

PEKING REVIEW

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January 1, 1965

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT

Summary of Premier Chou En-lai's report to
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National Minorities' Amateur Art Festival

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HOW TO BE A GOOD COMMUNIST

by

LIU SHAO-CHI

Liu Shao-chi's well-known work, *How To Be a Good Communist*, is a penetrating exposition of the universal Marxist-Leninist truth that the proletariat, while changing the objective world, must at the same time change itself. It also sums up the experience of the Chinese Communists in educating and remoulding themselves in the revolutionary struggle. This book has played an important role in helping Chinese Communists in their efforts to temper themselves.

The author has recently made some changes in style and some additions to the original text written in July 1939, and the revised text was published in the double issue of *Hongqi (Red Flag)*, No. 15-16, 1962. The present English translation follows the revised Chinese text.

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• The nation greets 1965 in buoyant mood, jubilantly celebrating its great achievements last year in every field of socialist construction.

• The First Session of the Third National People's Congress continues.

A summary of Premier Chou En-lai's report to the N.P.C. on the Government's work was published.

• The Chinese Government issued a statement on December 29, protesting against the war provocation of the United States in sending submarines carrying Polaris missiles to waters off the mainland of Asia.

• The Chinese Government issued a statement on December 23, protesting against the Brazilian authorities' illegal conviction of the nine Chinese unwarrantedly arrested in April 1964 and demanding their immediate release.

Renmin Ribao in its December 25 editorial denounced the trial and conviction of the nine Chinese as a shameless farce and development of U.S. imperialism's anti-China plot in Brazil.

• Peking celebrated the 6th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution.

• An Algerian militia delegation arrived in Peking.

• In a December 28 note handed to the Indian Embassy in Peking, the Chinese Foreign Ministry protested against recent intrusions by Indian aircraft into China's air space.

• The national minorities' amateur art festival closed on December 29 after nearly five weeks of successful performances. Vice-Premier Ulanfu addressed the closing ceremony, which was attended by Premier Chou En-lai.

• Lhasa celebrated the 10th anniversary of the opening of the Szechuan-Tibet and Chinghai-Tibet Highways.

N.P.C. Session Continues

After several days of group discussions on Premier Chou En-lai's report on the Government's work, the First Session of the Third National People's Congress resumed its plenary meeting on December 26. The Deputies that day heard reports from Hsieh Chueh-tsai, President of the Supreme People's Court, and Chang Ting-cheng, Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, on the work of the Supreme People's Court and Supreme People's Procuratorate respectively.

Many Deputies addressed the plenary meetings on December 26, 28 and 29, while copies of written speeches by other Deputies were distributed. All expressed their full

support for Premier Chou En-lai's report on the Government's work.

Leaders Receive C.P.P.C.C. Members

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Party and state leaders on December 27 received the members attending the current first session of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

On the same day they also received the amateur artists from over 50 national minorities in the country, who had come to Peking to participate in the minority peoples' amateur art festival, together with the students of the Sinkiang cadres

training class of the Central Institute for Nationalities. The hall was swept by a great burst of cheers when Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues greeted the gathering. There were stormy handclaps and shouts of "Long live Chairman Mao!" and "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" in over two score languages.

Chinese Leaders Receive Afro-Asian Writers

Writers from nine Asian and African countries were received on December 24 by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai. They had a most cordial and friendly talk.

The writers had attended a forum on Asian and African literature held in Peking last month, following which a joint statement was issued by the delegations of the Chinese Writers' Union and of the Afro-Asian Writers' Permanent Bureau to Asia. The statement calls on Asian and African writers to stand in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, and take an active part in developing the national and progressive cultures of their peoples.

Chairman Mao Sees Cuban Ballet

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Party and state leaders on December 23 attended the farewell performance of the visiting Cuban national ballet company. After the performance, the Chinese leaders went on stage to congratulate the Cuban artists.

The next day the company left Peking, after a two-month tour of China. Before they left, the Cuban artists were guests of honour at a farewell reception given by the China-Cuba Friendship Association. Vice-Premier Chen Yi, who was among those present, praised "their work for the revolution." Recalling their first memorable visit in March 1961, he invited them to visit China again in the near future.

Militia Delegation From Algeria

An Algerian militia delegation led by its National Superintendent Gue-

nez Mahmoud arrived in Peking on December 23. It came on a friendly visit at the invitation of a department of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

On December 26, Chairman Mao Tse-tung received the delegation and had a cordial and friendly talk with its members.

Algerian Charge d'Affaires ad interim Mohamed Khouri gave a banquet for the delegation on December 27. Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the P.L.A. General Staff, and other leaders attended.

In his speech at the banquet, Guenez Mahmoud said that the visit of the delegation would further promote the friendship between the people of Algeria and China. Referring to the task of the militiamen, he declared that the formation of the Algerian militia showed that Algeria was determined to safeguard its national dignity and revolutionary gains and support the other peoples struggling for liberation and against colonialism, old and new.

General Peng Shao-hui, Deputy Chief of the P.L.A. General Staff, speaking at the banquet, expressed confidence that, under the leadership of President Ben Bella and the National Liberation Front, the Algerian people would strengthen their militia which, together with their people's army, would smash any aggression or subversion by imperialism and colonialism.

New Year Banquet for Foreign Specialists

Vice-Premier Chen Yi gave a banquet on December 29 in the Great Hall of the People in honour of foreign specialists working in China and their wives, and to welcome with them the coming New Year.

Premier Chou En-lai attended the banquet. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, the Premier thanked the foreign specialists from 55 countries for their help in building socialism. He wished everyone present a happy New Year and proposed a toast to the continued growth

of friendship between the peoples and to their combined efforts to safeguard world peace and promote the progressive cause of mankind.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his banquet speech, praised the foreign specialists for their work and spoke of China's great achievements during the past year and the excellent international situation. "U.S. imperialism," he said, "is now heavily besieged by the world's people. So long as they unite closely U.S. imperialism will be defeated."

Later a programme of music and acrobatics was presented and this was followed by dancing.

Vietnamese Army Day

The Vietnamese People's Army celebrated its 20th anniversary on December 22. Marshal Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, sent a message of greetings to Senior General Vo Nguyen Giap, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic, wishing the fraternal Vietnamese People's Army new and still greater successes in safeguarding the motherland, in defending peace in Asia and throughout the world.

"The Vietnamese People's Army is the spearhead of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam," said Colonel Tran Ngoc Kien, military attache of the Vietnamese Embassy, speaking at an anniversary reception which he gave on December 22. Marshal Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council, and Senior General Lo Jui-ching were among those attending the reception.

"Tempered in hard and protracted combat," said Colonel Tran Ngoc Kien, "the Vietnamese People's Army, together with the other people's armed forces, has fulfilled the task of maintaining order and security, and protecting their country and the peaceful labour of the Vietnamese people." He condemned U.S. aggression against Viet Nam and stressed that the people's army was heightening its vigilance and was ready to smash any plot of the U.S. imperialists.

Senior General Lo Jui-ching warmly acclaimed the close and militant friendship between the people and armies of China and Viet Nam. He reaffirmed China's resolute support for the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against the U.S. aggressors and for the reunification of their country.

The anniversary was also celebrated at a meeting held by the General Staff Headquarters and the General Political Department of the P.L.A. and attended by more than 2,000 officers and men of the P.L.A.

Korean Military Delegation In Peking

The Korean military delegation led by General Kim Chang Bong, Minister of National Defence, arrived in Peking on December 26 on its way home after visiting the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The next evening, Senior General Lo Jui-ching gave a banquet for the Korean guests. In a warm and cordial atmosphere, hosts and guests toasted the growth and consolidation of the unbreakable, militant friendship between the people and armed forces of China and Korea. The Korean delegation left for home on December 28.

American Writer's Birthday

Anna Louise Strong, the well-known American writer who is now living in Peking, celebrated her 79th birthday. The China Peace Committee gave a birthday banquet for her on December 25. Premier Chou En-lai and his wife and Vice-Premier Chen Yi were among the guests who greeted her. Also present were several American friends in Peking.

Protest Against Indian Air Intrusions

Indian aircraft violated China's air space on several occasions in December 1964. They made prolonged reconnaissance and harassing flights over a wide area well inside both Tibet and Sinkiang. One plane even flew over parts of Szechuan Province.

In a note sent to the Indian Embassy in Peking on December 28, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs sharply protested to the Indian Government against these intrusions.

The note gave details of the intrusions the Indian aircraft made on December 16, 17 and 20, and said that they constituted a flagrant violation of China's sovereignty and air space and were serious provocations against China. It demanded that the Indian Government put an immediate stop to all such intrusive activities.

Highways to a Prosperous Tibet

Ten years ago, on December 25, the Szechuan-Tibet and Chinghai-Tibet Highways were officially opened to traffic. Magnificent engineering achievements, they total some 4,400 kilometres and cut across mountains 3,000 to 5,000 metres above sea level. Since then they have played an important role in strengthening contacts between Tibet and other parts of the country, enhancing unity among the fraternal nationalities, promoting political, economic and cultural construction in Tibet and strengthening the national defence on China's south-western borders.

Lhasa celebrated the tenth anniversary of the two highways with a mass rally. More than 10,000 people attended, including leaders of the local committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the local government and units of the People's Liberation Army, model road builders and advanced workers.

Kuo Hsi-lan, Vice-Secretary of the Working Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet, in the keynote speech described the ten years since the opening of the two highways as "a decade of great change in Tibet," which saw the quelling of the armed rebellion by the reactionary clique of the upper strata in that region, the institution of democratic reforms and the abolition of feudal serfdom. All this had led to unprecedented progress in agriculture and animal husbandry in the region and improvement in the people's livelihood. He described the

current situation in Tibet as excellent. "The region," he said, "has entered a new historical period: it is carrying the democratic reforms through to completion and creating conditions for the socialist revolution." He called on the people to continue the work for the building of a new Tibet.

