodia), Nandadeva Wijesekera (Ceylon), Ambrosio Rabanales Ortiz (Chile), Chou Pei-yuan (China), Juan Mora Rubio (Colombia), Makany Levy (the Congo [B.]), Julio le Riverend Brusone (Cuba), Guenum Micheline (Dahomey), John Emmanuel Cudjoe (Ghana), Toure Fode Mamadou (Guinea), L.G.J. Samallo (Indonesia), Wadi Fatullah Mirza (Iraq), Shoichi Sakata (Japan), Wasfi A. Hijab (Jordan), Zung Jin Suk (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea), Salwa C. Nassar (Lebanon), Rablaza Aime (Malgache), Bagayogo Yaya (Mali), Guillermo Montano (Mexico), Lahlou Abbes (Morocco), Samb Debb Pande (Nepal), John Augustus Grant-Mackie (New Zealand), Chike Obi (Nigeria), Karimullah (Pakistan), Samba Ndiaye (Senegal), Sahr Fillie-Faboe (Sierra Leone), Ali Sheikh Mohamed (Somalia), Hussein Idris (the Sudan), Khaled Maghout (Syria), Kularb Saipraditt (Thailand), Ahmed Riad Tourky (the United Arab Republic), Tran Huy Lieu (the Viet Nam Democratic Republic), Nguyen Van Hieu (south Viet Nam), and Mohamed Said al Attar (the Yemen).

Jui-ching, Kuo Mo-jo, Lin Feng and Yang Shang-kun, received the presidium members and the other scientists participating in the symposium. They received a hearty welcome from Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the other leaders.

On August 21, before the opening ceremony. Chairman Chu Teh, accompanied by other Chinese leaders, also had a friendly talk with the presidium members. "We welcome and are grateful that you have come here to attend the symposium. We wish the Peking Symposium success." Chairman Chu Teh told the scientists.

A day earlier, Li Ssu-kuang, Chairman of the Scientific and Technical Association of China, gave a reception at the Great Hall of the People in honour of the foreign scientists attending the symposium. Among the Chinese leaders present were Chen Yi, Lu Ting-yi and Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premiers of the State Council.

In proposing a toast to the scientists, Vice-Premier Chen Yi extended warm welcome to them on behalf of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people and wished the symposium a great success.

Li Ssu-kuang expressed his gratitude to all the scientists and governments that support the symposium.

### Press Acclaims the Event

All leading Chinese papers, national and local, gave great prominence to the 1964 Peking Symposium. On August 22, in the capital the opening of the international meeting was frontpage news, and the speeches by Vice-Premier Nieh Jung-chen and Vice-Chairman Kuo Mo-jo were featured. Greetings from the leaders of countries in Asia and Africa and excerpts from speeches of the delegates were printed. In addition, *Renmin Ribao* devoted four pages to the full texts of the scientists' speeches.

Peking's leading papers also carried editorials wholeheartedly welcoming the symposium and wished it success. They called it a gathering of unity and co-operation among the scientists of four continents.

### Vice-Premier Nieh Jung-chen's Speech

# China Greet Peking Symposium

*Following is the full text of a speech by Vice-Premier Nieh Jung-chen greeting the opening of the 1964 Peking Symposium on August 21. Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

### Respected Friends and Comrades:

It is a great honour for me to attend the ceremony opening the 1964 Peking Symposium. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people I extend hearty congratulations to the symposium and a warm welcome to the scientists of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania assembled here.

*Renmin Ribao*, in its editorial "Boundless Prospects for Scientific Development on the Four Continents," declared that the symposium which the scientists were independently holding—free from imperialist and old and new colonialist monopoly and control—marked a great event in the struggle of the people of a vast area for national liberation and social progress. The paper emphasized: "The 1964 Peking Symposium will surely help the development of scientific work in the many countries on the four continents and will help the development of their national economies and culture. It conforms to the common interests of the people of all countries in enhancing unity, opposing imperialism and defending world peace."

### Forums Held and Papers Read

Beginning from August 22, the Hall of Science in Peking's northwest suburbs, where the symposium is taking place, was the scene of great bustle; papers in eight fields—natural science; engineering; agricultural science; medical science; political science and law; economics; education, philology and literature; and philosophy and history—were read and forums held. Scientists from different countries presided in rotation over paper-reading sessions and discussions.

All papers were well received by the scientists and Peking scientific workers, college teachers and students present at the sessions. A number of guest scientists from European and American countries also heard the reports. Scientists from many countries pointed out that the papers would help them explore new ideas. Participants frankly exchanged views and experience and asked questions in the quest of new knowledge.

During intermissions and after the day's work was over, scientists continued their friendly chats on problems of common interest. As the symposium's first week got under way, an atmosphere of solidarity, friendship and mutual help prevailed at the beautiful Peking Science Hall.

It is an event of historic significance that the scientists of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania, as masters in their own house, have been able to prepare and convene this unprecedentedly splendid international conference which embraces multiple branches of science. This occasion marks the renaissance and flourishing of science on our four continents and an unprecedented development of co-operation and solidarity among the scientists of these continents. This symposium will be a review of the strength of the scientists of these continents. We will exchange information on the achievements and experience of our

scientific researches and explore the path for the development of science in our respective countries. We firmly believe that with the concerted efforts of the scientists of different countries and through democratic and free discussions, this symposium will certainly reap satisfactory results, thus contributing to the common development of science in our countries, to world peace and to the cause of human progress.

### **Resounding Reply to Imperialists**

The overwhelming majority of the scientists taking part in this symposium come from countries which were colonies or semi-colonies in the past. This is a most outstanding characteristic of our conference. The science and technology of these countries have absolutely no place in the eyes of the imperialists and colonialists. In international science conferences monopolized by imperialism, the scientists of these countries were never respected, and were even subjected to ostracism or discrimination. To the imperialists, countries like ours are by nature "backward" and "underdeveloped" and our people, born into "inferior nations," are incapable of mastering modern science and technology. But is this so? No, absolutely not! It is true that in the past few centuries science and technology in our countries were in a state of stagnation. This was not our fault, but wholly the result of a long period of imperialist and colonialist aggression and oppression. The overthrow of the rule of imperialism and old and new colonialism—the winning of political independence—paves a broad avenue for the development of our national economy and science. Facts prove that after countries like ours have shaken off the rule of imperialism and colonialism and have won independence one by one, our science and culture have progressed to different degrees in a short space of time and have played an important role in building up our independent national economies. The more than 200 papers submitted to this symposium by scientists of different countries is powerful proof of achievements in scientific development in these countries. The fact that scientists of our four continents can hold such a large-scale symposium is in itself a most resounding reply to the imperialists, and amply shows that the renaissance and flourishing of science on our four continents are inevitable, something no force can ever impede.

### **Thoroughgoing National-Democratic Revolution**

At present, a most serious problem of primary importance confronting most of the countries of our four continents is how to safeguard and consolidate national independence and carry the national-democratic revolution through to the end. More and more people and scientists have come to realize that imperialism and colonialism will never be reconciled to their defeat. The old colonialists attempt to use their remnant forces and influence in the newly independent countries to maintain their colonial interests and even plot for a comeback and restoration of their colonial rule at a future

date, while the neo-colonialists resort to all kinds of deceptive manoeuvres and engage in infiltration and subversion in an attempt to replace the old colonialists. Both old and new colonialism want to take advantage of the backwardness in the economy, culture, science and technique of the newly independent countries and their various difficulties to continue to lord it over them, bully them and control them. In these circumstances, the urgent task confronting these countries is to carry the national-democratic revolution through to the end, completely eliminate the remnant forces and influence of imperialism and colonialism, thoroughly expose the hypocrisy of neo-colonialism and take all the key economic departments, national defence and culture and science into their own hands. It is a protracted, arduous and complicated struggle developing along a tortuous path. This struggle has posed many new questions for scientists in these countries. It demands that the social scientists explore the correct road to national liberation and social progress in their own countries, and that the natural scientists serve the building of an independent national economy and national defence more effectively. Only by uniting closely with the people of their own countries and by taking an active part in this great struggle, can the scientific workers of different countries make due contributions to the cause of safeguarding and consolidating their national independence. At the same time, only with the fulfilment of the tasks of a thoroughgoing national-democratic revolution can science truly be in the hands of the people and fully developed.

### **Most Reliable Way to Develop Science**

In the development of their science, like that of their economy, culture and other work, the newly independent countries cannot rely on others as a substitute for their own efforts, still less can they pin their hopes on any imperialist aid. The most reliable way is for them to follow the course of self-reliance. The newly independent countries have a very poor foundation in science and technology, lagging far behind the developed countries, but their people are industrious, valiant and intelligent and they have rich natural resources. They can undoubtedly raise their scientific and technical level step by step and scale the heights of world science so long as they are capable of proceeding from the actual conditions of their respective countries, making an independent study of their scientific problems, fully mobilizing and bringing into play the labour initiative and creativeness of the people, making full use of their own resources and training their own scientific and technical staffs. We are certainly able to do what others can do, and we are certainly able to achieve what others can achieve. In the history of science, the people of our four continents have made outstanding contributions. I am confident that through the arduous efforts of the scientists and people of different countries, science is bound to flourish in new splendour on our four continents.

It goes without saying that self-reliance is not tantamount to closed-doorism or exclusion of assistance



from abroad. On the contrary, the newly independent countries, while developing their own science and technology through their own efforts, are in need of the support and co-operation of friendly countries and have to learn from all the advanced scientific and technical achievements and experience of other countries in the world. In particular, the overwhelming majority of the countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania have much experience which can prove mutually beneficial because they share the same lot and are faced with the same tasks and problems, and it will be highly conducive to the development of science to strengthen their mutual assistance and co-operation. Such assistance and co-operation are based on equality and mutual benefit, mutual respect, mutual assistance and learning from each other for common progress, without any privileges or conditions attached. Such mutual assistance and co-operation are absolutely sincere and are diametrically opposite to those of imperialism and colonialism which are, in fact, infiltration and subversion carried out in the name of "aid."

### **U.S. Imperialists Abuse Science**

Scientists in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania are shouldering the great mission of developing science in their countries. At the same time, together with all the world's honest and upright scientists, they are also shouldering the noble responsibility of making scientific achievements serve world peace and human progress. At present, the U.S. imperialists

are wantonly abusing scientific achievements by producing weapons for mass slaughter and sanguinarily suppressing the people of the world, above all, the revolutionary movements of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and gravely menacing world peace. These criminal acts of U.S. imperialism thoroughly expose the ugly nature of U.S. science and civilization. Let us scientists of four continents unite with the scientists of all countries of the world, unite with all the people of the world and wage a resolute struggle for world peace, for the dignity of science and against the U.S. imperialists' abuse of scientific achievements to massacre the people.

Friends and comrades! The Chinese people always value the development of their friendship with the people of other countries, and resolutely support every just cause of the people. The holding of the Peking Symposium promotes understanding and friendship not only between Chinese scientists and scientists of our four continents, but also between the Chinese people and the people of these continents. The entire Chinese people are closely watching the convening of this symposium, enthusiastically support the noble task you are now undertaking and place great hope on the symposium. The Chinese people will always march forward shoulder to shoulder with you and with all the people of our four continents for the realization of our common cause.

I wish the Peking Symposium success.

### **Kuo Mo-jo's Speech**

# **Bring Our Science and Culture Into A New Era of Renaissance And Prosperity**

*Following are excerpts from a welcome speech delivered by Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, on August 21 at the ceremony opening the 1964 Peking Symposium.—Ed.*

**T**HE special significance of the Peking Symposium not only is that it is on an international scale rarely seen in the history of science, but, what is even more important, because the scientists of our four continents are attending this symposium as its masters. This is an event of great importance. It shows that on our continents, long regarded as underdeveloped regions by the imperialists, the countries which have gained political independence have also made impor-

tant advances in science and culture. The people and scientific workers of our four continents have awakened, shattered the control and monopoly of science by the imperialists and the old and new colonialists, begun to master the sciences and are determined to bring our science and culture into a new era of renaissance and prosperity. It also demonstrates that the people and scientific workers of our continents have broken down the barriers set up between us by imperialism, restored our scientific and cultural ties which existed long ago in history, and are determined to carry out co-operation and exchange on a new basis and on an even larger scale. Therefore, this symposium is an important meeting symbolizing the further unity and co-operation of our continents' scientists.

China suffered many years of imperialist ravage. Before liberation, because the country was not independent politically, our national economy and culture were very poor and backward. Chinese scientists of the older generation can clearly remember how difficult it was to do scientific research in old China. At that time the very existence of our country hung in the balance, and our people were in the depth of misery. Scientists were in deep distress; their living was precarious. Some even lived in semi-starvation. How could scientists settle down and engage in research work under such circumstances? And what research facilities were there for them, even if they had every intention to work? It is only after the founding of the People's Republic of China that the Chinese scientists obtained the opportunity to bring into full play their talent, and science in China has had a rebirth.

Since liberation great progress has been made in science in our country, thanks to the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the solicitude of and active support by the People's Government. We have worked out a long-term programme for the development of our science and technology. We have strengthened different types of institutes of higher learning and established many new ones. We have established a great number of scientific research institutions as well as scientific research bases, and have thus trained large numbers of young scientific and technical personnel and rapidly increased our scientific and technical staffs. The sci-

entists and technicians of our country are assured every security. The Government has, moreover, provided them with favourable working conditions to facilitate their scientific pursuits. As our socialist construction develops continuously, boundlessly bright prospects have emerged for science in China.

In the past 15 years, as a result of the enthusiastic efforts made by our scientific workers, our achievements in scientific research have far surpassed those of the old days both in quantity and in quality. Motivated by the spirit of serving the people and production, our scientific workers have made considerable contribution to national construction. However, our scientific undertakings fall far short of the needs of the country and the people and are still far below the advanced level of world science in the 1960s. Our scientific workers have to go all out to catch up. We must exert ourselves to the utmost, and rely on our own efforts to attain more and greater achievements in every field of science. At the same time, we must earnestly learn from the scientific and technical achievements and advanced experience of other countries. The Peking Symposium provides Chinese scientists with an excellent opportunity for learning from their colleagues. We will certainly not let this chance go by, but we shall learn modestly from scientists of different countries. On the other hand, should some of our experiences be of any reference value to you, we are willing to offer them unsparingly, and it is our hope that we will benefit by your criticism.