Namdon Kunga Wongchung, Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, in his speech recalled that there was not a single highway in Tibet before the region's peaceful liberation. He described the opening of the highways as "a joyous event in the political and economic life of the Tibetan people." Quoting facts to show how the highways had brought happiness to the Tibetan people, he paid tribute to the heroic road builders. He called for the further strengthening of unity between the Tibetan and Han peoples under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. He declared that resolute blows would be dealt to any former manorial lords or serf-owners should they dare to engage in counter-revolutionary activities and attempt a come-back.

The rally adopted a message of greetings to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Pardoned War Criminals Released

In accordance with Chairman Liu Shao-chi's order issued on December 12, the Supreme People's Court on December 28 pardoned and released 53 war criminals. They include 45 war criminals of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, seven of the puppet "Manchukuo" regime and one belonging to the puppet "Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government."

The order was announced and notification given to the pardoned men at meetings held by the Supreme People's Court and higher people's courts. At the meetings, 11 other war criminals were also notified that, in view of their repentance, their sentences had been reduced.

Premier Chou En-lai Reports on the Work of the Government

In the last five years, under the brilliant leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the people of China's various nationalities, raising high the glorious banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and holding to the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, have unfolded on a national scale the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, launched a powerful counter-attack against the onslaught of the capitalist and feudal forces, enhanced the socialist consciousness of the masses of the people, basically accomplished the task of readjusting the national economy, brought about an all-round upsurge in industrial and agricultural production and a turn for the better in the entire national economy, and greatly increased China's ability to undertake construction by its own efforts. At the same time, in the international sphere, we have waged a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism, the reactionaries of various countries and modern revisionism and repulsed the anti-Chinese campaigns which they whipped up one after another. We have actively supported the revolutionary people of various countries and developed relations of friendship and co-operation with many countries. Our international prestige has been further enhanced and we have friends all over the world.

We should further develop the socialist education movement, firmly rely on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the revolutionary cadres, the revolutionary intellectuals and other revolutionaries, carry out a cleaning up and "capital construction" in the political, economic, ideological and organizational fields in accordance with the socialist principle of thoroughgoing revolution, and conduct a profound class education and socialist education among the masses of the people. We should further develop the socialist revolution on the ideological and cultural fronts in order step by step to realize the goal of having intellectuals who are at the same time manual workers and manual workers who are also intellectuals. We should further consolidate and expand the people's democratic united front and strengthen the great unity of all our nationalities. Party and government organs and cadres at all levels must be revolutionized; they should learn from the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit and style of work of the Liberation Army, the oil workers of Taching and the peasants of Tachai. We should energetically organize a new upsurge in industrial and agricultural production in 1965 on the basis of a deeper and broader socialist education movement, make preparations for the Third Five-Year Plan beginning in 1966, and strive to build China into a powerful socialist state with a modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology in not too long a historical period. Internationally, we should continue to implement the general line of our foreign policy and, together with the people throughout the world, resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and strive for new victories in the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

ON behalf of the State Council, Premier Chou En-lai gave a report on the work of the Government at the First Session of the Third National People's Congress on December 21 and 22, 1964.

The report consists of three parts: (1) the national economic achievements and the tasks of construction; (2) the socialist revolution and the people's democratic united front; and (3) the international situation and China's foreign relations.

Premier Chou En-lai began by pointing out that holding aloft the glorious banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and adhering to the general line of socialist construction, that is, going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, the various nationalities of our country, under the brilliant leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, have won one great victory after another since the First Session of the Second



Premier Chou En-lai delivering his report on the work of the Government

National People's Congress in unfolding the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment on a national scale and carrying on a tit-for-tat struggle internationally against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism.

I. National Economic Achievements And Tasks of Construction

Speaking on the national economic achievements, Premier Chou stated that after the great expansion of 1958-60, China's national economy in 1961 entered the period of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards. At present, the task of readjusting the national economy has been basically accomplished, there has been an all-round upsurge in agricultural and industrial production, and the entire economy has taken a turn for the better and is entering a new period of development.

Economic Readjustment Has Been Completed In the Main

Premier Chou said that several years ago at a time when China's national economy had achieved a great expansion, it encountered some difficulties which were quite serious. The three successive years of natural disasters from 1959 to 1961 brought grave difficulties to the national economy as a whole. There were also some shortcomings and mistakes in our work. Moreover, in 1960 Khrushchov abruptly and perfidiously tore up several hundred agreements and contracts, withdrew the Soviet experts working in China and cut off the supply of important items of equipment,

thus seriously upsetting our original plan for national economic development and adding greatly to our difficulties.

But the great Chinese people were not cowed by these serious difficulties. United as one man, working hard and forging ahead by relying on their own efforts, the people of our country, led by the Party, have in the space of four years consolidated the achievements of the three years of great expansion, corrected shortcomings and mistakes in our work, surmounted numerous obstacles, strengthened the system of people's communes, made a new leap in improving the quality and increasing the variety of industrial products, and have accomplished the arduous task of readjusting the national economy in not too long a period of time, thereby laying sound foundations for the future development of China's socialist construction.

In the past few years, we have made a preliminary summing up of the experience gained by the masses in their practice, formulated a series of specific policies and worked out a number of draft regulations for our work, in accordance with the basic spirit of the general line. These specific policies and draft regulations have played an important role in the readjustment of the national economy, although some of them still have shortcomings. At the same time, we have concentrated our main efforts on strengthening the agricultural front and increasing the output of necessities for the people, readjusted the relationship between industry and agriculture, switching industry and work in other fields on to the road of serving agriculture which is the foundation of the economy, and readjusted the relations among the various branches of industry, strengthening the weak links and developing new industries. As a result, the relations among the various branches

of our national economy have become comparatively harmonious on the new basis and our economic strength is greater than before.

Premier Chou outlined the great achievements in the readjustment of the national economy in the four main fields of agriculture, industry, finance and trade, and culture and education.

First, after the successive increases in output in 1962 and 1963 and the still better harvests this year, agricultural production has reached the level of the high-yielding years of the past. It is estimated that grain, cotton, cured tobacco, sugar cane, pigs, sheep and the other chief agricultural and livestock products will all surpass the levels attained in 1957, the last year of the First Five-Year Plan period. Compared with 1957, the number of tractors employed in agriculture increased by four times in 1964, irrigation facilities (in terms of horse-power) by 12 times and power supply in rural areas by 22 times, and chemical fertilizers supplied by the state more than trebled. There have been immense achievements in water conservancy, which has already played a positive role in agricultural production and will play a still greater role in the future.

Second, there has been a new expansion of industrial production and a new leap in the variety and quality of products. In 1964, the total value of industrial output is expected to increase more than 15 per cent over 1963 and to be far higher than in 1957. The output of steel, petroleum, chemical fertilizers, cement, motor vehicles, cotton yarn, sugar, cigarettes and other major industrial products will all increase over 20 per cent in 1964 as compared with 1963. In the past four years, there have been about 24,000 new varieties of major industrial products, trebling the figure of the period of the great expansion in 1958-60. There has been a general rise in the quality of products, with some reaching or approaching advanced international standards. The management of industrial enterprises has been vastly improved, consumption quotas of raw and other materials and fuels as well as costs of production have been sharply reduced, and labour productivity has constantly risen.

Third, there has been a marked improvement in supplies of commodities, prices have remained stable, revenue and expenditure are in balance, confidence in the currency has become still greater, and there has been a considerable expansion of foreign trade. In recent years living conditions have gradually improved both in the cities and in the countryside. Supplies of pork, mutton, vegetables and other non-staple foodstuffs in 1964 are more than 30 per cent greater than in 1957; for machine-made paper, aluminium utensils, enamelware, bicycles, radios and other important consumer goods the increases are over 50 per cent. Commodities are in relatively abundant supply on the market today and one can see signs of prosperity everywhere.

Fourth, there have been new developments in culture, education, public health work and physical culture, and the level of scientific research has been raised. In recent years, we have improved the work of teaching and raised the quality of education in accordance with the policy that education must serve the politics of the proletariat and must be combined with productive labour. A number of schools of a new type, on the basis of part-work and part-study or of part-farmwork and part-study, have been tried out in various places, and this has increased the proportion of the children of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants among pupils and students. We have continued to carry on the patriotic public health campaign, strengthened medical and public health work and raised the level of medical technique. Mass sport activities have grown considerably, and athletes have further improved their skill. Our contingents of scientists and technicians are growing. We have a good number of first-rate scientists and engineers, and some of our research may well be said to have reached advanced levels.

Premier Chou then spoke on the building up of national defence. He said that in recent years our work in the army and on national defence has taken a step forward along the road of revolutionization and modernization. Holding high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has strengthened its ideological and political work, stepped up military training and launched campaigns for "Four Good" companies and "Five Good" fighters (a "Four Good" company means a company good in political and ideological work, good in the "three-eight" working style, good in military training and good in making living arrangements. A "Five Good" fighter is: good in political thinking, good in military skill, good in the "three-eight" working style, good in fulfilling tasks and good in physical training — *Translator's note*) and there has been a marked enhancement in the class consciousness and combat effectiveness of the broad mass of officers and men. Militia work throughout the country has also been strengthened. The People's Liberation Army and the militia have played a significant role in the struggle to safeguard the security of the motherland and the cause of socialism, to defend Asian and world peace and to oppose U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

As we all remember, the Premier said, when we were confronted with serious difficulties a few years ago, the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries, all of whom are inveterately hostile to the Chinese people, joined in an anti-Chinese chorus, saying that China's economy had "collapsed," that the Great Leap Forward had "met with defeat," that the people's communes had "disintegrated," that the People's Government had become "bankrupt," etc. But in the face of the inexorable facts, it did not take long before these gentlemen had to admit that in the East

the towering People's Republic of China has become more consolidated and powerful than ever.

Premier Chou emphasized that the great achievements scored in the last few years have been the result of our resolute application of the policy of self-reliance. Relying on the collective strength of the people's communes and bringing the enthusiasm and initiative of the peasant masses for collective production into full play, we have speedily restored and expanded agricultural production. Relying on the creative labour of the broad masses of our workers and scientific and technical personnel, we have enhanced our capacities for production and construction through our own efforts. Now we are able to rely entirely on ourselves in designing and building a large number of important modern industrial enterprises, designing and making machines and equipment which are large in size and high in quality and precision, and producing large amounts of raw and other materials and fuels of a fairly complete range of types and specifications and of excellent quality. The number of complete sets of equipment we are manufacturing has increased.

Premier Chou cited the typical experiences of the Tachai Agricultural Production Brigade in Siyang County, Shansi Province, and of the Taching Oilfield and the successful production of China's first atom bomb as concrete examples of our achievements in economic construction and in the building of national defence on the basis of self-reliance. He said that we ourselves made our first atom bomb which was exploded successfully on October 16, 1964. Foreign atomic scientists had to admit that our nuclear test surpassed those initially conducted by the United States, Britain or France.

He stressed the fact that, during this period, so far from incurring any new foreign debt, however small, we have actually repaid almost the whole of our foreign debt. The sum total of the principal plus interest we owed the Soviet Union was 1,406 million new rubles; we have paid 1,389 million new rubles on schedule and have proposed to the Soviet side to pay off the remaining 17 million rubles ahead of schedule from the favourable balance in our trade with the Soviet Union in 1964. What is more, during this period we have furnished a far larger total in money and products in assistance to socialist and national independent countries than the foreign debt we repaid.

Premier Chou said that the tremendous achievements in the work of readjusting our national economy and the growth in our ability to undertake construction by our own efforts fully bear out the superiority of the socialist system, the vast potentialities of China's nationalities in their heroic work for the prosperity of the motherland, the correctness of the general line of socialist construction and the invincibility of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

After explaining in detail the experience and lessons gained in the work of readjustment in the last

few years, the Premier laid great stress on the importance of summing up experience. He said that in order to build our country into a powerful socialist state as speedily as possible, the most important thing for us was to accumulate experience and to understand the objective laws of socialist construction.

It was precisely through the summing up of our experience in socialist construction on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism that the general line of socialist construction in our country was formulated by the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao. This was a leap in our understanding of the laws of socialist construction. Through the practice of recent years, this general line has found its way still deeper into people's hearts and is now more profoundly understood by the broad masses of cadres and people. We already have a good number of specific policies necessary for carrying out this general line, and we have relatively rich experience in combating various kinds of difficulties. Through repeated practice the broad masses of our cadres and people have raised their level of understanding and have tempered and educated themselves; the tendency to act blindly has been reduced and purposefulness has increased. All this is extremely valuable.

Of course, this does not in the least mean that we have grasped all the objective laws of socialist construction and that the process of our understanding these laws is complete. As a matter of fact, there are still large unknown areas and a great many unfamiliar phenomena.

Chairman Mao has often taught us: The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is never-ending. The class struggle will never end in any society in which classes exist. In a classless society the struggle between the new and the old and between truth and falsehood will never end. In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience, make new discoveries and inventions, and go on creating and advancing. Ideas advocating stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong. They are wrong because they agree neither with the facts of social development over the past million years, nor with the facts of nature so far known to us (i.e., nature as revealed in the history of celestial bodies, the earth, life, and other natural phenomena).

Premier Chou said that we should constantly sum up our experience, as Chairman Mao has repeatedly demanded of us; we should sum up our experience whenever some work has been done, thus always engaging in never-ending practice and the never-ending summing up of experience. We should undertake conscientious and meticulous investigation and study of

unfamiliar things and familiarize ourselves with them. In our future work of construction, we should learn more about its objective laws so as to make them serve our cause of socialism and so as to build our country into a great and powerful socialist state as quickly as possible.

Major Tasks for Further Economic Development

Premier Chou En-lai also laid down the tasks for the further development of the national economy in his report.

He explained the Draft 1965 Plan for the Development of the National Economy and the preliminary arrangements for the state budget. The main task in 1965 is energetically to organize a new upsurge in industrial and agricultural production on the basis of a deeper and broader socialist education movement in the cities and in the countryside, to complete the unfinished tasks in the work of readjustment in the national economy, and make preparations for the Third Five-Year Plan beginning in 1966.

The Draft 1965 Plan provides for an increase of about 5 per cent in the total value of agricultural output as compared with 1964. We should continue to carry out the policy of a diversified economy in agriculture with food grains as the key link and strive for a still better harvest by fully relying on the strength of the collective economy and fostering the Tachai spirit.

The Draft Plan provides for an increase of some 11 per cent in the total value of industrial output as compared with 1964. We should achieve a relatively large increase in output while continuing to raise the quality of products and increase their variety. We should spread the Taching experience and extensively unfold the emulation campaign, a campaign to compare oneself with the advanced, learn from and overtake them and help the less advanced to catch up; we should do our utmost to promote new techniques, specialization and co-ordination, strengthen the weak links and raise productive capacity and technique to still higher levels.

In capital construction, there should be more effective use of the method of "concentrating forces to fight wars of annihilation" and attention should be paid to economic results. Designing should be revolutionized so as to meet the requirements of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. Care should be taken to economize on investment in all construction projects, productive or otherwise, and efforts should be made to raise the quality of construction work.

It is necessary to expand the exchange of goods between the city and the countryside still further, make the markets still more flourishing and continue to improve the people's livelihood. The Draft Plan provides for a considerable increase in the supply of such leading commodities as cotton textiles, edible oils, sugar, pork and eggs.

Active experiments should be made in selected places with regard to the educational system combining part-work and part-study or part-farmwork and part-study. Revolutionary cultural activities should be promoted in earnest. The patriotic public health campaign and mass sport activities should be further developed. Scientific research work should be further strengthened, and continued efforts should be made to carry out the plan for the development of science and technology.

In the state budget for 1965, both revenue and expenditure will increase by over 10 per cent as compared with 1964, with a balance between income and outgo. To implement the state budget, enterprises in industry, communications and transport are required to raise labour productivity and cut down costs still further, commercial enterprises are required to reduce costs of circulation, and construction enterprises are required to reduce costs of construction projects. All departments and local organizations should further economize on the various items entering into administrative and other expenses.

After reporting on the task of developing the national economy in 1965, the Premier stated that in order to build our country into a powerful socialist state with a modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology in not too long a historical period, we should pay attention to the following problems in the development of our national economy:

First, the correct handling of the relations between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. The correct handling of these relations furnishes an important guarantee for the successful carrying out of the general line of socialist construction. The plan for national economic development should be arranged in the order of priority of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry.

The guiding general principle of national economic development — with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor — must be applied to obtain still better results. The scale of industrial development should correspond to the volume of the marketable grain and the industrial raw materials made available by agriculture. All departments and trades should orientate themselves to serve agriculture and the countryside. The department of heavy industry should, in the first place, provide increasing amounts of machinery, chemical fertilizer, insecticides, fuel, electric power, irrigation equipment and building materials to agriculture and, at the same time, provide more and more raw and other materials and equipment to light industry. To meet these demands it is essential to speed up the development of heavy industry, and first and foremost of the basic industries, still further.

The development of agriculture not only requires the necessary material and financial assistance the state is able to provide — what is more important, it depends on the collective strength of the people's communes.

Secondly, the correct handling of the relations between self-reliance and international co-operation. Self-reliance is the foundation-stone of the cause of revolution and construction. Only by relying on the diligent labour of its own people and fully exploiting its own resources for construction in the light of its own specific conditions is it possible for a socialist country to develop its economy at a relatively high speed and thus to strengthen the might of the socialist camp as a whole.

Among peoples of different countries assistance is never a one-sided affair; it is mutual and benefits both sides. It is a manifestation of great-power chauvinism to reduce the economy of another country to that of a dependency in the name of "economic mutual assistance." International co-operation must be built on the basis of self-reliance. Only by relying on itself in construction can a country help other countries more effectively. Moreover, in helping recipient countries it must help them to stand on their own feet.

Self-reliance is a policy consistently adhered to by our Party. The Chinese people are no sluggards or cowards, we have never depended and never will depend on others for our living. We are fully capable of building an independent, integral and modern economic system through our own strength. At the same time, we shall continue earnestly to do all we can to step up our aid to other countries and to render greater contributions in accordance with our internationalist duty.

Thirdly, the carrying out of the technical revolution. We cannot just take the beaten track traversed by other countries in the development of technology and trail behind them at a snail's pace. We must break away from conventions and do our utmost to adopt advanced techniques in order to build our country into a powerful modern socialist state in not too long a historical period. This is what we mean by the Great Leap Forward. Is this impossible of attainment? Is this boasting or bragging? Certainly not. It can be done. It is neither boasting nor bragging. We need only take a look at our history to understand this. In our country, haven't we fundamentally overthrown imperialism, feudalism and capitalism which seemed so strong? Haven't we attained a reasonably good level in all fields of socialist revolution and socialist construction after fifteen years of endeavour, starting as we did from "poverty and blankness"? Haven't we also exploded an atom bomb? Has not the label "Sick Man of the East" fastened on us by Westerners been flung off? Why can't the proletariat of the East accomplish what the bourgeoisie of the West has been able to? Early this century Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the great Chinese revolutionary and our precursor, said that China would make a great leap forward. His prediction will certainly come true within several decades. This is an inevitable trend and no reactionary force can stop it.

In order to employ advanced techniques it is necessary to bring our people's ingenuity and talent into

full play and carry on extensive scientific experiments. We must absorb all the good experiences and techniques of other countries. Learning from other countries must be combined with creativeness on our part. The adoption of new techniques must be combined with the mass movement for technical innovation and technical revolution. It is necessary to link scientific research, teaching and production together.