### Sino-Rumanian Fraternal Friendship

# Rumania's Liberation Anniversary Honoured

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**T**WENTY years ago, on August 23, 1944, seizing the favourable circumstances created by the victorious development of the anti-fascist war, the Communist Party of Rumania led the people in an armed uprising, overthrew the reactionary Antonescu regime and speedily liberated the whole country. This opened a new chapter in Rumania's history. Today, on the anniversary of this glorious occasion, the Chinese people extend their warmest and fraternal greetings to the Rumanian people.

The Chinese Communist Party and state leaders Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai

sent a joint message of greetings to the Rumanian Party and state leaders (see box). Messages were also sent by Foreign Minister Chen Yi and many Chinese people's organizations to their Rumanian counterparts. A delegation of the Chinese Communist Party and Government led by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, is in Bucharest to attend the celebrations there.

On August 21, Peking held an anniversary rally. Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier, and Lin Feng, Member of the Party's

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## Message of Greetings From Chinese Leaders

**Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and Chairman of the State Council of the Rumanian People's Republic,**

**Comrade I.G. Maurer, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic,**

On behalf of the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China, we express warm greetings to the Rumanian people, the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Rumania.

August 23 is a glorious festival for the Rumanian people. Under the leadership of the Rumanian Communist Party led by Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej, the Rumanian people heroically rose in an armed uprising and overthrew the reactionary rule of Antonescu 20 years ago. Thus they laid a successful foundation for the establishment of a people's democratic regime and opened up a new page in their history.

For the past 20 years, the hard-working and talented Rumanian people have, under the leadership of the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic led by Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej, united as one man, worked industriously and achieved great successes in the building of socialism by relying mainly on their own strength and their national resources. With full confidence they are now implementing the Six-Year Plan for the development of national economy and working for a new upsurge in the development of the national economy. The Chinese people sincerely rejoice over the fraternal Rumanian people's achievements and wish them new successes in the cause of socialist construction.

The Rumanian People's Republic has consistently followed a peaceful foreign policy and has made unremitting efforts for the defence of peace in Europe and the world. Persisting in the development of

relations of mutual help and co-operation with other socialist countries on the basis of the principles guiding mutual relations between the fraternal Parties and countries as set forth in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic have positively contributed to safeguarding the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement.

The Chinese and Rumanian peoples have cemented a profound friendship between them in the protracted common struggles of revolution and socialist construction. We are glad to note that the friendship between our two peoples built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is being steadily strengthened and that the friendly co-operation between the two countries in the fields of economy, culture, science and technology is constantly increasing on the basis of the principle of mutual respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit, mutual aid and co-operation. This not only fully conforms to the common interests of our two peoples but also contributes to the strengthening of the unity and might of the socialist camp. We are firmly convinced that the fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Rumanian peoples will surely be further consolidated and developed in their common struggle for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

May the fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Rumanian peoples be for ever green!

**Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.**

**Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China.**

**Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China.**

**Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.**

August 22, 1964

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Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress were present. Lu Ping, President of the China-Rumania Friendship Association and Dumitru Gheorghiu, Rumanian Ambassador to China, addressed the meeting.

**Successes on Road of Independent Development.** Lu Ping, in the name of the people of Peking, gave greetings to the people of Rumania. He detailed the major achievements of the Rumanian people in the past 20 years under the leadership of the Rumanian Workers' Party headed by Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

August 28, 1964

These achievements, he said, showed again that a socialist country, persisting in socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, relying mainly on the strength of its own people, making full use of its domestic resources and building its national economy on an independent basis, could definitely transform itself from a backward agricultural country into a modern industrial and prosperous agricultural country.

Lu Ping said that the Chinese people rejoiced at the heroic, firm-willed Rumanian people's great successes in building socialism.

"We regard these achievements as a contribution to the strength of the socialist camp. We are convinced that by holding to the road of independent economic construction, the Rumanian people led by their Workers' Party will win even greater successes in building socialism," Lu Ping said.

**Rumanian-Chinese Friendship.** In his speech the Rumanian Ambassador described the heroic struggle waged for the liberation of their country by the Rumanian people under the leadership of the Rumanian Communist Party headed by Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and the major achievements made by the Rumanian people in socialist construction in the past 20 years. He warmly acclaimed the great achievements won by the Chinese people in socialist revolution and socialist construction. He warmly acclaimed the profound friendship that has been cemented between the peoples of Rumania and China, and stressed how greatly the people of Rumania valued the growth of that friendship and of co-operation between the Rumanian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China.

The anniversary reception given by the Rumanian Ambassador was attended by the Chinese leaders Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, Chen Yi and Lin Feng. In his anniversary speech the Ambassador said, "Since the taking over of political power by the proletariat of the two countries, relations of friendship and fraternal co-operation have been established between the Rumanian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and these have developed year by year to the benefit of both peoples, of the strengthening of the unity of the great community of socialist countries, and of peace the world over."

The Ambassador said, "In the year of the 20th anniversary of the liberation, Rumania is a country in full progress, with a flourishing economy and culture serving the growth of the wellbeing of the working people." He added that during the years of people's power, a powerful industry and a socialist agriculture had been created. Last year, industrial output was 7.4 times as large as in 1938, while the average output of cereals in the first four years of the Six-Year Plan was more than 25 per cent higher than that of the 1934-38 period.

Hailing the victory and achievements of the Chinese revolution, the Ambassador concluded: "The Rumanian people wholeheartedly appreciate the important achievements of the Chinese people gained in creative work in building socialism and in raising the level of their material and cultural life under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China."

Greeting the Rumanian Workers' Party, Government and people, on behalf of the Chinese Communist

Party, Government and people, Vice-Premier Chen Yi in his speech, said: "A profound and unbreakable friendship has been established between the Chinese and Rumanian peoples in their common struggle for the building of socialism and defence of world peace. The relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Rumania in the fields of economy, culture and science and technology have been continuously strengthened and developed.

"The relationship between China and Rumania fully accords with the principles of mutual support, mutual assistance and respect for each other's independence and equality between socialist countries. One may be fully assured that the Chinese people will, together with the fraternal Rumanian people, work for the further strengthening of the relations of friendship and co-operation between our two countries and the upholding of the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

**Common Opposition to Big-Nation Chauvinism and National Egoism.** *Renmin Ribao*, in its editorial of August 23 marking the anniversary, said that the relations between socialist countries were international relations of a new type. "As the 1957 Moscow Declaration pointed out, 'the socialist countries base their relations on principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty and non-interference in one another's affairs . . . fraternal mutual aid is part and parcel of these relations.' These are the principles which China and Rumania have always observed and put into practice in their relations. Both countries abhor and firmly oppose big-nation chauvinism and national egoism. In the future, the Chinese people will continue to work, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, to strengthen the friendship and unity of the two peoples, to fortify the unity of the socialist camp, to oppose imperialist policies of aggression and war, and to safeguard world peace," the editorial declared.

The rest of the capital's press also carried editorials and articles greeting the fraternal Rumanian people's festival. Besides the Peking rally the Peking railway workers also marked the occasion with a meeting. On the southwest outskirts of Peking a people's commune renamed itself the Sino-Rumanian Friendship People's Commune.

In Bucharest, the Chinese delegation led by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien participated in the anniversary activities of the Rumanian people. At the special session of the Rumanian Grand Assembly held on August 22, Li Hsien-nien made a speech to extend warmest greetings to the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Rumanian Government and people (for text of speech see p.13).

# Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's Speech

*Following is a translation of Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's speech at the Bucharest anniversary meeting on August 22. — Ed.*

**Dear Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej,  
Dear Comrade I.G. Maurer,  
Comrades and friends:**

We the Chinese Party and government delegation feel great happiness and honour to be able to attend, at your invitation, the solemn ceremony in celebration of this glorious festival, the 20th anniversary of the great Rumanian people's liberation of their motherland. Please allow me, on behalf of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Government and people, to express the warmest greetings and highest respect to you, and through you, to the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Rumanian Government and the fraternal Rumanian people.

On August 23, 1944, the Rumanian people, under the leadership of the Rumanian Communist Party and with the victorious advance of the Soviet Red Army, heroically rose in an armed uprising, overthrew the fascist rule at home and abroad and established the people's democratic regime, opening up a new era in Rumanian history. The glorious armed uprising manifested the Rumanian people's firm resolve to oppose oppression and exploitation. The Chinese people have always had great admiration for the Rumanian people's revolutionary spirit of daring to wage struggles and daring to win victory.

The 20 years since liberation have witnessed basic changes in the face of Rumania. Under the leadership of the Rumanian Workers' Party led by Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej, the Rumanian people have achieved brilliant successes in socialist construction. Industrial and agricultural production has increased tremendously and the people's living standards have been raised considerably. Rumania has been changed from an economically backward country into a socialist country with developed industry and agriculture. This fully demonstrates the incomparable superiority and great vitality of the socialist system.

Rumania's achievements in socialist construction are inseparable from the correct policies followed consistently by the Rumanian Workers' Party. The Rumanian comrades have put it well: "A Communist Party which intends to build the edifice of socialism in its own country must first of all depend on its own strength, on the strength of its own people." Facts have proved that any socialist country which persists in this policy can bring into full play the initiative and creativeness of the masses of the people, speed up the development of socialist construction and can make greater internationalist contributions to our common cause.

The Rumanian People's Republic has consistently followed a peaceful foreign policy, opposed the im-

perialist policies of aggression and war and defended peace in Europe and the world. Rumania has made unremitting efforts to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. It is playing an increasingly important role in international affairs.

At this solemn meeting, I express in the name of the 650 million Chinese people sincere joy over your achievements in all spheres of work. We believe that the fraternal Rumanian people will continue to advance along the road of victory and win still greater new successes.

Comrades, we need now, more than at any previous time, to safeguard and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. The Communist Party of China, the Chinese Government and people have unswervingly followed the principles guiding the mutual relations among the fraternal Parties and fraternal countries set forth clearly in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. We are firmly convinced that the great unity of the people of the socialist countries and the Communists of all countries will surely overcome all difficulties and obstacles and develop on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Dear Rumanian comrades, profound friendship has always existed between the Chinese and Rumanian peoples. China and Rumania are fraternal countries in the socialist camp. Our two countries have shown mutual concern and have supported each other in the building of socialism and the struggle against imperialism. We are glad to note that the friendly co-operation between our two countries in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields conforms to the principles guiding the mutual relations among the socialist countries. The friendship and co-operation between our two countries will be further strengthened with the development of the construction work in both countries. You can trust that under all circumstances the Chinese people will unswervingly work to strengthen the mutual assistance between our two peoples and will work together with the Rumanian people in the joint struggle to defend the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Long live the Rumanian People's Republic!

Long live the Rumanian Workers' Party led by Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej!

Long live the industrious and valiant Rumanian people!

Long live the lasting, unbreakable friendship between the Chinese and Rumanian peoples!

Long live the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement!

Long live world peace!

# A Flourishing Theatre to Serve the Socialist Economic Base

by KO CHING-SHIH

*Following is the first instalment of a translation of the speech made by Ko Ching-shih in Shanghai at the East China Modern Drama Festival which lasted from late 1963 to early 1964. It was published in "Hongqi" (No. 15, August 15) with some revisions and additions by the author under the title "Energetically Develop and Foster a Socialist Theatre the Better to Serve the Socialist Economic Base." Ko Ching-shih is a Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the First Secretary of the Central Committee's East China Bureau. The second instalment will appear in a coming issue. Bold-face emphases are ours. — Ed.*

**T**HE development and flourishing of a socialist theatre serving the workers, peasants and soldiers of the socialist era, the politics of the proletariat, the three great revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and the consolidation and development of the socialist economic base, is an extremely important and exacting task of the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction and it is also an important component part of the socialist revolution. **To carry out this task, it is necessary to reform the theatre under the guidance of the Communist Party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to let the new emerge," by rejecting what is old — capitalist and feudal, and developing what is new — socialist and communist, and vigorously promote dramatic works on contemporary revolutionary themes.**

The work of reforming old plays and promoting new ones involves not only a sharp and complex struggle in theatrical circles and literary and artistic circles in general, but also a revolutionary struggle to "foster proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology," and change old customs and habits. It is part of the socialist revolution that is deep and wide ranging.

In the light of directives issued on various occasions by the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, a modern drama festival for the east China area was held on quite a large scale from late 1963 to early 1964 for the purpose of energetically developing a socialist theatrical art and carrying it to a flourishing maturity, and of thoroughly reforming

the old plays which have long served feudalism or capitalism. Nineteen modern drama troupes from various provinces, municipalities and People's Liberation Army units in east China took part in the festival. They presented a total of 13 two-or-more-act and 7 one-act plays, all written by themselves in 1963. Varied in subject matter and revolutionary and healthy in theme, all these plays depicted our socialist revolution and socialist construction, and concentrated on portraying the socialist era's new people, new things and new outlook, especially those of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They have been well liked and favourably commented on by the masses. Some of these festival offerings, such as *Fighting Upstream*, *People of One Family*, *Drought Fighters*, *After a Bumper Crop*, *First and Second*, *A Mother and Son Get-Together*, *At the Sales Counter*, *The Younger Generation* and *Little Football Team*, are quite good. They have not only earned a place in the modern drama repertoire but also been adapted for other dramatic forms. During this period, we organized festival participants — workers in the theatre and other artistic and literary fields — to study relevant writings by Mao Tse-tung, review the work done in the past few years, sum up and exchange experience, and map out plans for future work. Our political and ideological gains were also great. All this shows that by holding high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking on art and literature, we have won a major victory.

The East China Modern Drama Festival has opened up a broad avenue for the advance of modern drama in our area; it has, in fact, given a powerful impetus to the development and flourishing of all theatrical work in our area. In the east China theatrical world we witness an unprecedented enthusiasm in staging plays on contemporary revolutionary themes. This refers not only to modern drama. In their efforts to reflect the spirit of our great socialist era Peking opera and many other types of local opera, music and dancing, *quyi* balladry and story-telling have all begun to move out of the circle of themes of emperors and kings, prime ministers and generals, scholars and beauties. **In short, our dramatic work and our artistic and literary work as a whole are striving to keep pace with the times under the sympathetic eye of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung the better to answer the demands of our socialist revolution and socialist construction, and the needs of the socialist economic base.**

**In this endeavour they have won enthusiastic praise from the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers.**

Now I wish to deal with a few questions concerning the development and flourishing of a socialist theatre and socialist art and literature as a whole in the light of the existing situation in these fields in the east China area.

# I

## **Our Theatre Must Serve the Politics of the Proletariat And the Socialist Economic Base**

For the theatre as for art and literature as a whole, the question of whom to serve is a fundamental one, a question of principle. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out clearly in 1942 in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*: "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use."<sup>1</sup> Again he said: "Indeed there are literature and art that are for the exploiters and oppressors. Literature and art for the landlord class are feudal literature and art. Such were the literature and art of the ruling class in China's feudal era. And to this day literature and art of this kind still have considerable influence in China. Literature and art for the bourgeoisie are bourgeois literature and art. People like Liang Shih-chiu, whom Lu Hsun criticized, talk about literature and art as transcending classes, but in fact these people uphold bourgeois literature and art and oppose proletarian literature and art. Then there are literature and art that serve the imperialists—for example, the works of Chou Tso-jen, Chang Tzu-ping and their like—which we call traitor literature and art. With us, literature and art are for the people, not for any of the above groups."<sup>2</sup>

The line of literature and art serving the people, serving the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers as pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the fundamental line of our proletarian theatre and of our art and literature as a whole. It is the watershed dividing the proletarian theatre, art and literature from that which are feudal or bourgeois. The question of the theatre, art and literature serving the people, serving the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers is also a question of serving the revolutionary people who constitute more than 90 per cent of the population. The revolutionary theatre, art and literature are to serve the revolutionary people who are the overwhelming majority. It should definitely not serve the landlord class or the bourgeoisie or the old and young survivals of these classes. Serving the people, serving the worker, peasant and soldier masses is the only correct line for our revolutionary proletarian theatre, art and literature.

<sup>1</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, p.23.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p.11.

We must persistently uphold this line both during the stage of the new-democratic revolution in the past, and in the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction at present.

The question of whom the theatre, art and literature should serve is a question that concerns service of the economic base by the superstructure. The theatre, art and literature are part of the superstructure. In a class society, they are all subordinate to and serve the politics of a given class. The superstructure, in the final analysis, must conform to the economic base. It must answer the objective demands of and serve the economic base. In his book *On New Democracy*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave a penetrating exposition of this question: "Any given culture as an ideological form reflects the politics and economy of a given society, and in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon them; economy is the base of society and politics the concentrated expression of this economy. This is our fundamental view on the relation of culture to politics and economy and on the relation between politics and economy."<sup>3</sup> It is inevitable that the theatre, art and literature as part of culture, as ideological forms, as part of the superstructure, must serve the politics of a given class and the economic base of a given society. Every class wants to build a superstructure that serves its own economic base, and to foster a theatre, art and literature that serves its own class interests. The feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie have their own theatre, art and literature that serve them; we, the proletariat, must also have our own theatre, art and literature serving the politics of the proletariat and the socialist economic base. At the stage of the new-democratic revolution, our culture served the struggle against imperialism, against feudalism and against bureaucrat-capitalism. It served the new-democratic politics and the new-democratic economic base. Although our culture at that time had socialist elements—elements which played a decisive role—judging by its essential nature, it was still a new-democratic culture. Now, in the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, our culture must be a socialist culture, with a socialist art and literature, and a socialist theatre. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "A national culture with a socialist content must be the reflection of socialist politics and economy."<sup>4</sup> It is inconceivable that our politics and economy should be socialist while our theatre, art and literature remain capitalist or feudal, or are new-democratic. In the socialist era, the theatre, art and literature have the task of fighting imperialism and feudalism. But their basic and most essential task is to wage a thoroughgoing struggle against capitalism and the bourgeoisie, to serve socialism, and protect, consolidate and develop the socialist economic base. This is a matter that we must make clear in the first place.

<sup>3</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *On New Democracy*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p.3.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, p.73.

**A socialist society is a society in which classes and class struggle exist. During the stage of socialism and throughout the entire historical period of transition from capitalism to communism, there will be a struggle between the two classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and a struggle between the two roads—socialism and capitalism.** On the one hand, we have new people, new things and new ideas and new social habits representing the socialist forces growing and developing vigorously; the broad masses of people are constantly enhancing their political consciousness, heroes and exemplary men and women imbued with socialist and communist ideas emerge one after another; the socialist cause advances fast and the economic base of socialism is daily developing and becoming more firmly consolidated. On the other hand there still exist the old things which obstruct, weaken and undermine the economic base of socialism. Although we have basically eliminated capitalist ownership economically, the struggle between the two classes and between the two roads will not come to an end before all bourgeois influences are liquidated and all sources generating capitalism are eradicated domestically and internationally, so long as imperialism and capitalism remain, in short, before the transition to a communist society is realized. Struggles in the political and ideological spheres are more complicated and tortuous than struggles in the economic field. The bourgeoisie resort to various means including “peaceful evolution” in order to stage a comeback, and under certain conditions the possibility of capitalist restoration may become a reality. **This struggle is bound to be sharply reflected in the theatre and in other spheres of art and literature. Only by waging prolonged, constant and repeated struggles can the growing socialist forces and communist elements gradually overcome and replace the doomed forces of capitalism and feudalism.**

This sharp and complicated class struggle, this deep and extensive socialist revolution, is a stern test for each and every one of us revolutionary workers including those in the spheres of the theatre, art and literature; we have got to define our attitudes unequivocally. Are you going to take an active part in this struggle and defeat capitalist and feudal ideas with socialist and communist ideas, or are you going the other way? Theatrical, art and literary workers should be revolutionaries in the first place. As revolutionaries, you must take an active part in this struggle and not shy away from it; you must publicize socialism and communism and not capitalism and feudalism; you should be on the side of the new things and not the old ones. However, in actual fact our theatrical, art and literary workers take different attitudes towards this struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the two roads—socialism and capitalism. There is a positive as well as a negative attitude; there is also an attitude of opposition. Naturally, no attitude of opposition will be tolerated, but it is also wrong to take a negative attitude in this matter. A negative attitude implies neither fight-

ing against the old things nor backing up the new ones, with the result that the former runs wild while the latter are suppressed. With such an attitude how can new things grow rapidly and the old be thoroughly defeated? If we do not solve this question by taking stock of our fundamental stand and attitude we cannot become genuine revolutionaries, and service to socialism becomes just so much empty talk.

**How, then, should our art, literary and theatrical workers serve socialism? They must employ the weapon of art and literature in actual struggles, and through the power of artistic imagery to move and influence people, publicize socialist and communist ideas, combat capitalist and feudal ideas, inspire and educate the people, enhance their political consciousness and encourage their revolutionary spirit.** The theatre, art and literature as weapons of the socialist revolution must not only educate the people in revolutionary traditions but also in the prospects of the revolution, inspire them to uphold lofty revolutionary aims, resolutely carry the socialist revolution through to the end, actively support the revolutionary struggles of the world's peoples and strive for the emancipation of all mankind and the realization of communism throughout the world. “It [literature] must become Party literature.” (Lenin)<sup>5</sup> The Party character and class character of our revolutionary theatre, art and literature determine this. However, now, after the victory of the socialist revolution there are people who regard the theatre, art and literature not as weapons for carrying on the Chinese revolution and world revolution but as things to amuse and entertain. Obviously this view is not Marxist-Leninist and runs counter to the orientation of a revolutionary theatre, art and literature. **In a socialist society, if the theatre, art and literature are not made to serve the proletariat, then they cease to be the superstructure of socialism, and will instead degenerate, take the road of revisionism and become part of the superstructure rendering service to the restoration of capitalism. Have not the modern revisionist superstructure, theatre, art and literature already become out-and-out instruments of capitalist restoration? They are doing their utmost to spread the bourgeois theory of human nature, humanism, pacifism, the doctrine of personal well-being and the corrupt and decadent bourgeois way of life; they are also exerting themselves to oppose revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, smear the socialist system, serve the imperialist policy of “peaceful evolution” and become an instrument paving the way for capitalist restoration. We must conscientiously study and learn the serious lesson that this experience gives.**

The theatre is an art form that has a mass character. Through the images it creates on the stage, it exerts a strong influence on audiences of millions.

<sup>5</sup> V.I. Lenin, “Party Organization and Party Literature,” *Collected Works*, Volume 10, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1962, p.45.



Good plays have a good influence and vice versa. Therefore, every theatrical worker must be fully aware of his heavy responsibility. Guided by the spirit of responsibility to the revolution and to the masses, he must write good scripts and stage plays on contemporary revolutionary themes well, firmly adhere to Mao Tse-tung's thinking on art and literature and wage a resolute struggle against all wrong ideas which run counter to it.

Since the founding of New China, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thinking on art and literature, our effort to develop the theatre in the east China area has been highly successful. This must not be underrated. But it must also be recognized that its results are still a long way from being able to suit the socialist economic base. There are certain people in our theatrical circles who pay lip-service to the line of art and literature serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, but who do not follow this Party line in practice. For 15 years, they did very little to reflect actual life and struggles under socialism; to tell the truth, one scarcely knows if they have done anything at all. They are enthusiastic about plays and operas of the bourgeoisie and the feudal class, energetically propagate foreign and ancient ones and put on plays and operas about "dead people" and ghosts on a big scale; they criticize and find fault with our socialist theatre and try to hold back its swift development. Certain people, Communists at that, turn a blind eye to such things; they are neither distressed by them, nor do they intervene, or put a stop to or oppose bad plays and operas publicizing feudalism or capitalism; in fact, they even find excuses for the latter, with such remarks as "there's no harm in ghosts," "there is a popular character to feudal ethics," and so on and so forth. On the other hand, instead of enthusiastically supporting dramatic art reflecting actual life and revolutionary struggles, they are cold and indifferent to it. All this profoundly reflects the struggle of the two roads and the struggle of the two lines in our theatrical and art and literary worlds. Such struggles are in essence a struggle to determine which class the theatre, and art and literature are to serve. This struggle on the art and literary front will go on while classes and class struggle remain; we must persevere in it and wage it to the end.

## II

### **The Socialist Theatre Must Take as Its Main Task the Reflection of Actual Life and Struggles Under Socialism and the Portrayal of the Masses of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers of the Socialist Era**

Since we want the theatre to serve proletarian politics and the socialist economic base, we must energetically promote dramas on contemporary themes reflecting socialist revolution and socialist construction since the founding of New China. We must actively

portray the actual life and struggles of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers in the socialist era and warmly sing of the new people and new things, new ideology and new social habits that characterize the industrial, agricultural, military, educational and commercial fronts. Of course, the reflection of revolutionary struggles in the new-democratic period is also necessary, but the greatest energy should be put into creating dramas reflecting the socialist era. Only so can modern revolutionary dramatic works reflecting the socialist era and portraying the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers become the mainstream of our theatre. And only so can we throw ourselves, with vigour and inventiveness, into the task of creating more and nobler heroic images of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, describing how they mature in the three great revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment, and holding them up as models for the great masses of the people to learn from and emulate, so that more heroic and model people may swiftly emerge.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung taught us: "Revolutionary literature and art should create a variety of characters out of actual life and help the masses to propel history onward."<sup>6</sup> This is not only the guiding principle for the creation of our socialist theatre; it is also its glorious responsibility. The labouring people are the masters of history. The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers of the socialist era are the creators and builders of the new life. The history of the development of a proletarian theatre and art and literature can be said to be the history of the proletariat and the labouring people, under the leadership of the Party, striving to express themselves in the theatre and in art and literature, the history of their using the theatre and art and literature as weapons in the struggle for self-emancipation. **In the socialist era our theatre can acquire inexhaustible vitality and a great future for development only by taking as its mainstream the reflection of actual life and struggles and the portrayal of the worker, peasant and soldier masses.** Theatrical workers must create more images of perfect, positive, heroic characters, warmly sing of their proletarian revolutionary spirit and noble communist qualities, and effectively criticize negative characters, so as to release the full militant potentialities of the revolutionary theatrical arts. **Only by taking the line of portraying the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers can theatrical workers throw themselves into actual life and struggles, familiarize themselves with the worker, peasant and soldier masses, identify themselves with them, remould their own ideologies thoroughly, and so truly become proletarian theatrical workers and make our theatre a truly socialist theatre.**

Does this mean, then, that dramas with other contents are forbidden? No. Plays and operas that accu-

<sup>6</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, p.20.

rately reflect the class struggle and the national-liberation struggle in the history of our country or such struggles in other countries, those that expose the ugly face of the imperialist and feudal rulers and of the bourgeoisie, all those that help the masses push history forward, all those with revolutionary significance, can be staged. All traditional dramas which, after adaptation, enable the ancient to serve the modern, all those plays and operas which benefit the people, can also be staged, provided they do not go contrary to the six political criteria set down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. But, in our socialist theatre, the mainstream must be the reflection of socialist life and struggles and the portrayal of the worker, peasant and soldier masses of the socialist era. This is a point that must be reasserted and clearly understood.

As to the reason why dramas on contemporary revolutionary themes should be promoted, even up to now there are people who still hold different views. It has been said: they should be promoted because times have changed, society has changed; any artistic form should be able to reflect "both the life of the ancients and that of present-day people; and portray characters of various classes," only so can the inadequacy of dramatic art be "made up for," only so can it be made "complete, rich and powerful." Clearly, such a view is divorced from class analysis and is a misrepresentation of the reason why we advocate a contemporary revolutionary dramatic art. **We advocate such an art not at all because there exists a need to make up for some inadequacy or other, but because it involves a fundamental reform of the theatre. It is a fundamental question of setting the theatre in the right direction, of making the workers, peasants and soldiers become the masters of the stage and making the theatre serve socialism.**

If modern drama has to reflect "both the life of the ancients and that of present-day people and portray characters of various classes" before it can be considered "complete, rich and powerful," then what are you going to portray as the mainstream—the worker, peasant and soldier masses of the socialist era, or the emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties of feudal times? Will you sing of the revolutionary masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, criticize characters of the capitalist and other reactionary classes, or just the opposite? People who hold the views outlined above may outwardly agree with the revolution in the theatre and with portraying the workers, peasants and soldiers, but in actual fact they are protecting the emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties. The most they are willing to give the former is an auxiliary status. It seems as if both we and they are advocating drama on contemporary themes but there is a difference as to what kind we have in mind—revolutionary, non-revolutionary, or counter-revolutionary. What we promote is the socialist theatre, and not something

else; a dramatic art with contemporary revolutionary themes, and not some other kind of drama with contemporary themes.