Fourthly, the combination of centralized leadership and extensive mass movements. Our Party has acquired rich experience in leading the mass movement in revolutionary struggles. We have likewise acquired successful experience in unfolding the mass movement in economic construction, and this experience is as follows:

It is necessary to have the tasks discussed by the masses; to conduct the emulation campaign of comparing oneself with the advanced, learning from and overtaking them, and helping the less advanced to catch up; and bring about close co-ordination between the leading cadres, the specialists and the masses. We must promote both the revolutionary spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act and a scientific and realistic approach. On the one hand, there must be great enthusiasm in work and on the other, labour must be alternated with rest. Innovations by the masses must be put on trial before they are gradually introduced. It is necessary to adhere to the Party's class line, unite with all the forces that can be united and mobilize every positive element to serve the cause of socialist construction.

We demand of every leading comrade that he must be good at combining general calls with specific guidance. There are many comrades on the production front who are actually doing so. But there are also quite a few who do not "go and stay in selected primary units" (i.e., go down to primary units and work there for a certain period of time in order to acquire first-hand experience), do not investigate and study, and are accustomed to issuing orders from on high without consulting the masses. They should promptly change their style of work, go deep among the masses, investigate, study and learn the problems on the spot, admit their mistakes and listen to the opinions of the broad masses before they can solve problems and sum up experience together with the masses. Only in this way is it possible to give correct specific guidance and, consequently, issue correct general calls so as better to unfold the mass movement in production and construction.

Premier Chou also spoke on the question of persevering in the policy of building the country with diligence and thrift. He said that the purpose of this policy is not only to save manpower and material and financial resources but also to unfold the struggle for promoting proletarian ideology and eradicating bourgeois ideology. Diligence, thrift, plain living and hard work constitute the good proletarian style, while ex-

travagance, waste, and the pursuit of personal enjoyment constitute the degenerate bourgeois style. We must promote the good proletarian style and make it prevail in our society, and in so doing we shall be able to resist the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideology. This is of vital importance both to the socialist revolution and to the socialist construction.

The Premier criticized some instances of waste in the management of enterprises, in capital construction and in administrative and other expenses. An intensive movement for increasing production and practising economy must be unfolded on all fronts in 1965. The people of the whole country must join in the fight to accumulate and effectively utilize every single yuan of construction funds.

He pointed out that as the work of construction develops, undoubtedly many new problems will crop up and new contradictions and new imbalances will emerge. But so long as we understand and handle these contradictions and strike an overall balance rightly and not wrongly, we shall be able continuously to resolve the contradictions and achieve a new balance out of imbalance, and our national economy will be able to achieve a planned and proportionate development at high speed.

Premier Chou said that not a few shortcomings, mistakes and difficulties still exist in the various branches of our work and that new shortcomings, mistakes and difficulties will also emerge in the future. But we are confident that under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao and guided by the beacon light of the general line, we can overcome every shortcoming, mistake and difficulty, and the cause of our construction will unquestionably march forward in giant yet steady steps as we continue to foster the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, enterprise, hard struggle and building the country by thrift and diligence, and to give full play to the creativeness and enthusiasm of the masses.

II. The Socialist Revolution and the People's Democratic United Front

The second part of Premier Chou En-lai's report deals with the socialist revolution and the people's democratic united front.

The tremendous achievements in China's socialist construction, he said, were obtained as a result of persevering in the socialist revolution. The events of the five years since 1959 have further proved that the socialist revolution is the great motive force in the progress of Chinese society.

Laws Governing the Class Struggle in China's Socialist Society

The Premier said that Chairman Mao has creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist theories of the dictator-

ship of the proletariat and scientific socialism by summing up the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle in China and by studying the positive and negative features of international experience, and particularly the lessons provided by modern revisionism.

Chairman Mao has taught us that socialist society will cover a very long historical period. In socialist society class contradictions continue to exist and class struggle does not die out after the nationalization of industry, the collectivization of agriculture and the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. During this historical period, a thoroughgoing socialist revolution must be carried out on the economic, political, and ideological and cultural fronts. Moreover, as long as the world still contains imperialism, capitalism, reaction and modern revisionism, it is inevitable that the sinister winds of capitalism will frequently blow into socialist countries. Consequently, the struggle of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, must take a very long time in a socialist country before it can be finally decided.

The Premier declared that for quite a long period the landlord class, the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes which have been overthrown will remain strong and powerful in our socialist society; we must under no circumstances take them lightly. At the same time, new bourgeois elements, new bourgeois intellectuals and other new exploiters will be ceaselessly generated in society, in Party and government organs, in economic organizations and in cultural and educational departments. These new bourgeois elements and other exploiters will invariably try to find their protectors and agents in the higher leading organizations. The old and new bourgeois elements and other exploiters will invariably join hands in opposing socialism and developing capitalism. There are also counter-revolutionaries and other bad elements who have not been properly reformed or who have concealed themselves, and they will invariably engage in overt or covert subversive activities.

The realities of the political life of our country have again and again provided us with lessons, continued the Premier. Shortly after the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production was fundamentally completed in 1956, the bourgeois Rightists launched their attack in 1957 and a fierce class struggle ensued. The Communist Party led the people of the whole country in defeating that attack. From 1959 to 1962, when China's economy experienced temporary difficulties and when the imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists launched repeated campaigns against China, the class enemies at home launched renewed attacks on socialism, and consequently once again fierce class struggle ensued. In the domestic field, quite a few people actively advocated the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, the fixing of output quotas based on the household, "going it alone" (i.e.,

the restoration of individual economy), "liberalization," "reversing previous correct decisions," and capitulationism in united front work; in the international field they advocated the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples. They used their bourgeois and revisionist viewpoints to oppose our general line of socialist construction and the general line of our foreign policy.

In September 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, Chairman Mao called on the whole Party and the entire people never to forget classes and class struggle. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, the people of the whole country launched a powerful counter-attack against the onslaught of the capitalist and feudal forces and checked the evil winds and noxious influences of the time.

It is entirely wrong to underestimate the danger of the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country, the Premier pointed out. But that does not in the least mean that the restoration of capitalism is unavoidable. In China, we have a staunch and militant Marxist-Leninist Party, the increasingly strengthened state power of the proletariat, the powerful revolutionary People's Liberation Army, the mass of highly politically conscious cadres and people, and a glorious revolutionary tradition. Most important is the fact that the nucleus of leadership of our Party and state is guided by Mao Tse-tung's thinking. All this makes it very difficult for capitalism to stage a come-back in China. We have always believed that the masses of the people, who constitute more than 95 per cent of the population, are for the revolution, for socialism, and firmly support the lines and policies laid down by our Party in accordance with the fundamental interests of the people of the whole country, although a part of them may follow our lead somewhat hesitantly. Provided that we resolutely follow the mass line, boldly mobilize the masses and get them organized, we will be able to smash any imperialist armed attack or plot for "peaceful disintegration," or any machinations by foreign and domestic class enemies for a come-back. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country rests on firm foundations and our socialist state power is unshakable.

The Socialist Education Movement

The socialist education movement now going on in the countryside and in the cities has a great revolutionary and historic significance, the Premier stated. In this movement it is necessary to carry out a cleaning up and "capital construction" in the political, economic, ideological and organizational fields in accordance with the socialist principle of thoroughgoing revolution and to conduct a profound class education and socialist education among the masses of the people so as to promote proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology. In this movement it is necessary firmly to rely on the working class, the poor and lower-mid-

dle peasants, the revolutionary cadres, the revolutionary intellectuals and the other revolutionaries, boldly to mobilize the masses, to distinguish between the contradictions among the people and those between us and the enemy and handle both correctly. This movement has far-reaching significance for the consolidation of our socialist positions and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the destruction of the social foundations of revisionism, for the consolidation of socialist ownership by the whole people and by the collective, and for the development of production and the building of a powerful socialist country.

Premier Chou said that the socialist education movement is a revolutionary movement embracing hundreds of millions of people, and only when the masses are boldly aroused can it really become a conscious revolutionary struggle on their part and can it really win complete victory. In the entire work of the socialist education movement, first place must be given to the bold arousing of the masses.

Premier Chou said that class struggle and the revolutionary movement are the motive force for developing production and that they serve the struggle for production. We are convinced that, following the successful unfolding of the present socialist education movement, there will be a new upsurge not only of socialist revolution but also of socialist construction.

The Cultural Revolution and the Question Of Intellectuals

Speaking on the tasks of the cultural revolution, the Premier pointed out that in the period of socialism the overriding task on the ideological and cultural fronts is thoroughly to combat capitalism, to promote the proletarian ideology and eradicate the bourgeois ideology, although the task of combating imperialism and feudalism still remains. Socialist culture must serve the politics of the proletariat, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and serve the economic base of socialism. Therefore, it is necessary to bring about a radical transformation of all bourgeois, feudal and other ideology and culture which are not suited to the socialist economic base and political system, and to carry the socialist revolution on the ideological and cultural fronts through to the end.

The Premier said that a great debate on a series of questions of principle has been recently carried out by some departments and newspapers and periodicals in the fields of philosophy, political economy, the science of history, education, culture and art, and such bourgeois and revisionist views as "two combining into one," "the spirit of the times as representing the convergence of the ideologies of all classes," and "portraying middle characters" and a number of bad plays and films have been criticized. In essence, the debate is on whether to take the socialist road or the capitalist road, whether to serve socialism or feudalism and capitalism, whether to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers or to serve the bourgeoisie; or even the land-

lords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, whether to adhere to Marxism-Leninism or to practise revisionism, and whether to propagate the revolutionary dialectical materialism of the proletariat or to spread the reactionary idealism of the bourgeoisie. The debate has already yielded initial results.

In the cultural revolution the building of the new comes only after, or side by side with, the destruction of the old. Our new socialist culture progresses by criticizing bourgeois and feudal ideas. The festival of Peking operas on contemporary themes held this year has achieved an initial yet quite important success, has had repercussions on every branch of culture and art and played a positive role in promoting the cultural revolution.

The Premier said that we will continue to carry out the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers and in the service of socialism, and that it is the only correct policy for developing science and culture. The process of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is itself the process of ideological struggle. The proletarian ideology can develop only in the struggle against bourgeois ideology; the fragrant flowers of socialism can blossom more fully only in the struggle against poisonous weeds.

Speaking on the development of proletarian education, Premier Chou said that in accordance with the instructions of Chairman Liu Shao-chi, we should, for a number of years, continue to carry out reforms in the existing full-time school system, seriously apply the policy that education must serve the politics of the proletariat and be combined with productive labour, and popularize elementary education in its various forms by relying on the masses to the fullest extent; at the same time, experimental part-work and part-study schools and part-farmwork and part-study schools should be set up. Both are schools of a new type, combining education with labour. Such schools can train men of a new type, who are developed in an all-round way and who are capable of doing physical labour, and have both culture and technique; the conditions will thus be created for gradually eliminating the difference between mental and manual workers. Such schools point to the direction of the long-term development of socialist and communist education.

The goal of our cultural revolution, the Premier said, is that the intellectuals should at the same time be manual workers and the manual workers intellectuals. In order to develop socialist science and culture, we must have a mighty contingent of working-class intellectuals. In the torrent of the cultural revolution, no intellectual can slacken his efforts at ideological remoulding. The fundamental ways for the intellectuals to remould themselves are as follows: They should study Marxism-Leninism and the works of Mao Tse-tung, study and creatively apply them, grasp and

master them, and arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thinking; they should go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers for long periods, and take part in class struggle and in productive labour so as to become revolutionized and to become manual workers at the same time.

Consolidating and Expanding the People's Democratic United Front

He went on to deal with the consolidation and expansion of the people's democratic united front. The people's democratic united front in our country is a united front which is led by the proletariat through its vanguard, the Chinese Communist Party, is based on the worker-peasant alliance and embraces the national bourgeoisie, the democratic parties, people's organizations, patriots of the various nationalities, patriotic overseas Chinese and all other patriotic democrats. The further consolidation and expansion of this united front is very significant for the successful advancement of the cause of socialism.

Premier Chou said that the Party and state have adopted the peaceful method of gradual socialist transformation with regard to the national bourgeoisie in accordance with China's specific conditions. This means that the antagonistic class contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie is handled as a contradiction among the people. In the historical period of the socialist revolution, the national bourgeoisie of our country still has a dual character, that is to say, it has the possibility of accepting socialist transformation under compulsion and at the same time has a strong reactionary desire to develop capitalism. Our peaceful transformation of the national bourgeoisie is in essence a special form of class struggle which the proletariat, having seized state power after a long period of armed struggle, wages against the bourgeoisie by relying on its own mighty dictatorship. The aim is to abolish the bourgeoisie and capitalism finally and completely through a long class struggle, and it is definitely not to liquidate class struggle, practise class conciliation and preserve the bourgeoisie and capitalism. It is utterly wrong to depart from the proletarian stand of class struggle in examining and handling the questions of the bourgeoisie, the democratic parties and the united front.

The process of remoulding bourgeois elements is one of protracted, complicated and repeated class struggle. Only by maintaining an active attitude, persisting in educating and remoulding the bourgeois elements and waging struggle against all activities aimed at restoring capitalism, can we win over the majority or perhaps even the overwhelming majority of them and help them to be gradually transformed from exploiters to working people. As a class, the bourgeoisie must be eliminated, but the individuals belonging to it have a bright future provided they are willing to remould themselves and successfully pass the test of the socialist revolution.

Premier Chou said that the Chinese Communist Party firmly pursues the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" towards the democratic parties, on the premise that classes and class struggle will continue to exist for a long period and with the six political criteria set forth by Chairman Mao as our common standards. The democratic parties' long-term coexistence and mutual supervision vis-a-vis the Communist Party constitute the process of their gradual socialist remoulding in the service of socialism, the process of their gradually remoulding themselves into a political force which serves socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The consolidation and strengthening of the great unity of all our nationalities is a policy of great importance for guaranteeing the successful development of the socialist cause in our country. In the past fifteen years we have achieved great successes in applying the policy of national equality and solidarity, in establishing regional autonomy for various nationalities, in carrying out the democratic and socialist revolutions in the regions inhabited by minority nationalities, and in developing their economy and culture.

The Premier quoted Chairman Mao as follows, "In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." It is in the light of this Marxist-Leninist tenet that we have examined and handled the national question. To depart from the viewpoint of class and class struggle in examining and handling it would only foster national separatism to the detriment of the unity of the nationalities and of our country.

The Premier pointed out that the broad masses of the working people of the minority nationalities have staunchly supported and actively taken part in the democratic and socialist revolutions. Many figures from among the upper strata of the minority nationalities have also expressed their support for social reforms and their willingness to accept remoulding, and they have been given due consideration by the government and the people. However, a few members of the upper strata have obstinately opposed social reforms. They have tried in a thousand and one ways to provoke national conflicts and undermine the unity of the nationalities; they have gone so far as to gang up with the imperialists, the foreign reactionaries, the modern revisionists and the domestic counter-revolutionaries to engage in criminal activities and even to launch armed rebellion in their attempts to wreck the revolutionary cause of the people of all nationalities and split our motherland, the great family of nationalities. These criminal activities of theirs have been completely shattered by the firm counter-blows of the people of the various nationalities.

In 1962, under the instigation and direct command of forces from abroad, a group of the most reactionary protagonists of local nationalism staged a traitorous counter-revolutionary armed rebellion in Ining, Sinkiang, and incited and organized the flight abroad of

a large number of people near the frontier. Under the leadership of the Party the people of all the fraternal nationalities in Sinkiang resolutely crushed these subversive and traitorous activities.

In 1959, the Dalai clique launched a traitorous counter-revolutionary armed rebellion in collusion with imperialism and the Indian reactionaries. It was promptly stamped out by our heroic People's Liberation Army and the broad masses of the Tibetan people. After his flight to India, the Dalai set up a bogus government in exile, promulgated a bogus constitution, supported the Indian reactionaries in their aggression against our country and actively organized and trained the remnant bandits who had escaped abroad to harass our frontier. All this proves that he has betrayed the motherland and the people. In compliance with the demand of the Tibetan people, the State Council has decided to remove him from the posts of Chairman and member of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

At the recent Seventh Enlarged Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, all the delegates present, and especially the activists among the Tibetan poorer peasants and herdsmen and the cadres at the basic level, exposed and repudiated the planned and organized activities of the reactionary clique of serf-owners represented by Panchen Erdeni against the people, the motherland and socialism. The session unanimously resolved to remove Panchen Erdeni from his posts of Vice-Chairman and Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and this decision was approved by the State Council. In order to give him a last opportunity to turn over a new leaf, he was allowed to remain as a member of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

Premier Chou said that to gain complete liberation the people of all the minority nationalities in our country must rise in revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party. They must conduct and accomplish not only the democratic revolution, but also the socialist revolution, and carry them through to the end. In these revolutionary movements it is imperative to go a step further in boldly mobilizing the poverty-stricken peasants, herdsmen, serfs and slaves who were subject to the worst oppression and exploitation, and earnestly to train revolutionary cadres from among the formerly impoverished labouring people of the minority nationalities.

The Premier said that in applying the Party's national policy we must continue to combat great-nation chauvinism and local nationalism. As for the figures from the upper strata of the minority nationalities who are patriotic and are in favour of social reforms, we shall, as in the past, unite with them, educate them and remould them in adherence to the Party's united front policy. They have a bright future, as long as they make an effort to remould themselves.

The Premier added that we shall continue to pursue the policy of freedom of religious belief correctly and to uphold the integrity of state power and the separation of religion from the state. We must prohibit all illegal activities. We hope that people in religious circles will continue to take a patriotic stand against imperialism, persist in the principle of the independence and self-administration of their churches, abide by government laws and decrees, intensify their own remoulding and actively take part in the socialist construction of our motherland.

If there is to be further consolidation and development of our people's democratic united front, the most important thing is to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. The democratic parties, democrats and other patriots have co-operated with the Chinese Communist Party for a long time. It is now necessary for all of us to unite more closely and continue to march forward under the guidance of the general line. We believe that our people's democratic united front will undoubtedly play an even more important role in the great cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction, in the struggle against our enemies at home and abroad, and in supporting the people of the world in their fight against imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys.

Party and Government Organs and Cadres at All Levels Must Be Revolutionized

On the question of revolutionizing Party and government organs and cadres at all levels, the Premier said that in order the better to advance the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction, it is imperative to revolutionize the leading Party and government organs at all levels and likewise our cadres at all levels.

All Party and government organs and their staffs must be simplified, he continued, and the number of forms, documents and meetings must be drastically cut. Cadres at all levels must go to the units at the basic level, the system under which leading cadres go and stay in selected primary units for a long time must be upheld, and we must energetically encourage the practice of making investigations and studies and earnestly carry out the mass line.

We must persist in the system of cadre participation in collective productive labour. Only by participating in collective productive labour can our cadres basically overcome or forestall the tendency to conduct themselves as bureaucratic overlords and can they become ordinary labourers, sharing weal and woe with the people and genuinely integrating themselves with the masses.

In all fields of work, we must put politics in command, learn from the four "Firsts" of the Liberation Army and its "three-eight working style." (The four "Firsts" mean giving first place to man in the correct

handling of the relationship between man and weapons; giving first place to political work in the correct handling of the relationship between political and other work; giving first place to ideological work in the correct handling of the relationship between ideological and routine tasks in political work; and giving first place to living ideas in the correct handling of the relationship between ideas in books and living ideas in ideological work. In the "three-eight" working style, "three" refers to the three mottoes: Keep firmly to the correct political orientation, maintain an industrious and simple style of work, and be flexible in strategy and tactics; and "eight" refers to the eight characters which mean unity, alertness, earnestness and activity—*Translator's note.*) All our Party and government organs and the broad mass of our cadres should learn from the thoroughly revolutionary spirit and style of work of the Liberation Army, the oil workers of Taching and the peasants of Tachai, and advance along the road of revolutionization.