It is precisely for this reason that the imperialists and modern revisionists execrate our promotion of dramas on contemporary themes. The imperialists spread nonsense about our having replaced the "immensely popular old plays and operas with kings, princes, wisemen and courtesans" with "purposely drab" plays on contemporary themes. Cheek by jowl with the imperialists and echoing their slander, the modern revisionists also launched an unbridled attack on dramatic works with contemporary themes, using such phrases about them as "puritanical" works "bound by set patterns" and "pernicious and vulgar dogmas." These attacks and slanders show that, starting from their reactionary bourgeois class stand, the modern revisionists are utterly incapable of understanding what socialist drama is and what dramas on contemporary revolutionary themes are. In their countries, not only dramas on contemporary revolutionary themes but genuine Marxism-Leninism with great vitality and vigour is also condemned as "puritanical" and "pernicious and vulgar dogmas." Imperialist and modern revisionist attacks and slanders no matter what they say cannot harm us in the slightest, they only go to show that our promotion of a socialist dramatic art and of plays and operas on contemporary revolutionary themes is absolutely correct and necessary.

The life of the people, of the workers, peasants and soldiers, is the inexhaustible source of our creative work. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "What in the last analysis is the source of all literature and art? Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society. Revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists."<sup>7</sup> The people's life in the socialist era is rich and colourful, vivid and vigorous. China has a history of several thousand years. In those thousands of years, the people, as makers of history, had their brilliant life and struggles. But under prolonged reactionary rule, they were oppressed and exploited and their life was miserable. Today the revolution has achieved nationwide victory and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism—the three great mountains weighing down on the heads of the Chinese people—have been overthrown; political liberation has been achieved and the people have been freed from oppression; capitalist private ownership of the means of production has been eliminated and the people have been freed from exploitation. Under these circumstances, the Chinese labouring people, led by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, are bringing their wisdom and boundless creative energy into full play, working for

<sup>7</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, p.18.

the great cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction and striving to realize their great communist ideal. People are transforming the world while remoulding themselves in the three great revolutionary movements—in class struggle, production and scientific experiment—on the industrial, agricultural, military, educational and commercial fronts. In these struggles, there are contradictions between the enemy and ourselves as well as contradictions among the people, including those between the more advanced and the backward. **Our cause and our people are continuously advancing by constantly resolving all kinds of contradictions and surmounting all kinds of difficulties. In actual life and struggle our workers, peasants and soldiers and their cadres are rapidly enhancing their socialist and communist consciousness and their spiritual outlook has taken on an altogether new look. New people, new deeds, new ideas and new habits are appearing in large numbers on all fronts and in every field. There is an increasing number of socialist and collectivist heroes and exemplary people.**

Even fragmentary materials for the east China area show that new people are to be found everywhere and new deeds are being performed all the time: Some of them have demonstrated a firm stand in the class struggle, unmoved by the enemy's threats or bribery, uncorrupted by old ideas and influences, and always maintaining the fine innate qualities of a proletarian fighter. The Party branch secretary in *Old Ho Comes to the Home of Small Keng*, and the P.L.A. soldiers lauded in *The Good Eighth Company on Nanking Road* are people of this type. The Yangchow opera *The Seal* and the modern play *On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights* are the reflection of the brilliant qualities of these proletarian fighters in literature.

Led by Party branch secretary Chen Yi-mei, a national model peasant, members of what is now the Chenchiachuang Brigade of the Chenchuang People's Commune in Chufu County, Shantung Province, began organizing an agricultural producers' co-operative in 1952 and raised output 67 per cent within three years. In an editor's note to an article in *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside* Comrade Mao Tse-lung praised it as a "very well run co-op." But the leadership of this brigade was at one time in 1961 usurped by the class enemy and its production suffered sabotage; its per *mu* yield dropped from 450 to 300 *jin*. Chen Yi-mei, however, kept up the struggle by relying closely on former poor and lower-middle peasants. In the socialist education movement, they organized a committee of poor and lower-middle peasants, established their hegemony, repulsed the attacks of the capitalist and feudal forces and recovered the leadership. Today their production has made new gains—their per *mu* yield has doubled from 300 to 600 *jin*.

Cheng Teh-wang, a Shanghai pedicab driver, provides another example. In his everyday work, he serves his passengers wholeheartedly, always offering that which is convenient to others while tackling the

difficulties himself. In his work he actively helps maintain social order, defends the interests of socialism and wages a resolute struggle against evil and evil-doers. Since 1962 he has helped the Government clear up 11 cases involving violations of the law.

Others have worked selflessly in industrial production. In order to increase output, improve quality, lower costs, introduce technical innovations or make inventions, they have studied hard, been persevering in research, and made great contributions. The Yongxin Seamless Tube Mill in Shanghai used to be a small factory in a back alley. With veteran worker Pan Ah-yao and others leading the way, the Yongxin workers turned out a batch of high-grade precision seamless tubes with their own equipment and technique. In the process, they went in energetically for research and improved the machines for making tubes with irregular shapes, thereby solving the problem of mass producing such tubes.

Staff members and workers of the Shanghai Alcohol Distillery worked hard to equip their plant themselves. Within a few years, they turned a small, ramshackle factory into a modern plant employing a technological process which is advanced even by world standards. This was accomplished by constantly introducing technical innovations. This distillery is producing more than five times as much alcohol as it did in 1957. Many workers grew so absorbed in solving key technical problems and introducing innovations that they neglected meals and sleep; they were tireless on the job.

Still others have devoted themselves wholeheartedly to running collective production well in agriculture. They have worked hard to change extremely unfavourable conditions of production, studied agricultural techniques to turn low-yielding plots into high-yielding ones and high-yielding plots into still more productive ones. There is a production team in Kiangsi Province which goes by the name of the "Rocket Team." Its leader is a young girl named Ting Chang-hua. Her farm used to be very poor. The soil was sandy and yields were low, but she has noble aspirations and a great deal of drive; she takes the lead at work and puts heart and soul into guiding her team members to do their collective production well. For several years their per *mu* grain yield has been above the 1,100 *jin* or 1,200 *jin* mark and their per *mu* ginned cotton yield topped the 200 *jin* level. They are also raising many pigs, averaging nearly two pigs per *mu* of land. If one asks why she has led production so successfully, her experience may be summed up under four heads: 1. she is just and selfless; 2. she sets an example by her own conduct; 3. she adheres to the mass line; and 4. she conducts scientific experiments.

There is a farm called the Siyang Farm in Kiangsu Province; it is a state farm located by the old course of the Yellow River and its soil is sandy. Chang Hsueh-tung, director of the farm, used to be a peasant who took part in the guerrilla war. After joining the

farm, he helped build it up till it succeeded in gathering 200 *jin* of ginned cotton from every *mu* of land. Converting the output of sweet potatoes into food grain at the ratio of four to one, the per *mu* yield in other places generally amounts to 300 or 400 *jin*, but when I visited the farm in 1962, I found that it harvested over 500 *jin* per *mu* in spite of bad weather. This was not all. He also brought neighbouring production teams forward. With him leading the way, the backward teams were able to increase production greatly within a year.

There is a Tsulai People's Commune in Taian County, Shantung Province. By relying on their own efforts and with the tenacious spirit of the legendary Yukung [the "Foolish Old Man"] who tried to remove two mountains blocking the way to his house, its members and cadres terraced the mountain slopes, detained flood water in a reservoir, changed the face of their poor mountainous region, and raised their per *mu* grain yield to 600 *jin*.

In the battle against natural calamities, some of them kept in view what served the overall interests and displayed a fine communist style and a heroic and determined revolutionary will. Many moving events took place in the fight against drought in 1963 in Fukien. After many months of dry weather, when one river dried up, its bed was dug deeper to get water from another river. The spirit of "subordinating the smaller interests to the large" as described in the play *Drought Fighters* about the cadres and members of the Longjiang Brigade of the Bangshan People's Commune in Lunghai County, Fukien Province, mirrors the battle against drought waged throughout the province. Another outstanding instance of preserving the general interests at the cost of specific interests occurred in 1963 when waters were diverted from heavily flooded areas of Hopei Province into Shantung Province. In Enxianwa alone, hundreds of thousands of *mu* of land were purposely flooded to save a larger area of crops elsewhere. To check and store these floodwaters, a temporary dyke was built in a great hurry. But when people stood on it, it was as soft as "standing on a mattress." It proved unable in places to withstand the onslaught of storms and waves, and it was breached in several spots. What then? Men of the P.L.A., cadres and ordinary folk, battling the stormy waves, formed a human wall by linking arms in the water in front of the dyke. This and other effective measures finally saved the day.

In dealing with matters concerning relations between the state, the collective and the individual, some stand on a high plane and look far ahead, putting the interests of the state first and those of the collective and the individual second. For several years past, for instance, the Party branch of the Jiangxin Brigade of the Mianchuan People's Commune in Pengtse County, Kiangsi Province, has led the commune members in growing good crops to overfulfil the quota of cotton sold to the state. Their slogan is: "Stand at the door-

step, and see Tien An Men"—a slogan which has exerted a deep influence over a wide area. Moreover, in various parts of the country many people's communes and their members not only enthusiastically fulfil their task of paying the grain tax and selling grain to the state to support national construction; but when natural calamities have occurred elsewhere, they have preferred to reduce their own consumption so that they could sell their surplus grain to the state over and above the quota and thus help relieve the stricken areas. The masses' lofty spirit of placing the interests of the state above those of their collective is portrayed in the play *After the Rich Harvest*.

Within the ranks of our P.L.A. and militiamen, heroes and pace-setters have come to the fore in ever greater numbers. Kuo Hsing-fu, the leader of a company in Nanking, has created an advanced teaching method which has been adopted throughout the army. Chao Erh-chun, a sailor of a certain naval unit, and Wang Yung-tsai, a soldier of a certain army unit in Tsinan, gave their lives fighting fire and flood. Su Wang-chao, leader of a militia company in Pingyang County, Chekiang Province, led all the members of his family in putting out of action a group of armed Chiang Kai-shek agents. Members of three generations of the family of Lu Chih-yu, a fisherman on Kungtung Island off the coast of Shantung Province, are militiamen who excel in marksmanship. With a rudder in one hand and a rifle in the other, they guard the coastline of their motherland in co-ordination with the P.L.A.

There are noble spirits too among many of our scientists and medical workers. They tirelessly tackle difficult scientific problems and have painstakingly and swiftly handled almost incurable cases. For instance, doctors and nurses of the Guangei Hospital in Shanghai worked hard and successfully to heal the severe burns of the worker Chiu Tsai-kang. Doctors and nurses of the No. 6 People's Hospital in Shanghai succeeded in rejoining Wang Tsun-po's severed hand to his arm. These achievements are precedents seldom found in the world history of medical science.

In the course of the movement for learning from Lei Feng, many people like him have appeared in various parts of the country and there have been many moving acts patterned on his example, acts which show a complete and selfless dedication to the interests of others. For example, Chang Wen-ken, a Communist and a messenger of the liaison department of an army unit in Foochow, saw two commune members fall into a large manure pit as they were taking manure from it. Knowing that their lives were in immediate danger, though he himself was ill, he jumped into the pit without caring about the danger to his own life, and helped them out with a great effort. He himself then succumbed to the fumes and he lost consciousness. He recovered only after being given emergency treatment. The people were so touched by his noble spirit in rescuing others at the risk of his own safety that with one voice they praised him as "Chairman Mao's good

soldier." Late one night, when the No. 4 Normal School in Shanghai caught fire, the students, undaunted by the danger, did all they could to put it out. Leaving their own belongings, they risked their lives to salvage the school's equipment and thus reduced the loss of common property.

With the steady advance of the masses in socialist consciousness, a growing number of people have taken part in the struggle to change old customs and habits and to establish the new, socialist way of life. For instance, 120 of the households in Jinxu Lane, Putuo District, Shanghai, formerly worshipped images of gods. But with their class consciousness raised in the movement for socialist education, they have understood the cause of happiness and sufferings and emancipated their minds from the shackles of superstitious beliefs. More than 110 of them have now voluntarily removed or destroyed the objects of their superstition. They said: "We have been deceived by gods and ghosts for many years. We will not allow them to harm our children and grandchildren." Another example is provided by the eight families of workers and staff who live in Tangsheng Lane, Dongmiaociao Road, Xuhui District. These families, since they jointly built their present dwellings and became neighbours in 1952, have consistently stood together and helped each other and shown as great a concern for each other as if they were one family. Advocating simple living and the running of family affairs with industry and thrift, they have earned a reputation as "a stable rear of production." They often call to mind their past sufferings and ponder over the source of their present happiness. They teach their children not to forget the miserable past and to appreciate the sweet present. By example, they educate their children to love labour, find pleasure in helping others and return to the owner anything they may pick up anywhere. In this way, they promote the healthy development of their children both physically and mentally.

These new type of persons, new things, new ideas and new customs are appearing and spreading everywhere in our present socialist society. Here I have confined myself just to a few examples. Even several days and nights would not be long enough for us to give a full account of what we know. And we do not know everything: our knowledge is incomplete. In real life, the new persons and new things are far more numerous and are continuously appearing. In short, the working people of New China are carrying forward the earth-shaking and unprecedented cause of revolution and are creating great and magnificent epics. Inspired by lofty ideals and revolutionary sentiments, they are performing heroic feats which command our admiration and respect. Their images are both ordinary and great. Speaking about them, or hearing about them, one feels elated and deeply moved. **How could revolutionary workers in the theatrical world and in art and literature not wholeheartedly sing the praises of such a great epoch, lovingly portray such great masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and recreate**

**the artistic images of such great heroes. If one does not do this, how can one have a mind to eat and sleep?**

Though life is so rich and there are heroes of such noble character and fine feeling in our midst, there are still some who think otherwise. They assert that plays mirroring the actual life and struggle under socialism are "limited in themes" and "too simple and dry" and the life of workers, peasants and soldiers "coarse," "lacking in interest" and not worth portraying. Such a view is obviously utterly wrong. Their error, if traced to its roots, lies in their class stand, attitude and sentiments. They are unwilling to write about life as it is or to write about workers, peasants and soldiers, because they believe such themes offer no scope for drama and cannot yield much emotion. Can it be that it is only when one writes about emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties of the past, about the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, indulging in the "fine, intricate and melancholy" sentimentality of "boy-meets-girl" stuff that there can be drama, human interest, a power of attraction and a flow of feeling? In our view, the so-called "coarseness" of workers, peasants and soldiers is an expression of revolutionary staunchness. Only those who see with the eyes of aristocrats and lords regard workers, peasants and soldiers as "ignorant and coarse" and lacking in "fine and complex" feelings and thoughts. To the proletariat, it is the feelings of the exploiting classes which are crude and vulgar, corrupt and savage in the extreme. Let us leave aside the emperors and kings, the generals and ministers, the scholars and beauties. As to the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, what is positive about them today that is worth portraying? In the days when the bourgeoisie was on the ascendant, it played a certain progressive role, but as history marched on, it turned into its antithesis. As exploiters, the bourgeoisie is a class that seeks nothing but profit, enriches itself at the expense of others, practises deception, sinks to the depths of degeneration and leads a shameless, sinful and lascivious life. The bourgeoisie is an utterly ruthless class. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels hit the nail on the head when they pointed out: "The bourgeoisie . . . has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment.' It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value. . . ."<sup>8</sup> **What is there to write about the bourgeoisie with such human interests and feelings? If we are to write about the bourgeoisie at all, it is emphatically not to sing its praises but to expose it in the struggle we describe. We write about the bourgeoisie not for people to admire**

<sup>8</sup>Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p.36.