Premier Chou emphasized that our cadres and working people must diligently study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking in the course of socialist revolution and construction. Arming them with Mao Tse-tung's thinking is a vital prerequisite for carrying our socialist revolution forward to the end and for the smooth progress of our socialist construction. It is also the fundamental way to overcome bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism and prevent their emergence.

By holding high the revolutionary red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, by firmly relying on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the revolutionary cadres, the revolutionary intellectuals and the other revolutionaries, and by uniting with the masses who comprise over 95 per cent of the population, the leading Party and government organs will definitely be able to carry the socialist revolution on all fronts through to the end, prevent the restoration of capitalism, ensure the smooth building of socialism and pave the way for the future transition to communism.

III. The International Situation and China's Foreign Relations

The third part of Premier Chou En-lai's report deals with the international situation and China's foreign relations.

He pointed out that in the last five years and more the revolutionary people of the world, with the forces of Marxism-Leninism as their nucleus, have had serious trials of strength with imperialism headed by the United States, reaction and modern revisionism, and have scored great victories. We have achieved great successes in all spheres in applying the general line of our foreign policy.

Premier Chou said that the current international situation continues to be one in which "the East Wind prevails over the West Wind."

Great Victory in the Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism

He indicated that the U.S. imperialists have all along pursued policies of aggression and war in their vain attempt to dominate the world. Over the last five years and more, U.S. Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson have all vigorously pressed forward with their counter-revolutionary dual tactics of perpetrating more adventurous aggressions while more cunningly playing the game of sham peace. The United States has pushed its arms expansion and war preparations to their highest peacetime peaks. It threatens the world with nuclear war, it plans to launch conventional and local wars to extend its aggression, and is now carrying on so-called special wars in southern Viet Nam, Laos and the Congo. It has been actively carrying on its conspiracy to disintegrate the socialist countries by peaceful means, and at the same time engages in constant military provocations and threats of war against them. It is energetically pushing its neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, committing acts of domination, intervention, subversion and aggression against the newly independent countries and frenziedly suppressing the national-liberation movement. It is controlling and bullying all its allies politically, economically and militarily. U.S. imperialism has done all the evil things it possibly can. It is the most arrogant aggressor ever known in history, the most ferocious enemy of world peace and the main prop of all the forces of reaction in the world. Peoples and nations all over the world that want to make revolution and liberate themselves, all countries and peoples that want to win independence and safeguard their sovereignty and all countries and peoples that want to defend world peace must direct the sharp edge of their struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Premier Chou stated that in the course of the great struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the revolutionary consciousness of the people throughout the world is rising and the forces of revolution are growing from strength to strength. The people of the countries in the socialist camp with a population of more than 1,000 million are the mighty bulwark of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world against imperialism. The proletarian parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism stand in the forefront of this struggle. Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the storm-centres of world revolution at the present time. In these vast areas, the people of various countries have won one great victory after another in their struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism and their lackeys. In Asia the national democratic revolution is developing in depth. The whole of Africa is in an anti-imperialist revolutionary upsurge. In Latin America the national democratic revolutionary movements, inspired by the Cuban revolution, are

rising to new heights. The working class and other labouring people of the developed capitalist countries in Western Europe, North America and Oceania are waging struggles against monopoly capital for democratic rights and better living conditions, and they are experiencing a new awakening. The struggles waged by the people the world over against the U.S. imperialists' policies of aggression and war and for safeguarding world peace have grown tremendously and are surging forward from victory to ever greater victory.

The Premier said that the vigorous growth of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world has put imperialism, headed by the United States, and all reactionaries in an unprecedentedly difficult position. Contradictions among the imperialist countries, and especially those between the United States and France, are becoming increasingly acute. The imperialist camp is further disintegrating. The conditions are ripening for another economic crisis in the United States. The imperialist system is undergoing rapid decline and disintegration. The United States, the chieftain of imperialism, finds life getting tougher every day. It is running into snags and is being knocked about everywhere, finding itself besieged ring upon ring by the people of the world. However it continues to struggle and make trouble, it can never save itself from its doom.

The Premier stressed: Let the people of the socialist countries unite, the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America unite, the people of all continents unite, all the peace-loving countries unite, all the countries subject to U.S. aggression, control, intervention and bullying unite and form the broadest united front, and they will certainly be able to frustrate the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and safeguard world peace.

The Premier strongly condemned the U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. He expressed the firm support of the Chinese people for the just struggle of the people of these countries. China stands for a settlement of the Indo-China question in accordance with the agreements of the two Geneva conferences. If the United States enlarges the war in Indo-China, China will absolutely not sit idly by. Such action by the United States will only result in a more disastrous defeat for it.

The Premier expressed firm support for the Korean people in their struggle against the U.S. occupation of southern Korea and for the peaceful reunification of their motherland.

He pointed out that the Japanese people's momentous mass struggle against U.S. imperialism and domestic reactionaries has dealt a powerful blow to the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war in Asia. The Chinese people staunchly support the Japanese people in their patriotic and democratic struggle.

He expressed support for the North Kalimantan people in their struggle for national independence, for the

Indonesian people in their struggle against "Malaysia" which is the creation of U.S. and British imperialism, for the people of the Arab countries in their struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and against Israel, which is its tool of aggression, for the Palestine Arab people in their struggle to return to their homeland, and for the people of the Asian countries in their struggle against imperialism.

The Premier indicated that in their hostility to the independence of Ceylon, U.S. and British imperialism are intriguing with the reactionaries in an attempt to subvert the Ceylonese Government. He expressed his belief that the Ceylonese people will undoubtedly see through this plot and defeat it.

In recent years the Pakistani Government has pursued an independent policy, and in spite of obstruction from various quarters, it has persisted in developing friendly relations with China and other Asian and African countries. This accords with the interests of the Pakistani people and with those of Asian-African solidarity.

Premier Chou expressed support for the people of the newly independent countries of Africa in their just struggle against old and new colonialism and for the defence of their national independence. He said that the victory of the Algerian people in their national-liberation war has set a brilliant example for the national-liberation movement in Africa. He expressed his belief that the people of Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, Southwest Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and elsewhere will unquestionably win final victory in their fight for independence and freedom.

He strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for its recent direct armed aggression against the Congo in collusion with Belgian and British imperialism. He emphasized that by strengthening their national unity and persisting in their long struggle the Congolese people will certainly defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys in the end and win genuine independence and freedom.

Premier Chou resolutely supported the Cuban people in their struggle against U.S. aggression, for their five just demands and for the defence of the revolution, and supported the people of the Latin American countries in their national democratic revolutionary struggle.

He expressed support for the working class and the broad masses in Western Europe, North America and Oceania in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and the monopoly capitalists of their own countries, and for the Negro people in the United States in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and liberation.

Premier Chou strongly denounced the U.S. plan for a multilateral nuclear force and pointed out that it constitutes a major U.S. step towards arming the West German militarists with nuclear weapons, domi-

nating the West European countries and making preparations for the invasion of the countries of Eastern Europe. He expressed the Chinese people's firm support for the just struggle of the people of the German Democratic Republic against the attempt of U.S. imperialism to foster West German militarism and revanchism and for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and for the defence of their state sovereignty.

Premier Chou stressed the great significance of Chairman Mao's statements and speeches of the last few years in support of the struggles waged by the peoples of other countries against U.S. imperialism. In his recent statement in support of the Congolese (Leopoldville) people against U.S. aggression, Chairman Mao issued the call: "People of the whole world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People all over the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed." Chairman Mao's remarks reflect the revolutionary will of the people of the world in a highly concentrated form and immensely encourage their revolutionary struggle.

Great Achievements in China's Foreign Relations

Over the past five years and more our people have repulsed one anti-Chinese campaign after another whipped up by the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists. Our international prestige has been enhanced and our revolutionary influence has become wider. The number of countries having diplomatic relations with us has now increased to fifty, and more than one hundred and twenty countries and regions now have trade or cultural relations with us. During these years Chinese leaders have exchanged friendly visits with leaders of many other countries. We have friends all over the world.

The Premier said that in the past five years China has settled boundary problems with Burma, Nepal, Mongolia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, etc. This is an outstanding achievement in our foreign relations. As for the Sino-Indian border issue, we have also made efforts for a peaceful settlement with India through negotiations. However, owing to the requirements of its domestic and foreign policies, the Indian Government is utterly devoid of any sincere desire to settle this issue. It has not only occupied 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory south of the so-called McMahon Line in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, it also wants to occupy over 30,000 square kilometres more of Chinese territory in the western sector. Moreover, it has demanded the withdrawal of seven civilian posts on Chinese territory in the western sector as a precondition for negotiations. This attitude of the Indian Government's is extremely unreasonable. We will not withdraw a single one of these seven civilian posts, and at the same time the Indian Government has to be reminded that the 90,000 square kilometres of territory south of the so-called McMahon Line are Chinese territory over which China has never relin-

quished its sovereignty. We are for peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border issue through negotiations, but if India is determined not to have negotiations—no matter, we can wait.

Premier Chou said that, in the past five years and more, China has further developed its relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation with many socialist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism. Through no fault of our own, our relations with the Soviet Union have been impaired and have run into difficulties. Nevertheless, we continue to set store by unity and as far as possible we maintain normal intercourse. It was on the basis of this stand that on the occasion of the 47th anniversary of the October Revolution we took the initiative in proposing to send a Party and government delegation to attend the celebrations in Moscow. This major effort on our part was warmly welcomed by the Soviet people, the people of the socialist camp and all the revolutionary people of the world. We are firmly convinced that no force whatever can disrupt the great unity between the Chinese and Soviet peoples and the great unity of the peoples of the socialist camp.

In the same period, China's relations of friendship and co-operation with the new emerging countries in Asia and Africa have grown strikingly on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China has concluded treaties of friendship or treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression, agreements on economic and technical co-operation or trade and cultural agreements with a good number of the new emerging countries.

Premier Chou pointed out that with the development of its socialist construction China's aid to other countries has grown in scale during the last few years. After summing up our practice over the years, we have formulated the eight principles for providing economic aid to other countries. Our point of departure in aid to other countries is: to support construction in the fraternal socialist countries and increase the might of the whole socialist camp in the spirit of proletarian internationalism; to support countries which are not yet independent in winning their independence; and to support the newly independent countries in developing their national economies through their own efforts and in consolidating their independence and to strengthen the forces of the peoples of the world in their united struggle against imperialism. We have always done everything possible to help others, and have rendered assistance either gratis or in the form of low-interest or interest-free loans.

As a member of the great Asian-African community, continued the Premier, China has made consistent efforts to promote the unity of the Asian and African countries against imperialism. She played an active part in the preparatory meeting for the Second African-Asian Conference in Djakarta last April and is ready to co-operate with the other Asian-African countries for the success of the Second African-Asian Conference to be held in Algiers.

Premier Chou strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for perpetuating its occupation of Taiwan, preventing the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and plotting to create "two Chinas," or "one China, one Taiwan." He reiterated that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only lawful government representing the entire Chinese people, and no other person or group, under whatever name, can represent China or part of Chinese territory and occupy a seat in the United Nations, and that, unless the United Nations expels the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and restores China's legitimate rights in their entirety, we will have absolutely nothing to do with the United Nations.

As for the Sino-American talks, the Premier said that we have firmly maintained that all U.S. armed forces must withdraw from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits and that, prior to the settlement of this fundamental problem, the settlement of concrete problems in Sino-American relations is out of the question. U.S. imperialism must get out of Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. The Chinese people will surely recover their own territory of Taiwan.

Premier Chou said that there has been some expansion of economic and cultural exchange between China and Japan in recent years, but the extremely unfriendly attitude of the Sato government towards China and its tailing after the United States in the "two Chinas" plot have created difficulties in the relations between the two countries. These actions taken by the Sato government go against the will of the masses of the Japanese people and are detrimental to Sino-Japanese friendship.

The Premier also spoke on the Chinese Government's proposal for the convocation of a summit conference of all countries to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. This proposal has won the support of the people throughout the world and of the governments of many countries. Owing to the obstruction of the United States and its partners, a prolonged, serious and complicated struggle must be waged before the objective of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons can be realized. However, since China possesses nuclear weapons, things have begun to change and they will continue to change. So long as the people of the world are united and persist in struggle, the objective of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons can be achieved. Nuclear weapons are created by man and will certainly be eliminated by man.

In conclusion, Premier Chou said that, thanks to the brilliant leadership of the Central Committee of our Party and Chairman Mao and thanks to the common effort made by the entire nation, the strength of our country is growing daily, our international prestige is rising higher and higher, and our international duties are consequently becoming heavier. We should bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching and eradicate any mani-

festation of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, totally and completely, we should always maintain the fine tradition of modesty and prudence, work more conscientiously, and continue to carry out the general line of our foreign policy. The present world situation is excellent. We should continue to hold aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the banner of proletarian internationalist unity and the militant banner of struggle against

U.S. imperialism and defence of world peace and strive for new victories in the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism together with the people of the socialist camp, the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the people throughout the world and all the peace-loving countries and peoples.

(Hsinhua News Agency, Peking,
December 30, 1964.)

Chinese Government Statement

Protest Against U.S. War Provocation

China's successful explosion of an atom bomb has enhanced the fighting will of the world's revolutionary people who are opposing U.S. imperialist aggression. U.S. imperialism has sent its Polaris missile submarines to the West Pacific to threaten China and to sustain its aggression in Asia. This utterly shameless act of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat cannot intimidate revolutionary people fighting against U.S. imperialism, but will only arouse the people of Asia and the world to stronger resistance and more resolute struggles.

Following is a translation of the Chinese government statement issued on December 29, 1964, protesting against the U.S. war provocation in sending Polaris missile submarines into waters off the Asian mainland. — Ed.

ON December 26, the Defence Department of the United States of America confirmed that the U.S. submarine *Daniel Boone*—which has sixteen 1,800-mile-range rockets aboard—had sailed from Guam into waters off the Asian mainland. On December 28, the same department announced that it had sent another submarine, the *Tecumseh*, to the West Pacific. An American correspondent bluntly declared that in so doing the purpose of the United States was to get "in position to lob massive nuclear fire on Communist China."

This is a naked war provocation by U.S. imperialism against the Chinese people and the other peoples of the West Pacific countries. It is an utterly shameless act of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat, at which the Chinese people cannot but express their deep indignation.

China's successful explosion of its first atom bomb has broken the nuclear monopoly of U.S. imperialism and enhanced the fighting will of all revolutionary people of the world who are opposing U.S. imperialist aggression. The purpose of the United States in sending its Polaris missile submarines to the West Pacific at this juncture is obviously to pose a threat to China, as well as to sustain its position of aggression in Asia.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a grave protest against this U.S. act of war provocation. Shortly after its first nuclear test, China proposed to the United States that the Governments of both countries should

issue a formal statement pledging that neither of them would at any time or under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons. If the United States had any sincere desire for peace, it would have been easy to reach an agreement. However, it has turned a deaf ear to our reasonable proposal, and, what is more, it is attempting to frighten us with Polaris missile submarines. This is both absurd and ludicrous.

The Chinese Government will persevere in its efforts for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. But if the United States thinks that it can intimidate us by dispatching a few nuclear submarines and brandishing some nuclear weapons, it will never succeed.

Such nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat by the United States cannot intimidate the revolutionary people who are opposing U.S. imperialist aggression. They can intimidate neither the people of Japan nor the peoples of Korea, Viet Nam and other states in Indo-China, Indonesia and other countries. Even though the United States is piling up more and more atom bombs, its puppets in south Viet Nam are getting into an ever worsening mess. Is this not clear to the people throughout the world? We are certain that such an action on the part of the United States will only serve to further expose the aggressive features of U.S. imperialism before the people of Asia and the world and arouse them to stronger resistance and more resolute struggles.

Peoples of the world have become increasingly aware that the atom bomb is a paper tiger which is nothing to be afraid of, and that it is the people who will determine the destiny of mankind. The attempt of U.S. imperialism to maintain its tottering rule of tyranny by relying on the atom bomb only shows that it is approaching closer and closer to its grave.

Nuclear Blackmail Is Powerless Against The Revolutionary Peoples

Following is an abridged translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on December 31, 1964, under the title "Nuclear Blackmail Can Never Frighten the Revolutionary Peoples Into Submission." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

U.S. IMPERIALISM is again brandishing its nuclear weapons before the Chinese and other Asian peoples. Two U.S. submarines carrying Polaris nuclear missiles have entered the waters off the mainland of Asia.

Placing a Nuclear Cordon Around China

This grave move of the Johnson Administration threatening peace in Asia and throughout the world cannot but arouse the deep anger of the Chinese people, the other Asian peoples and peace-loving people all over the world. This fact has once again forcefully demonstrated to the world how utterly hypocritical and what big frauds are the so-called tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty, so highly touted by Johnson and his like, and the statements about how much the United States is concerned about the "contamination of the atmosphere." When the Johnson Administration openly dispatches submarines carrying nuclear missiles to China's doorstep and carries on its provocations, is it not increasing the danger of a nuclear war and attempting to drag the Asian people into the whirlpool of nuclear disaster?

Beginning with this year, and especially since the second half of the year, the Johnson Administration has been working overtime to speed up its aggressive military deployment in the Far East and Southeast Asia, including the whole set-up of preparations for a nuclear war. U.S. official circles admit that in 1964 the U.S. Government gave priority to strengthening its military power in Southeast Asia so as to be able to cope with all kinds of emergencies on this long war front extending from south Viet Nam through the war-flaming Laos down to Thailand. U.S. B-57 long-range bombers capable of carrying nuclear bombs have already been brought to Southeast Asia. U.S. F-105D fighters carrying nuclear weapons too have been brought in and are stationed in Japan. The nuclear submarine *Sea Dragon* sailed into the Japanese port of Sasebo and later anchored in Hongkong. For the first time the United States has placed B-52 nuclear-capable bombers on Guam in the Pacific. At the same

time, for several months on end, the aggressive U.S. fleet has never ceased "patrolling" the waters of the Gulf of Bac Bo. All this shows that the Johnson Administration is doing its utmost to mend and reinforce the so-called crescent defence line of its aggression in Asia.

It is especially necessary to point out that the placing of a nuclear cordon around China is an important component part of the Johnson Administration's aggressive plans in Asia and particularly in Southeast Asia. *U.S. News & World Report* in its November 23 issue admitted that the criminal U.S. plan was to station a force of seven Polaris submarines in the Pacific "to cover the Chinese mainland." The United States is reported to be colluding with Britain in plotting an Asian "nuclear defence system" called the "Pacific multilateral nuclear force" in an attempt to place India, Japan and other countries under their "nuclear umbrella." This is intended to throw a nuclear encirclement around China on the one hand and to tighten control over those countries on the other hand.

Pretext of "Countering China's Nuclear Force"

The Johnson Administration has engaged in all these flagrant preparations for nuclear war on the pretext of "countering China's nuclear force." This is utterly ridiculous and is not worth refuting. China's possession of its own nuclear weapons is for self-defence and to defend world peace. Since getting its own nuclear weapons, China has not made nuclear threats at the doors of the United States or against any of the Asian countries. On the contrary, simultaneously with the success of its first nuclear test, China at once proposed that a summit conference of all countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. We hold that, as the first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones nor against each other. Itself setting an example, the Chinese Government took the lead in solemnly declaring to the world that at no time and under no circumstances would China be the first to use nuclear weapons.