**it but to criticize and repudiate and make it a teacher by negative example.** Some of our young people, those who have come of age and those who have not, know nothing about the bourgeoisie, and it would not be amiss to write a few plays about the subject. We do not expose for exposure's sake. **We do so for the purpose of enabling people to recognize the wickedness of the bourgeoisie, using it as a foil to reveal the high-mindedness of the working people and the greatness of communism, to educate the people to wage a determined struggle against the bourgeoisie, eliminate its ideological influence and remould its members into working people.** As to the petty bourgeoisie, it is an unstable class, undergoing a gradual process of differentiation and with no future at all in so far as its position as a class is concerned. Petty-bourgeois ideas come within the realm of bourgeois ideology and are in essence bourgeois ideas. The petty bourgeoisie either goes along with and works for the bourgeoisie or else will have to surrender to the proletariat, accept the proletarian outlook and work for the proletariat. The feelings of the petty bourgeoisie are hollow and fragile, philistine and vulgar. The petty bourgeoisie nourishes illusions but in the end sees them shattered. Some people who are themselves petty bourgeois and think and feel in petty-bourgeois ways tend to be infatuated with petty-bourgeois feelings. They hold that only thus can there be a gush of tender feelings, and human interest, but such feelings are nothing but feelings of a bourgeois kind. The feelings of the proletariat are mankind's most exalted, greatest and purest and as such are worthy of our paeans and highest praise.

Since in socialist society contradictions between the enemy and ourselves are still acute and complex it is relatively easy to sharply project this dramatic conflict in plays that deal with such contradictions and help the masses to recognize the enemy and wage a well-directed struggle against him. It is relatively easy to do this. **But with plays characterizing contradictions within the ranks of the people there are still doubts in the minds of quite a number of people as to whether it is at all possible to present, or succeed in presenting, dramatic conflict. Some of the successful plays at this festival of modern drama have given us useful experience.** The most important thing is your approach to contradictions within the ranks of the people, the class stand and viewpoint you take in your creative work. If you write from the proletarian stand and viewpoint, you will succeed, otherwise you will fail and distort reality. Some people whose outlook has not been remoulded approach life from the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois stand and viewpoint and therefore fail to take note of the bright and the positive in our day-to-day life; they see only the backward and the negative. While they lack the revolutionary fervour to extol the new type of people, new things, new ideas, new ways, they take a great interest in what they call "exposing" the seamy side of life. They believe they mirror life as it is, but in fact they make

no distinction between right and wrong and stand truth on its head. "Exposure" in their hands is nothing but a distorted picture of reality from the bourgeois stand. **Of course, we can write about flaws and mistakes in our work, and about defects and errors of the working people, but that is to educate people and has nothing to do with "exposure."** Comrade Mao Tse-tung made this point very clear in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*: "For revolutionary writers and artists the targets for exposure can never be the masses of the people, but only the aggressors, exploiters and oppressors and the evil influence they have on the people. The masses of the people too have shortcomings; these should be overcome by criticism and self-criticism within the people's own ranks, and such criticism and self-criticism is also one of the most important tasks of literature and art. But this should not be regarded as any sort of 'exposure of the people.' As for the people, the question is basically one of education and of raising their level."<sup>9</sup> Then there are comrades, stuffed with petty-bourgeois illusions, who like to imagine the world a perfect place that leaves nothing to be desired. When they come into contact with the dust and heat of everyday life, when they realize that things are not what they believe them to be, they say there is nothing worth writing about, and they feel disappointed and dejected. These comrades should disabuse themselves of such vain illusions. They should be practical and approach problems from the dialectical materialist standpoint, using it to distinguish the main trends from the side issues in developments, the basic substance from the ephemeral phenomenon, the budding new things from the old that are dying. They should know how to take a firm grip of the main trends and the essence of things and know how to spot all that is new and growing, even though it may still be in an embryonic stage. If you observe the contradictions within the ranks of the people from our class standpoint and thus make a concrete analysis of various types of people and various types of contradictions, generalizing them, thrashing out their essence, constructing the plot of your play carefully and artistically, you will certainly be able to produce a profound and well-considered piece of work on the internal contradictions of the people, a piece of writing that will enable the public to benefit from experience and learn lessons and get a good education out of it. We have had quite a number of excellent plays that mainly reflect the contradictions within the ranks of the people, plays that have done a good job in presenting conflicts, that are packed with dramatic action, well considered and conform to real life. The experience represented by these plays can very well dispel doubts that may exist on this score.

There are also people in east China who say that the movies and plays produced in the 30s before the

<sup>9</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, p.34.

War of Resistance Against Japan were excellent as if the present ones were far inferior to those of the past. This is a totally mistaken view. Did we have a revolutionary artistic and literary movement before 1942 when the Yen-an forum on literature and art was held? The answer is definitely yes. In those days the revolutionary artistic and literary movement both in the Soviet and White areas played a positive role in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle; in the upsurge of this struggle of the Chinese people, a great standard bearer of proletarian revolutionary culture—Lu Hsun—did appear on the scene. No one has denied this. Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself has highly evaluated this movement. But could it be said that everything was all right in the orientation of the work in art and literature at that time, that there were no problems in the ideology and understanding of workers in art and literature then? That cannot possibly be said. The Central Committee of the Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung called the forum on literature and art in 1942 precisely because this problem had not been clarified or solved in artistic and literary circles, whether in the 20s, 30s or in the early 40s when it was convened. **It was thanks to the Yen-an forum in 1942, thanks to the talks given by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and thanks to the fact that a solution to the problem of orientation in revolutionary artistic and literary work had been found that a broad avenue was opened up for proletarian revolutionary art and literature and**

**they have since been advancing by leaps and bounds along a correct path. Guided by the line set forth by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, revolutionary art and literature have scored one success after another in the past 22 years as they in actual practice served the workers, peasants and soldiers while the revolution deepened and developed.** Although not all departments on the artistic and literary front in east China have at all times implemented the Party's line on art and literature—and therefore there still exist various problems which need urgent solution—we are far better off today than in the 30s whichever way you look at it. Hence, anyone who today indiscriminately lauds to the sky the art and literature of the 30s not only violates historical facts; to do so, in fact, is tantamount to negating the achievements made after 1942 under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking on art and literature. It also amounts to trying to drag revolutionary art and literature back to the days before the Yen-an forum, to keep them at the stage of the democratic revolution and prevent them from ever advancing to the socialist stage. In other words, it amounts to complete negation of the need to advance and to hold aloft the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking on art and literature. This is something which our workers, peasants, soldiers and the masses as a whole can never allow.

*(To be continued.)*

### U.S. "Complaint" at the U.N.

# Aggressor Must Not Be Allowed to Act As Prosecutor

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**F**OREIGN Minister Xuan Thuy has reaffirmed the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam's categorical rejection of the "complaint" brought by the United States before the U.N. Security Council. This was contained in a communication to the Chinese Foreign Minister on August 21. The D.R.V.'s stand on the question was outlined in a message sent two days earlier to Sivert Nielsen of Norway, the current president of the Security Council.

In his message the D.R.V. Foreign Minister examined U.S. policy of intervention and aggression in Indo-China over the last ten years and the immediate causes of its Aug. 5 naked and brutal attack on the D.R.V. This policy, he pointed out, is aimed at turning this region into a U.S. military base. He laid bare the

U.S. machinations to use the United Nations to involve other countries in its Indo-China adventure and to tear up the 1954 Geneva agreements into the bargain. The examination of the question of the U.S. Government's acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as well as the question of the U.S. war of aggression in south Viet Nam, Xuan Thuy stated, emphatically, falls within the competence, not of the U.N. Security Council, but of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China.

### Villain As Prosecutor

That the United Nations has no such right to deal with questions concerning Indo-China, much less allow the aggressor to accuse the victim, was made clear in

Foreign Minister Chen Yi's earlier letter of August 12 to Xuan Thuy which condemned the U.S. manoeuvres as the "tactics of a villain suing his victim before he himself is prosecuted."

The idea of allowing the United States to establish itself as the "plaintiff" and use the United Nations to legalize its aggression was so preposterous that Chen Yi posed a series of questions: "How can one agree to discussion of the U.S. proposal? Does not agreement help establish the case of the United States? Does it not mean recognition of the United States as the plaintiff? Does it not mean that the Geneva agreements can be left aside?" If the U.S. proposal is not opposed and vetoed and the U.S. plot is allowed to succeed, he said, a precedent will be established for bypassing the Geneva agreements and letting the United Nations stick its hand in the question of Indo-China.

Asian countries, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, Cambodia and Indonesia, for instance, which know from their own experience what a despicable role the United Nations, while under Washington's domination, played in such matters have likewise spoken out against American activities at the U.N. headquarters. Indonesia, recalling how the United Nations allowed itself to be used by the United States last year in bringing about that neo-colonialist product of "Malaysia," sides with the D.R.V. in rejecting the U.S. "complaint." Werdojo, Chairman of the Indonesia-Viet Nam Friendship Association, articulated the feelings of the Indonesian people when he denounced the U.S. during the visit of the D.R.V. National Assembly Delegation headed by Standing Committee Chairman Truong Chinh. He said it was monstrous to arraign the D.R.V. before the Security Council. To agree to U.N. intervention on the Viet Nam question was tantamount to sending people into the jaws of a wolf. The United Nations cannot be trusted as long as it is under U.S. imperialist control, he added.

The Albanian Government has also come out in support of the D.R.V. Castigating the U.S. false "complaint" as an attempt to get the United Nations to approve its piratic acts against the D.R.V. during the Tonkin Gulf incident, it declared that U.N. discussion of the Indo-China problem constituted an inadmissible intervention in the countries of this area and would create a vicious precedent. The United States, it said, was trying to evade grave responsibility for its open violation of the independence and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and it was incumbent on the two Co-Chairmen and participating countries of the Geneva conference to see that the United States strictly observe the provisions of the Geneva agreements. The Albanian Government maintained that the U.S. armed aggression against the D.R.V. could not be discussed in an international organization which had nothing to do with these agreements.

As a tool of U.S. imperialism, this international organization has a sordid record. Its shameful history goes all the way back to 1950 when it became a U.S. instrument for launching a war of aggression against

the Korean people. It was used again by Washington for repressive "police action" in the Congo a few years ago and has brought much suffering to the people of that country. To the Congolese people, the U.N. symbol stood for brutality and implication in the murder of Patrice Lumumba. They hated it so much that, even according to American news reports, when the time came for the "U.N. force" to leave the Congo on the termination of its "mandate," they watched its departure from Leopoldville two months ago with relief. In Cyprus today, the United Nations, under Washington's manipulation, is again playing a similarly ignominious role.

### U.N., Shield for Aggression

Such is the image of the U.S.-directed U.N. in the minds of the people. Thus more and more public opinion throughout the world has come to see through the Johnson Administration's scheme to accuse the D.R.V. before the U.N. Security Council. The view of Hewlett Johnson, the former Dean of Canterbury, is representative. "The United Nations," said the 90-year-old church leader, "is dominated by the Americans. The discussion at the U.N. cannot see justice. It will only serve to cover up U.S. aggression."

It is precisely to use the United Nations to shield its aggressive acts in Indo-China and head off a direct confrontation with world public censure, wrote Commentator of *Renmin Ribao* on August 24, that the U.S. Government, employing extremely vicious tactics, referred the Tonkin Gulf incident to the United Nations, hoping thus to transform itself from a perpetrator of aggression into a "victim" of aggression. Commentator noted that the United Nations never had anything to do with questions concerning Indo-China; these have always been dealt with in the framework of the Geneva agreements. Why this sudden interest? he asked.

It wasn't only yesterday that the United States initiated its armed aggression against Viet Nam. Commentator pointed out that it has long kept an army of nearly 30,000 in the southern part of the country and has been carrying on a criminal, inhuman, "special war" against the people, including the use of toxic chemicals. Does this not run counter to the U.N. Charter? Yet the world knows that the U.N. Security Council has never even breathed a word about these flagrant acts of aggression against peace. It is utterly preposterous that the United Nations should suddenly find itself empowered to examine the United States "complaint" against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. U.S. imperialism has set up a string of military bases round the world and has kept armies for aggression endangering world peace everywhere, and yet the United Nations has never raised the matter. The United States turns to the United Nations when it can do a job for it but that body is brushed aside when it cannot. The facts are clear, Commentator said. The United Nations controlled by the U.S. Government, far from being capable of stopping U.S. aggression and



war adventures, is only used by the United States for carrying on its policies of aggression and war.

### Deaf and Blind

With reference to the U.S. "complaint," Commentator held that it should be completely ignored. What must be done now, he said, is for the two Co-Chairmen and participating countries of the Geneva conference to take urgent and effective action on the D.R.V.'s appeal to check U.S. aggression. The peace-loving countries and people of the world must bring the U.S. aggressor and U.S. imperialist war criminals before the bar of world public opinion and convict them accordingly. It will not do for the Johnson Administration to try to escape universal censure by taking refuge in the United Nations, Commentator concluded.

Yet widespread as is the demand to put U.S. imperialism in the dock, to prevent it from scuttling the Geneva agreements and pursuing its aggressive course in Indo-China, there are those who turn a deaf ear to such popular condemnation of rabid U.S. imperialism and a blind eye to its dangerous manoeuvres. These circles, mindful of the rising tide of indignation everywhere and therefore compelled to strike out at the United States, albeit only in kid gloves, are nevertheless apprehensive that if the blame is put at the right door the whole edifice of euphoria, so carefully built up with the White House's blessings, might be brought down in the process. These are the people who lauded the partial Moscow test ban treaty as an important milestone in the relaxation of international tension but of whom a spokesman of the Afro-Asian-Caribbean Organizations in London mockingly asked: How many times had aggression been committed by the U.S. and

other imperialists after the signing of the Moscow test ban treaty which was intended to show off the signatories' "peaceful desire"? Or as an equally pointed question was asked by *La Depeche du Cambodge* in Cambodia: Is it to spare the sensitiveness of the imperialists that such excessive prudence has been exercised to avoid using even a word to stigmatize the criminal acts of these imperialist rogues?

### Service Unavailing

But however much those interested in standing well with the White House may try to avoid causing it any embarrassment, they cannot be of much service in helping it to whitewash its crime against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam or extricate it from the "long, hard war" in south Viet Nam. There, the situation is worsening day by day for U.S. imperialism. Students, Buddhists and other sections of the people have defied the fascist "state of emergency" decrees to demonstrate against U.S. imperialism and its lackey the Khanh regime, while the armed forces led by the National Liberation Front have struck harder and harder, taking a still greater toll in both men and weapons.

In the northern part of the country the people, responding to the "Unity! Vigilance! Production!" call by President Ho Chi Minh, are more ready than ever to repulse the air and sea pirates, as they so valiantly did on August 5 when the United States struck. As a matter of fact they shot down another U.S. plane which intruded their air space over Nghe An and Quang Binh Provinces on August 18. This is another warning to the Washington warmongers that any new acts of aggression will not go unpunished.

### Pen Probes

## Election Year Ambassadress

PRESIDENT Johnson has installed 50 women in posts at high levels of his Administration. Among them is Mrs. Katherine E. White who is to be a \$20,000-a-year ambassador to—to a country at present unspecified. The State Department was reported by *Time* as being "in a mild dither." Its officials "couldn't recall a President ever publicly naming an ambassador before the country of assignment agreed." Mrs. White, it is reported, is going "to a country from which the present ambassador must be moved to make room."

Mr. Johnson, however, argued that "our determination to enlist women . . . is no sporadic election-year objective." But there are more women than men of voting age in the U.S. Sargent Shriver has, incidentally, also told his countrymen that Johnson's "war against

poverty," a programme he is in charge of, was not an election-year gimmick, either.

An old Chinese saying has it, "The more you want to cover it up, the more the thing reveals itself." Mrs. White is clearly ambassadress at large to the Republic of American Voting Women.

Barry Goldwater, Republican presidential candidate, is also looking round for a gimmick to beat his opponent in this field. With his million dollars stake in a department store that knows so well how to organize bargains for the ladies, he surely has some experience in attracting female attention.



Cartoon by Fang Cheng

## New Zealand C.P. Opposes Early World Meeting Of Parties Without Adequate Preparations

*The National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand opposed an early world meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in a resolution "On the World Ideological Differences and a Meeting of the World Parties," adopted at a meeting held on July 25 and 26. The resolution is published in the August issue of the "New Zealand Communist Review," the organ of C.P.N.Z. Following is the full text of the resolution. — Ed.*

**T**HE Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has made the suggestion for a world meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties later this year. The purpose of this meeting is stated to be the resolving of the world ideological differences between the various Parties. The proposal for this meeting is being supported by many Parties.

The National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand, while believing in the principle of collective discussion as the correct method of resolving ideological differences, is opposed to an early meeting.

The National Committee considers that the organizing of such a meeting in the present atmosphere of strained relations, without adequate preparations, would result in a worsening of relations rather than their betterment.

It could lead to a mechanical approach, to a situation where viewpoints in relation to the world scene held by a minority of Parties were condemned and the renunciation of those views made a condition of the acceptance of those Parties in the world family of Communist and Workers' Parties. It could lead to an open split in the world communist movement.

The struggle for the principles of Marxism-Leninism is an integral part of our stand and that of other Parties. It will continue to remain so.

The mechanical approach referred to means that the struggle against those views that we and other Parties contend are revisionist would be negated. A basic principle of collective discussion would be relegated to the background. We hold that a world meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties should be based on objective discussion, with the purpose of a scientific solution to the basic ideological contradictions within the world movement, at a time when "the main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism which was begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia" (1957 Declaration).

The resolving of the world ideological differences in a correct Marxist-Leninist manner would mean a great leap forward on a world scale of all those forces

fighting for the defeat of imperialism, for peace and socialism. Continuation of revisionist theories in our world movement can only strengthen imperialism and increase the danger of world war, as indicated in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

This Committee further considers that there should be an extension of bilateral and multilateral talks, not only between Parties that hold similar views, but between those Parties whose viewpoints are largely contradictory. The Communist Party of New Zealand has not only endorsed this proposition but has endeavoured to carry it out in practice. It will continue to adhere to this approach wherever there is a basis for some degree of unity.

In this context, it is stressed that the bilateral talks between the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China are still in abeyance. The discussions begun in Moscow last August between representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of New Zealand are in a similar position. The National Committee affirms that it is prepared to continue those discussions. It further suggests that the next meeting take place in New Zealand at a time to be mutually agreed. This would ease the strain upon the Communist Party of New Zealand caused by so many leading members being away at the same time.

Again, the National Committee contends that bilateral discussions between representatives of the C.P.S.U. and the Albanian Party of Labour are one of the basic prerequisites for the success of a world meeting.

It logically follows from the above that the National Committee should make approaches to other Parties who are opposed to an early meeting of the world Parties with the objective of exchanging views as to the attitude to be adopted to attendance at such a meeting if it is held without the necessary conditions, as set out in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, being satisfied.

Further, the National Committee considers that, if these circumstances arise, the various avenues be explored in regard to the holding of a multilateral meeting of those who hold similar views to the Communist Party of New Zealand on the world ideological issues. This meeting should be held with a view to an exchange of and co-ordination of policy points in relation to the holding of a world meeting. A number of Parties have expressed views in opposition to an early world meeting. These opinions are reflected by some Parties who are in opposition to the present ideological stand of the Communist Party of New Zealand.

If such a multilateral meeting takes place, it could examine the possibilities of producing a statement incorporating the collective detailed views of the Parties concerned.

In its discussions, the Political Committee was completely unified on the basis that a meeting of the

world Parties without adequate preparation would, from the angle of developing unity, be abortive.

Finally, the National Committee stresses that the situation is very fluid. Therefore, the day-to-day tactics are the responsibility of the Political Committee pending a further meeting of the National Committee.

### Jacques Grippa's Speech

## International Communist Movement Strengthened In Current Great Debate

*Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party, delivered a speech in Tirana at a meeting of the city's cadres on August 5. Hysni Kapo, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, was present at the meeting. Following are extracts from Grippa's speech. Sub-heads are ours.—Ed.*

**D**ESPITE the betrayal by the revisionists and the damage this has done to the international communist movement and the socialist camp, the movement and the socialist camp are being strengthened thanks to the correct policy of the Communist Parties which adhere firmly to the Marxist-Leninist stand and apply Marxism-Leninism to concrete conditions in their countries, Jacques Grippa said.

He pointed out that the international communist movement is being strengthened in the course of the current great debate and it will continue to grow stronger. The debate has raised the ideological level and fighting capability of the Communist Parties, and the defeat of revisionism is inevitable.

In actual fact, Khrushchov has lost, Grippa declared.

There is no revisionist camp but only revisionist chaos. The peoples of those countries still under the revisionist control are finding Khrushchov's colonialism increasingly intolerable. The contradictions among the revisionists are sharpening.

### **Revolutionary Storm Strikes at Imperialism And Revisionism**

Speaking of the international situation, Grippa pointed out that the crisis in the bourgeois parties, including the socialist and revisionist parties, is a reflection of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

The revolutionary struggles which are striking directly at imperialism are developing in the world.

"In Latin America, Africa and Asia," he said, "the revolutionary storm has already swept revisionism away and, in Europe, we are witnessing the strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist organizations whose objective is to rebuild the Communist Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism." Thus, the situation is excellent

for the growing forces of the world proletarian and socialist revolution.

In the international sphere, Grippa said, revisionism headed by Khrushchov is following a policy of collaboration with U.S. imperialism. Revisionism and imperialism have a common hatred for revolution and are practising nuclear blackmail against the peoples. Continuing the line of the Moscow tripartite treaty, Khrushchov wants the unarmed peoples to go on their knees before the "nuclear umbrella," that is, to kneel down before the nuclear monopoly of U.S. imperialism and its revisionist collaborators.

Not content with providing arms to the reactionary Indian bourgeoisie to carry out aggression against the People's Republic of China, Khrushchov today wishes to create an international gendarmerie—a permanent international United Nations force.

At a time when U.S. imperialism is stepping up its dirty war in south Viet Nam and threatening to intensify its aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and extend it to socialist China, Khrushchov is encouraging and giving U.S. imperialism the green light not only by declaring that the Soviet Union would not be on the side of China but also by offering repeated assurances to U.S. imperialism and multiplying his attacks on China, Grippa said.

### **Khrushchov's Plot for Schismatic International Meeting Condemned**

Khrushchov's attacks on the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the schismatic international meeting he wants to convene are likewise manoeuvres serving U.S. imperialism.

Seeking to collaborate with U.S. imperialism at all cost, Khrushchov brazenly curries favour with the revanchist-militarism of West Germany, Washington's loyal ally and major bridgehead in Europe. The Soviet newspaper *Izvestia's* disgusting apology to Heinrich Luebke and Adzhubei's visit to Bonn are prologues to new betrayals.

Grippa laid special emphasis in his speech on the programme and activities of the Belgian Communist Party. The political line of the Belgian Communist Party worked out by its December 22, 1963 national conference and implemented by the Party Central Com-

mittee and organizations at all levels has stood the test of practice and demonstrated its correctness.

Grippa dwelt at length on the activities of the Belgian Communist Party in leading the working class in the struggle to defend democracy and freedom and oppose fascist organizations, as well as the Party's support for the struggle of the revolutionary classes and people of the whole world and the revolutionary movement for national liberation.

### **Opposing the Colonial War in the Congo**

He said that the Belgian Communist Party firmly opposes the colonial war conducted by the Belgian Government in the Congo. The Lefevre-Spaak government submissively executes the orders of U.S. imperialism and its partners—the financial groups of La Societe Generale de Belgique and the L'Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga. The holy alliance of U.S.-Belgian financial groups and the church and the monarchy, plus the support of the reformists and the revisionists, aims at making Congolese and Belgians shed their blood in an unjust war—a war of oppression. "Our slogan is 'defeat the war against the Congolese people,'" he said.

The masses of the working people spurn fraudulent reformism more and more. Our Party has been steadily strengthened in mass political action against capitalism, imperialism and its partners, the reformists and the revisionists, Grippa stated.

The Belgian Communist Party declares explicitly that the Party's present aim of action is to organize the struggle of the working class, promote the militant alliance of the proletariat and other sections of the working people in order to overthrow capitalism—the source of poverty, oppression and war—destroy the bourgeois state machine, set up the dictatorship of the proletariat and realize the tasks of the socialist revolution.

The Belgian Communist Party calls for the realization of a broad alliance led by the working class and a popular united front. Its present programme of struggle is to strive for the realization of the people's rights and demands, to defend democracy and freedom, work for the realization of the federal system, defend national independence, foil imperialist aggression and blackmail, support the countries which are victims of or are threatened by imperialist aggression and unite with the peoples and nations fighting for their liberation.

## **Australian C.P. (M.-L.) Condemns U.S. Aggression Against D.R.V.**

**T**HE Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) issued a statement on August 17 condemning the brutal and ferocious attack by U.S. imperialism on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and warning that U.S. gangsters were planning further assaults with huge forces being amassed in the Indo-China area. The statement was published in the newspaper *Vanguard* that day.

The statement says, no one can now doubt the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism. No one can now doubt that it is the enemy of all the peoples and that it is the number one aggressor. How can anyone in their senses say that the people of north Viet Nam are a danger to the United States? Huge naval and air forces of U.S. imperialism for years have been creating aggressive provocations against the peoples of Asia. By what right do they do this? President Johnson of the United States has been caught out in blatant lying. Even officials in the U.S. State Department are doubting the stories of the attack on U.S. warships by north Viet Nam torpedo boats.

The statement goes on to say that under the hue and cry of false charges of aggression by the D.R.V., U.S. imperialism is rapidly expanding its forces in the area. Huge forces are being massed ready for attack. But President Johnson with tongue in cheek says: "we do not intend to widen the war." What rubbish! Who can be deceived by this doubletalk? Certainly not the

people. The latest act of aggression by U.S. imperialism has met with worldwide protests, it says.

The statement also warns against the plot of U.N. intervention. It says, in an attempt to save itself from complete isolation, U.S. imperialism has "complained" to the United Nations, and will seek U.N. endorsement of its aggression. Thus, it seeks a second Korea with itself in the role of the accuser! It seeks U.N. intervention as a "legal" cover for its aggression and to create a precedent for U.N. interference in Indo-China, thus bypassing the Geneva conference agreements.

The statement calls for vigilance against this cunning. The correct course of peace lies in seeing that the Geneva agreements are upheld, that is to say, all U.S.A. forces should withdraw from south Viet Nam, and the Geneva conference which drew up the agreements should be reconvened.

The statement says that even the Secretary-General of the United Nations U Thant has said that the U.N. cannot help seek a peaceful solution to the Vietnamese problem. Those who participated in the Geneva conference know this quite well. Then, why does the Government of the Soviet Union acclaim and support the U.S. move to transfer the responsibility to the U.N.? Such support cannot be seen in any other way than the support of an accomplice of the U.S., it points out.

The statement condemns the Australian Government for being dragged into the war.

## U.S. Deep in Congolese Mire

The Congo (Leopoldville) is fast turning into another noose around U.S. imperialism's neck. Despite Washington's open armed intervention and frantic efforts to draw both the old colonialists and the African states into the adventure, the puppet Tshombe regime is disintegrating day by day while the patriotic forces, undaunted by U.S. threats, provocations and divisive schemes, push relentlessly on. On the other hand, direct U.S. meddling is showing the Africans who their enemy is and what it is capable of. This awareness has already set off a continent-size campaign against U.S. imperialism, and it will undoubtedly have a far-reaching impact on the African independence movement.

**Washington's Dual Tactics.** The Congo offers another illuminating example of Washington's dual tactics. U.S. planes are engaged in indiscriminate bombing of Congolese villages and towns. U.S. officers are directing Tshombe's mercenaries in the massacre of Congolese patriots and civilians. In addition to paratroopers, tanks and other war matériel, the Johnson Administration is rushing B-26 bombers to the scene. Intervention on a still larger scale is planned. But this is just one aspect of U.S. aggression in the Congo.

By inclination, Washington has always preferred to have other nations pull its chestnuts out of the fire rather than doing it with American troops. So they have had "Asians fight Asians" and "Latin Americans fight Latin Americans" or used the so-called "U.N. forces" to do their dirty work. In every case they have provided weapons while making other nations supply the cannon fodder. In the Congo, they are now trying the same thing, if they can.

This is why before American paratroopers landed in Leopoldville, U.S. Under Secretary of State Harriman had already visited Brussels to egg the Belgian Government on to rush more officers and men to

Tshombe. This is also behind Tshombe's request for military aid from the South African Verwoerd racists. Before the arrival in Leopoldville of South African soldiers and supplies and mercenaries from Southern Rhodesia, AP has reported from that city of the public appearance of mercenaries "dressed in South African Air Force shirts, British Air Force trousers and Belgian insignia."

For Washington, the scheme to make "Africans fight Africans," besides saving American lives, has the added advantage of avoiding African condemnation of its aggression. After U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Williams rushed to Leopoldville, the State Department and Tshombe suddenly became interested in the "Africanization" of the Congo situation. As soon as Tshombe approached some African countries in search of troops, Williams let it be known that the United States would be more than willing to bear the cost of maintaining them in the Congo. Thus, it is going to be American money and African blood if possible, and American money and American blood if necessary. As the *New York Times* admitted, foreign troops are "badly needed to take over" from Tshombe's collapsing troops and using African troops "will help soften the reaction" throughout Africa to the use of American troops, mercenaries and equipment.

**Thief Crying "Stop Thief."** As usual, if this scheme is to be put through, there has to be a justification. So the myth about "Chinese intervention" is cooked up. Though they could not produce a shred of evidence, Harriman, Williams and Tshombe have all harped on the theme of "Chinese involvement." And Tshombe has dutifully said that African troops are needed because "the Chinese had already internationalized the Congolese question." This big lie has lately become Washington's stock in trade. Wherever there is a patriotic anti-U.S. struggle, there are cries of "Chinese

intervention" from American propaganda. Actually the struggle is taking place precisely because there is U.S. aggression and oppression. As a statement released by the National Council for the Liberation of the Congo pointed out, the "Chinese military advisers," about which Tshombe talked, simply don't exist, whereas the latter's army is "packed with mercenaries. There is a legion of Belgian, U.S. and Israeli officers in the air force, infantry, armoured units, commandoes and paratroops. In Leopoldville, these men donning uniforms are seen strolling in the streets."

**Neither U.S. Cash nor Arms Can Reverse the Trend.** More than one third of the Congo's territory is in the hands of the patriots. After Albertville, Kindu and Stanleyville, the people's forces freed Lisala, capital of Middle Congo Province, Buta, a railway centre in the north, and Aketi, Basoko and Bumba on the Congo River. They also attacked Bukavu, capital of Kivu Province. The National Liberation Council called on all puppet units to cross over and warned those officers responsible for massacres of civilians that they would be tried and punished by war tribunals. While affording protection and decent treatment to all foreigners resident in the country, it urged all African countries to "take a public stand" against U.S. imperialist intervention.

Washington's attempt to suppress the Congolese patriotic movement by direct intervention is a move against both the Congolese and other African peoples. Its plan to use Africans to accomplish its nefarious aim and its blackmail—the State Department is saying that the best way to avoid U.S. military involvement in the Congo is for the African nations to help Tshombe—adds double insult to injury. This is why a wave of protest is now raging in Africa against Yankee imperialism.

### Africans' Reply

#### Continent in Storm

**The Congo (Brazzaville):** The sister republic to the west was the first to condemn U.S. imperialist meddling in Congolese (L) and African affairs.

After Brazzaville on its National Day had exposed Tshombe's subversive activities, he flew into a rage and started to expel Congolese (B) nationals. The answer to this provocation came when the citizens of Brazzaville demonstrated in strength against U.S. imperialism and stooge Tshombe. The U.S. Embassy was the scene of protest where angry demonstrators shouted: "Yankees go home." "Where there are Yankees, there is subversion," and "Down with Tshombe, agent of U.S. imperialism!" Organized efforts are being made to help the deportees and to strengthen unity in the face of the U.S.-instigated provocation. A call had been sent to the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) for intervention against Tshombe's attacks.

**Tanganyika-Zanzibar:** Across the frontier to the east, Dar-es-Salaam and several other cities in neighbouring Tanganyika also staged angry demonstrations protesting U.S. aggression against the Congo (L). Organized by the ruling Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), more than 2,000 marchers carried slogans which read: "Yankees go home, the Congo is no place for you!", "You smell of Lumumba's blood" and "We hate you!" A TANU memorandum demanding that the U.S. keep its hands off Africa was delivered to the U.S. Embassy.

In Zanzibar off the coast, half of the population of the city of Zanzibar—more than 25,000 people—turned out in the main streets demanding that the U.S. imperialists quit the Congo. Led by government ministers and members of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council, the marchers paraded before the local U.S. Consulate.

**Kenya:** In the capital city of Nairobi, effigies of Johnson, Goldwater and Tshombe were hanged on a tree while youth of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and trade unionists gathered outside the U.S. Embassy shouting: "Yanks go home from Africa!" The U.S. Ambassador was given a protest memorandum.

**Algeria-Mali Joint Communiqué:** Presidents Ben Bella and Modibo

Keita in their joint communiqué denounced imperialist intervention in the Congo and called for a special council meeting of the O.A.U. to study the situation.

In Algiers, President Keita pointed out that "if foreign intervention goes on, there would be a hotbed of instability and constant subversion against the African countries." The Congolese situation cannot be viewed apart from the action of Adoula, Kasavubu and Tshombe. "Who arrested Lumumba and his friends? Who put Gizenga and other nationalists under arrest? Who requested U.S. aid?" he asked.

Malian Minister of Interior, Information and Tourism Ousman Ba also issued a statement refuting the U.S.-inspired fabrication that the Malian Government had "pledged full support for Tshombe." Referring to Tshombe's request for foreign troops, especially American troops, he said: "Mali has not supported and will never support such a counter-revolutionary, anti-people and pro-imperialist policy which runs basically counter to the wishes of the African peoples."

All over Africa, from the U.A.R. to Morocco, from Ghana to Tanganyika, the press has come out full blast over U.S. armed intervention in the Congo. Denunciations of the scheme for "making Africans fight Africans" are growing. In countries still fighting for liberation, nationalist organizations are condemning the unholy alliance of Washington, South African racists, Belgian and Portuguese colonialists and the puppet Tshombe.

### Puppet Khanh's Rule Tottering

#### Going the D'em Way

Aside from showing up its brutality and desperation, Washington's sneak attack against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has changed nothing in the balance of forces in south Viet Nam and will therefore not stem the tide of the war there. The U.S. gamble gets dirtier and bloodier, but the American-Khanh troops continue to lose battle after

battle in the field while popular opposition against U.S. puppet rule has heightened. In fact, hatred for the traitors and their imperialist masters has become increasingly bitter and this is speeding the collapse of Khanh's tottering rule. The renewed outbreak of student and popular demonstrations against Khanh is added proof.

Taking his cue from Washington, puppet dictator Nguyen Khanh thought he could make use of the war hysteria whipped up by U.S. propaganda to consolidate his unstable rule. Declaring a state of emergency early in August, he stepped up repression and pressgang activities, ousted dissidents and appointed himself President! He also adopted a "National Charter" which gave himself the right "to make all decisions and take all appropriate measures."

However, since his sole support came from his U.S. masters, these fascist measures backfired. The protest movement which has swept the countryside and towns against U.S.-Khanh atrocities moved to the cities: Saigon, Hue, Da Nang and Qui Nhon. Tens of thousands of students and Buddhists held meetings and marched despite bans on public gatherings and police threats. Joined by other sections of the populace, they burnt the hated "National Charter," demanded freedom of the press and called for the downfall of the dictatorship. They smashed many of the puppet regime's offices and shouted anti-U.S. slogans.

Though the mass movement is just beginning, it is reminiscent of last year's Buddhist and student protests which led to puppet dictator Diem's demise. Khanh's American masters, frightened by the snowballing demonstrations, had him promise the public that he would step down from the "presidency" and repeal the "National Charter." But this was an obvious attempt to pacify popular anger—to change the label but not the essence.

Whatever the outcome, it is clear that once Khanh has exhausted his usefulness, it will only be a matter

of time when his mentors in Washington will push him down Diem's road—either kicked out or done away with.

### Trans-Pacific Trade War

#### Raw Deal for Japan

Trade squabbles between Washington and Tokyo are nothing new. Since the American monopolists have never been over-scrupulous in throwing their weight around when it comes to dollar-making, a Japan dependent on the United States manages to get a raw deal. Brought on by U.S.-imposed restrictions, last year's cotton textile row already had tempers rising on both sides of the Pacific. Now, however, with several economic disputes simmering simultaneously, headaches are turning feverish.

First, on August 5, negotiations over the revision of the two countries' civil aviation agreement broke down. Japan had asked to extend its existing Tokyo-San Francisco-Los Angeles line to New York and thence to London, but this was flatly rejected by Washington. Demands are growing in Japan, even among the ruling Liberal Democrats,

for repeal of the unequal pact which limits Japanese commercial flights to the west coast of the United States while allowing American planes to fly directly to Tokyo. Mincing no words, the Japanese paper *Sankei Shimbun* called U.S. reluctance to revise the agreement imperialistic since it was signed when the country was under direct U.S. occupation.

Then, there was the consternation within Japanese economic circles over the "interest equalization tax" bill passed by the U.S. Congress on August 12. Since Japan relies on U.S. loans for capital investment, a means of meeting its balance of payment deficits, restriction on U.S. capital outflow due to heavier taxes will surely be a blow to the country's economy.

Finally, the Japanese Government on August 20 officially announced that it would boycott the U.S.-sponsored international woollen textile conference. Japanese officials made it clear that since the intention of the meeting was to pressure Japan and other exporting countries to restrict their woollen textile trade with the U.S., Tokyo was not going to fall into the same trap it did with cotton textiles.

Japan's stiffening attitude reflects its bitterness over U.S. selfishness. Washington's two-pronged offensive has Japan in a vise. Increased dumping and tighter import restrictions have led to serious balance of trade and international payments troubles. According to the 1964 economic White Paper issued by the Japanese Government, only 5 per cent of Japanese exports to the U.S. were charged less than a 5 per cent tariff and about two-thirds 10 to 30 per cent, while 30 per cent of U.S. exports to Japan were charged a 5 per cent tariff and a few commodities high tariffs. Because of this and a 30 per cent increase in imports from the United States, the Japanese trade deficit for the first six months of this year shot up to U.S. \$1,167 million—a postwar record. Huge deficits have also appeared in Japanese maritime and other non-trade budgets.

As far as economic relations go, the situation is so bad that even U.S. Ambassador to Japan Reischauer, a man distinguished for his platitudes about common U.S.-Japanese interests and the free world, has now reluctantly admitted that a storm would soon break out between Tokyo and Washington.

### THE WEEK

(Continued from p.4.)

On August 20, Chairman Mao Tse-tung received the mission and had a cordial and friendly talk with the Kenyan minister and its other members. The mission left Peking on August 24.

**A friendship mission from the Republic of Central Africa** led by Ferdinand Bassamoungou, President of the Economic and Social Council, arrived in Peking on August 23. This is the first friendship mission sent to China by the Government of that Republic. On the evening of the next day, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi gave a banquet in its honour. In his banquet speech, Chen Yi said: "The Chinese Government and people have consistently upheld the Bandung spirit of Asian-

African unity against imperialism and steadfastly persisted in establishing and developing relations of friendship and co-operation with African countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. The Five Principles which we follow in our relations with African countries, put forward by Premier Chou En-lai during his African tour, have further elucidated the principled stand of our country." Vice-Premier Chen added that the Chinese people would always remain the reliable friends of the African people.

Ferdinand Bassamoungou said that his mission had come to acquaint itself with China's way of life and its economic, artistic and cultural activities. "With these contacts there will surely come the mutual desire for developing a firm

relationship between our two countries."

Malian Ambassador Birama Traore also spoke at the banquet on behalf of the diplomatic envoys of African countries in China. He said he hoped that the Central African mission would deepen the friendship between China and Central Africa, between China and all Africa and between all Asia and Africa.

**A 6-member Congo (Brazzaville) friendship delegation** has arrived in Peking. It is led by Alphonse Moandat-Zahoud, Member of the Central Committee of the National Revolutionary Movement (N.R.M.), Deputy to the National Assembly and member of its committees of national defence and foreign affairs. The delegation is on a visit at the invitation of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association.

# ACROSS THE LAND

## A Work-Study School

**P**ART-WORK, part-study technical schools are attracting increasing attention all over the country. An outstanding example is the school run by the Tientsin Film Factory in north China's major port city.

Founded in 1958, the school admits junior middle-school graduates and offers them a three-year course in political, technical and general training, especially in the manufacture of photo-sensitive material. Graduates, who average more than 100 yearly, have become competent technicians and new-type worker-intellectuals. Most of them stayed on to work in the factory; some took up jobs in other factories.

During their schooling all students work in the shop and study in the classroom on alternate weeks. This process enables them to put into practice what they learn in the classroom. As a result, they gain a sound understanding of theory and, at the same time, master operating and other techniques.

By combining labour directly with study, students become socialist-minded—a new-type of person fundamentally different from bourgeois intellectuals who shun productive labour. Working alongside highly class conscious veteran workers also helps raise the students' ideological level.

The Tientsin school has added new reinforcements to the factory's technical ranks and has fostered greater interest among other workers for mastering technique and general studies in their spare time. With the growth of its technical force the factory, which in the past could only produce a few kinds of ordinary films, is now turning out several dozen kinds of high-grade photo-sensitive material, various cinematographic films, X-ray films and spectral sensitive plates for scientific research.

One feature of the school is that it is run at minimum cost and

mainly by the factory's own efforts. Workers' rest rooms and a storehouse were used as classrooms, chairs and desks were made from waste material and teachers were appointed from among the factory's technicians and from a local university and nearby middle schools. All expenses are borne by the factory administration and the trade union organization.

In a recent commentary, *Renmin Ribao* said that there are three types of schools in China: full-time, work-and-study and spare time. They make up two different educational systems in the country today. Work-and-study and spare-time schools play an important role which cannot be replaced by full-time schools because they provide opportunities for combining labour and study on a regular basis. Thus, a great number of people will be able to raise their political, educational and technical levels as a result of part-time work and part-time study.

## Emulation in Industry Deepens

**T**HE mass movement in China's industry "to compare with, learn from and catch up with the advanced, and help those lagging behind" has achieved important new results since this journal last reported on it over three months ago. (See *Peking Review*, 1964, No. 21.) Tens of thousands of seekers after knowledge who went to learn advanced production and management methods in Shanghai and other leading industrial centres of the country have returned to their own enterprises and already put into practice about half of the new methods of work they learnt. These have yielded excellent results. Not a few plants have achieved the goal of catching up with the most advanced of the country's enterprises in quality of output. This mass introduction of improved techniques has also slashed costs further and increased labour productivity.

Of fresh significance is that when comparing notes these days, people discuss not only their production and management methods, but also their political and ideological work, especially in reference to rooting out sources of revisionism. They realize that it is only by revolutionizing their enterprises and their whole work force as well as developing production that there can be a sure guarantee against a socialist enterprise degenerating into a capitalist one.

Another feature of the current movement is the way enterprises are organizing socialist co-operation in production as well as scientific research among themselves on a large scale. Shenyang's factories have pooled their efforts to tackle 366 key production problems solution of which will help raise the industrial level of the entire city.

A host of facts demonstrate that this movement, which goes under the four-word Chinese slogan of *bi xue gan bang* ("to compare, learn, catch up and help") is playing a most effective role in developing China's industrial technique.

## Prosperous Rural Economy

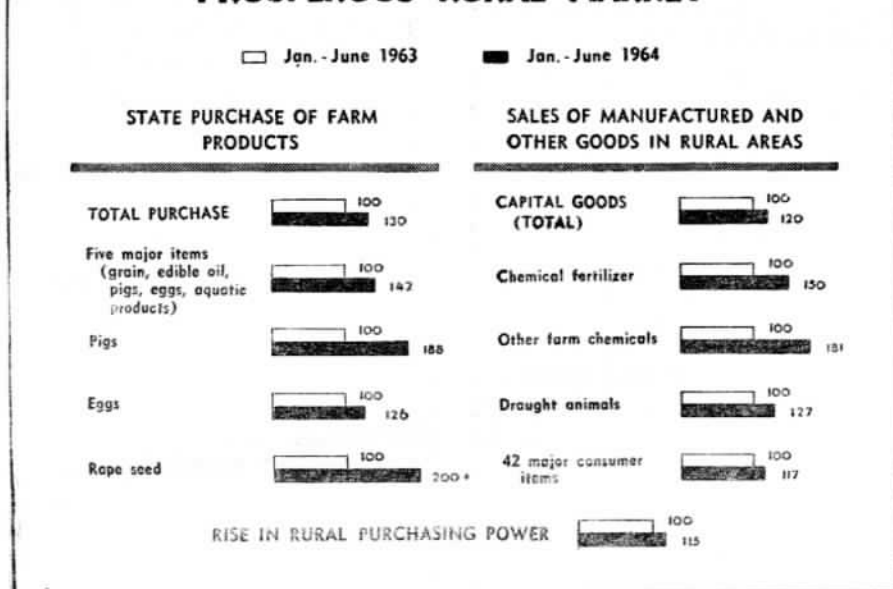
**O**NE indication of the national economy's present well-being is China's flourishing rural economy. In the vast countryside, where 80 per cent of the population lives, state purchases of agricultural products and sales of manufactured goods on the market in the first half of 1964 were much greater than in the same period last year.

The steep rise in total purchases in terms of cash—they were up 30 per cent compared with last year—was a rare phenomenon. Government procurement of five principal items—grain, edible oil, pigs, eggs and aquatic products—were 42 per cent higher than the first half of 1963. Buying of pigs climbed 88 per cent and eggs rose 26 per cent, the largest amounts in all of New China's 15 years. Purchases of oil-bearing rape seed more than doubled the January-June 1963 figure.

Big gains in farm production throughout the country this year are



## PROSPEROUS RURAL MARKET



By Su Li

in back of the big increase in buying. Fully aware that the improved agricultural picture owes much to state aid, commune members have been eager to sell more to the state in support of socialist construction.

The growing abundance of farm and sideline products has helped boost light and handicraft industries. This has also brought about general market prosperity and helped promote further the all-round turn for the better in the national economy as a whole.

The chief reasons for the 15 per cent rise in rural purchasing power are: more farm and sideline products, state aid to agriculture and more credit available to the rural people's communes.

In comparison with the first half of last year, expansion of manufactured products has meant a 20 per cent climb in capital goods sold in the countryside. Average price drop has been 6 per cent. Examples of increases are: 50 per cent more chemical fertilizer, 81 per cent more other farm chemicals and over 27 per cent more draught animals were bought by communes and their production brigades and teams.

Consumer goods sales round out the growing prosperity in the rural areas with 42 major items register-

ing an average increase of 17 per cent.

### Summer Military Training

**T**WENTY-FIVE provinces, autonomous regions and cities have set up summer military camps to give ideological and military training to students and young workers and cadres. Camps for students are from three days to a week; for the rest, half a day to two days. This summer millions of young Chinese men and women have gained practical experience in soldiering.

The summer camp jointly set up by Chiaotung University and East China Teacher's College in Shanghai gives some idea of what camp life is like. Political studies were supplemented by lectures from veteran soldiers and "five-good" fighters on the revolutionary tradition of the P.L.A. Discussions were organized on subjects such as "the relationship between man and weapons" and "the present situation in the international class struggle."

Military skills taught included rifle shooting, bayonet practice, grenade throwing, operating radar equipment, mine laying, demolition, and signalling. How to organize people to deal with enemy paratroops and air-dropped agents and other home guard activities made up part of the course. Mountaineering,

swimming and other forms of physical activity were also organized by the people's militia to toughen up young men and women to defend their motherland.

### Transplanting Teeth

**F**OR centuries dentists have tried replacing good teeth for extracted ones, always hoping they would take root and live. Since grafted teeth survived temporarily they were taken by the ancients as successful. However, it is quite likely that the transferred teeth dropped out a few years later because scavenger cells in the bloodstream eroded away the roots. This process of rejection was unknown to the hopeful dentists of yore.

Because false teeth generally are not as satisfactory as originals dental surgeons in New China have been trying to realize the old dream in the light of advances in medical science. They began experiments starting with dogs. Next, work with humans was begun on patients with dangerously infected teeth. The affected tooth was extracted, sterilized and then replaced. Such operations were successful, and are being performed in many hospitals today. In 1956 work began on autotransplants, substituting a lost tooth with another from the same person. When these worked, surgeons went on in 1958 to do homotransplants (person-to-person), using good teeth stored in a "bank."

Results from person-to-person grafts have varied. There were some failures, but enough took root and grew to justify further experiments. X-rays of homotransplants taken in 1964 revealed that some of the teeth transplanted in 1958 were alive and healthy, with no signs of rejection. Dental surgeons at Guangci Hospital attached to the Shanghai No. 2 Medical College, where hundreds of transplants have been done, are carefully watching these cases.

Although surgical technique in tooth grafting now presents no real problem, body rejection of grafts remains an obstacle. However, more is being learnt about this bottleneck and how to overcome it.

## SONG & DANCE

### Art From Fighting Laos

A visit at this time of the Neo Lao Haksat Art Troupe from Laos is of particular significance. Along their common border the people of China and Laos fish in the same rivers and cut wood from the same hills. They are comrades facing the same enemy — U.S. imperialism. At a time when the peoples of Indo-China are striking back hard at fresh U.S. aggressive moves, the Laotian artists bring to us the spirit of the fighting front-lines of anti-imperialist struggle.

The 51-member Laotian troupe was born in the midst of the Laotian people's struggle and received the special attention of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat and its Chairman Prince Souphanouvong. Its art represents the genuine national culture of Laos that decades of colonialist rule failed to destroy; it is patriotic, anti-U.S. imperialist, militant.

The troupe's natural stage is out in the open air among the people and their fighters. For its Peking performances, it chose an appropriate backdrop of green palms and village pagoda. Wearing grass-green battle dress or the bright costumes of various nationalities in Laos, they performed song after song and dance after dance expressing their determination to repulse the U.S. aggressors and free their country. They sang of the Laotian land and its people, the Neo Lao Haksat and its army.

The songs, sung by young fighters with emphatic, spirited movements and by the women in lilting melo-

dies, perfectly carried their message even to those who did not know the Laotian language.

We recognized the slow, rhythmic hand and body movements characteristic of many Southeast Asian folk dances, but the Laotians have given them a revolutionary spirit. In the *Red Lantern Dance*, the curtain drew open on a semi-darkened stage. Nine girls swayed on the ground holding dimmed lotus-shaped lanterns in their hands. Abruptly the stage brightened as a woman in fiery red sprang into their midst with a bright crimson lantern. Its rays touched the women on the ground; they stood up, their lanterns, too, began to glow. . . . The *Dance of Victory* introduced many aspects of Laotian art. As the people rejoiced at news of victory, they went into the dances of many Laotian nationalities and enacted traditional ceremonies; gong-beating announced victory, a jubilant crowd converged on the square, dancers appeared with masked or painted faces, speech and song were interpolated during the dancing, then came ceremonial toasts, presentation of flowers, greetings to the heroes.

Chinese-Laotian friendship was another major theme of the concert. In the song *Whence Comes the Mekong?* the Laotian artists sang:

*The swift-flowing Mekong River,  
Rises in China, our neighbour.  
Like an amber necklace,  
It links Viet Nam, Cambodia and  
Laos.*

*The Mekong thunders for a thousand li,*

*May it flow on for ever!*



"Dance of Victory"

Sketch by Li Ke-ju

On August 12, Chinese Party and government leaders Chen Yi, Lu Ting-yi and Lin Feng attended the premiere of the Neo Lao Haksat Art Troupe at the Capital Theatre in Peking. They also attended the cocktail party held after the performance to congratulate them.

Many modern Chinese favourites and folk songs were sung in Chinese: *Socialism Is Good, Cuba Si, Yankees No.* The *Laotian-Chinese Friendship Dance* was a highlight of this theme. Holding peach-shaped fans inscribed with the characters "Long live Sino-Laotian friendship and unity!" 12 girls danced with all the grace and subtlety that we have learnt to associate with Laotian dancers.

A last-minute addition to the programme received special applause from the audiences. It was a poem by the head of the art troupe, the poet Sonsi Desakhambou. The troupe had already arrived in China when they heard of the U.S. aggression against north Viet Nam. They immediately joined the demonstrations in Peking. Desakhambou composed his poem *Down With U.S. Aggression Against Viet Nam* which he recited during the performance.

The members of the troupe are surprisingly young: the eldest 19 and the youngest 9, but they have a maturity in their art that comes from living contact with their heroic people and army. Carrying rifles and hand-grenades, knapsacks and stage props on their backs, the troupe has performed throughout the liberated areas since its founding in 1961. They take their art into battlefields still smoking with gunpowder; they bring it into the fields. In the villages, they take up farm tools and work side by side with the peasants. They weave in and out of enemy-occupied towns, and use their arms when necessary. Everywhere they go people send them food and fruits and tie white thread soaked in perfume on their wrists, a sign of welcome and blessing. They are at once an art troupe, a revolutionary work-team, a productive force and a fighting unit.

# SWIMMING

## *Against Winds and Waves*

Battling winds and waves in the seas, rivers and lakes is fast becoming the favourite sport this summer. From Heilungkiang in the northeast to Kwangsi Province in the southwest mass swimming events across major rivers and lakes have attracted hundreds of thousands of participants. "There is that grand feeling that you've bested the elements and that you're getting fitter for socialist construction and national defence," said one swimmer, adding, "And it's cool!"

Six hundred and ninety-one swimmers took part in the 9th annual crossing of the great Yangtse River at Wuhan in central-south China. This took place on a clear Sunday morning with a moderate nor'easter blowing and a swift current running. Workers, P.L.A. men, students and schoolchildren were all in this swim. The eldest was 60 and the youngest 10; 681 finished the 5,000 metres distance. Thirty-three students of the Wuhan Institute of Water Conservancy and Electric Power, all of the same militia group, made the crossing fully armed.

In Shanghai's Whangpoo River on August 16, some 2,000 — 300 of them women and 290 teenagers under 15 — joined the biggest such event yet held there. Chengtu, Kweilin, Canton on the Pearl River, the Amoy Gulf and a host of other places have seen similar scenes this summer. At Harbin, the Mayor himself led a swim of schoolchildren over a 1,000-metre crossing of the Sungari River.

With numerous reservoirs built in recent years China now has a very large number of lakes for swimmers out of reach of big rivers. Peking's Ming Tombs Reservoir and Kunming Lake in the Summer Palace are favourite spots. Dozens of crossings have been made there this year. Among those who participated in one of the latest Kunming Lake events on August 15 were the well-known writers Chou Li-po, the poet Li Chi and the cartoonists Hua Chun-wu, Fang Cheng and the artist Shao Yu.

In the swimming contest held on Lake Taihu in Kiangsu Province, first prize went to Hsia Chung-pao, a young worker at the Wusih Ball-Bearing Plant. He finished the 1,500 metres in 26 min. 10.3 secs. This young man is a veteran of many such long-distance events. He has crossed Lake Taihu quite a few times. In 1960, he took part in a 200-li swim down the Yangtse from Wuhu (in Anhwei Province) to Nanking. In the Taihu area where he came from "one crosses a stream every quarter-kilometre" — and many people there cross them swimming.

Now for a novice who joined one of the Kunming (Summer Palace) Lake crossings: Among the hundreds of middle-school students who made the 600-odd metres from the Dragon King Temple Island to the opposite Pai Yun Tien was one oldster who climbed ashore with a broad smile on his face. It was 59-year-old General Li Ta. Only a month before he couldn't swim a stroke. After twelve nights of practice, he had come for his first big tryout and won through. When asked the "secret of his success," he said: "First, you've got to have the determination. Secondly, you've got to go into the water. Once you're in, you're well on your way. Thirdly, you've got to persevere."

In the rural areas, the villagers organize crossings of any handy body of water. In the Lungchu People's Commune in Kiangsu, the women members regularly swim the local river. Anybody who knows the old China and the attitude to women swimming, will realize what a great change this is. In Paiyang-tien Lake in Hopei Province, the famous lake where water guerrillas played havoc with the Japanese invaders and puppet troops during the war, youngsters learn to swim when they learn to walk. Famous swimming coach Mu Cheng-kuan, father of outstanding swimmers and instructor of many others, took the Hopei team down with him for a week and polished up the local youngsters' style.

The people's militia have an extra reason to take to the rivers. In Lushun-Talien, 150,000 men and women took part in one people's militia military exercise in the sea. In Hangchow, 2,800 militiamen swam across the 1,000-metre Chientang River. At the starting point under the famous Liuho Pagoda, huge red streamers carried the words "Support the Vietnamese people's just fight against U.S. aggression and in defence of their fatherland!" and "Temper revolutionary will in the winds and waves!"



Militiamen crossing the Yangtse at Wuhan. The great Yangtse River Bridge is seen in the background

AUTUMN 1964

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