It may well be asked: Does this just stand of China, open and above-board and manifesting an ardent

desire for peace, threaten anybody? If the U.S. Government has an iota of sincerity for peace, why is it not willing to reach an agreement with China on not using nuclear weapons? Instead of doing this, the U.S. Government has sent submarines armed with Polaris nuclear missiles to the waters off the Chinese mainland, reinforced its nuclear encirclement of China and engaged in nuclear blackmail and threats against the Chinese people and the peoples of other Asian countries. Is not this further proof that, faced with the U.S. imperialist nuclear threats, China is compelled to possess and develop nuclear weapons and that it is entirely justified and absolutely necessary for it to do so?

We can tell the Johnson Administration frankly: Your attempt to intimidate the Chinese people with nuclear weapons is of no avail. It can only demonstrate your own stupidity. Since you got nuclear weapons, you have never stopped engaging in nuclear blackmail against the Chinese people. But the victory of the Chinese revolution was gained when the United States held monopoly over nuclear weapons. During the past 15 years the Chinese people have never submitted to U.S. nuclear blackmail and threats. Today when the national defence of China is unprecedentedly strong, is it not an idle daydream for U.S. imperialism to try to intimidate the Chinese people with a few nuclear submarines? We have always taken the view that atomic bombs are just paper tigers. This was our view when we did not possess nuclear weapons. We still hold this view now when we have them. It is

the people, and not one or two new-type weapons, who are really strong. The Chinese people have strong nerves. The Johnson Administration had better put away its gimmicks designed to frighten the people.

The Johnson Administration's attempt to use nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats to intimidate the revolutionary people of the various Asian countries is likewise futile. In Asia today, U.S. imperialism is not riding high and mighty but is in wretched disgrace. It is precisely because of all this that U.S. imperialism has to brandish its nuclear weapons in an attempt to intimidate the people of the various Asian countries. This, however, in no way shows that it is strong, but only reveals its weakness and isolation. This act of the Johnson Administration will have no other result than to arouse the people of the various Asian countries to a more resolute struggle to drive U.S. imperialism from Asia.

In the single year that the Johnson Administration has been to power, it has been guilty of a long list of evil deeds. Countless facts prove that U.S. imperialism will never put down its butcher's knife of itself. The people of the world have come to see ever more clearly that the way to safeguard peace is certainly not on the basis of nursing illusions about U.S. imperialism. The danger of nuclear war can never be completely removed by relying on U.S. imperialism's "sensibleness" and "good intentions" but by effectively breaking its nuclear monopoly and smashing its policies of nuclear blackmail and threats and nuclear war preparations. There is no other way.

Government Statement

China Protests to Brazilian Authorities

Subservient to U.S. imperialism, the Brazilian authorities have illegally sentenced nine innocent Chinese personnel. They have thus turned a deaf ear to China's solemn appeals and protests and to fair-minded world public opinion. This grave act of political persecution is a further development of the anti-China plot engineered by U.S. imperialism in Brazil. The Chinese Government and people are deeply angered by this illegal verdict and once again warn the Brazilian authorities that they must speedily free the nine Chinese or else bear full responsibility for all the consequences of their action.

Following is a translation of the statement of the Chinese Government issued on December 23, 1964. — Ed.

ON December 22, 1964, the Second Military Tribunal of the First Military Region of Brazil unscrupulously sentenced Wang Yao-ting, Hou Fa-tseng, Wang Wei-chen and six other innocent Chinese personnel to ten years' imprisonment on the charge of "subversion." This is a grave political persecution of the Chinese

personnel by the Brazilian authorities. This is a further development of the anti-China plot deliberately engineered by U.S. imperialism in Brazil. The Chinese Government and people are deeply indignant at this illegal verdict and lodge a vigorous protest with the Brazilian authorities.

Ever since the nine Chinese were unlawfully detained, those concerned in China have repeatedly made solemn appeals to the Brazilian authorities and

lodged stern protests with them, demanding that freedom be speedily restored to the Chinese personnel. Fair-minded public opinion and personages upholding justice throughout the world have all come forward to give their support and unanimously condemn the Brazilian authorities' breach of international good faith. The Brazilian authorities, however, have turned a deaf ear to all the voices of justice, persisted in their flagrant act of injustice and insisted on bringing the Chinese personnel to trial before a military tribunal on a trumped-up charge of "subversion." In the course of the trial, the Brazilian authorities were unable to produce any witness or material evidence to prove that the Chinese personnel had committed any of the crimes with which they were falsely charged. On the other hand, Mr. Sobral Pinto, the defence counsel for the Chinese personnel, and other well-known Brazilian personages from various walks of life who appeared in the court as witnesses conclusively proved with a mass of irrefutable facts that the Chinese personnel had legally entered and stayed in Brazil with the consent of the Brazilian Government. Their professional activities in trade, preparations for an exhibition and news reporting in Brazil were all open and above-board and entirely proper. The trial of these innocent Chinese and the sentence passed on them by the Brazilian authorities are utterly unwarranted and completely illegal in point of fact, in morals or law.

It must be pointed out that this shocking frame-up of the Chinese personnel was engineered from beginning to end by U.S. imperialism. In making false charges against the Chinese personnel by taking advantage of the military coup d'etat it brought about in Brazil, U.S. imperialism, which has stopped at nothing in showing hostility to and committing aggression against China, was obviously attempting to impair China's international prestige and undermine China's growing relations of friendship with Brazil and other Latin American peoples. However, this despicable act of U.S. imperialism cannot do the slightest harm to China. It is the Brazilian authorities which have sullied the national dignity and international prestige of Brazil by constantly submitting to the will of U.S. imperialism.

This act of the Brazilian authorities, which unscrupulously tramples on the standards of international law and dignity of justice and is a serious infringement on fundamental human rights, has already aroused worldwide indignation and met with severe condemnation from the people of the world. There is all the more reason, therefore, why the Chinese people will not tolerate it. The Chinese Government hereby once again seriously warns the Brazilian authorities that freedom should be speedily restored to the nine Chinese personnel, failing which, the Brazilian authorities must bear all the responsibilities arising therefrom.

A Shameless Farce

Following is a slightly abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao's" December 25 editorial. Subheads and boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

AFTER putting the nine Chinese unlawfully arrested by the Brazilian authorities on "trial" for more than three months, the Second Military Tribunal of the First Military Region of Brazil on December 22 outrageously sentenced them to ten years' imprisonment on the trumped-up charge of "subversion." This is a serious political persecution against these Chinese perpetrated by the Brazilian authorities on the orders of U.S. imperialism.

A Naked Provocation

The various kinds of charges trumped up by the Brazilian authorities against the nine arrested Chinese have already been demolished by facts. Obviously pricked by a guilty conscience, the Brazilian Military Tribunal, before pronouncing its verdict, had to withdraw the false charge of "espionage" filed by the pro-

secuting attorney for the military authorities. **But, showing no willingness to correct its outrageous action, the tribunal framed the Chinese on the charge of "subversion" so as to further persecute them politically. This is an insult and a naked act of provocation against the Chinese people; it is also a deliberate violation of the principles of international law.**

Bent on charging the Chinese with "subversion," the prosecuting attorney for the military authorities stopped at nothing to find pretexts for doing so. He invented the crime out of thin air, and made the wildest accusations against the innocent Chinese. In the "indictment" the Chinese personnel were accused of "fomenting Chinese communism in Brazil," and "bringing about changes in the institutions" of Brazil, and so forth. This is sheer nonsense. No one will be taken in by this sort of rigmarole. It was with the approval of the Brazilian Government and under the protection of Brazilian laws that the Chinese resided in that country to engage in their legitimate pursuits. If they came to Brazil for the purpose of "subversion," why had the governments under Quadros and Goulart afforded them protection and hospitality? If they

wanted to "subvert" the present Brazilian Government, how could they do so? They were arrested when the coup d'etat took place. As to the cant about "fomenting Chinese communism in Brazil," it is all the more ludicrous. It is an objective fact that the Brazilian people want to be friendly with the Chinese people. But what social system they choose will be entirely decided by themselves; this has nothing to do with the Chinese in Brazil. At present, Chinese trading personnel and newspaper men are residing in many different countries. But it is only the Brazilian authorities which have trumped up a "charge" against such people. Doesn't this clearly show their true colours?

U.S. Imperialism Directs the Show

There are indeed people who are engaged in subversion in Brazil. Who is it that has subverted the legitimate Brazilian Government and harboured ulterior motives towards that country? It is U.S. imperialism, the enemy of the Brazilian people and nation. Not only was the coup d'etat in Brazil engineered by U.S. imperialism, the present political conspiracy of persecuting the Chinese there also is its plot. Deeply hostile to the Chinese people, U.S. imperialism took advantage of the coup in Brazil to instigate the authorities to illegally arrest the Chinese, fabricate charges against them and persecute them. And it has ganged up with the Chiang Kai-shek clique in an attempt to carry them off to Taiwan. At the same time, the U.S. imperialist propaganda machine, with the U.S. Information Service at the head, has shouted itself hoarse and hurled shameless lies at the Chinese arrested in Brazil. This intrigue of U.S. imperialism has suffered many setbacks, but unreconciled Washington continues to direct this shocking, big international political farce. The illegal "sentence" passed by the Brazilian authorities on the nine innocent Chinese is another development of the U.S.-hatched anti-China conspiracy in Brazil. Obviously, by employing this despicable means U.S. imperialism aims at damaging China's prestige and wrecking the friendly relations which have increasingly developed between China and the people of Brazil and other Latin American countries. Such an aim, however, is utterly futile. It shows how foolish and pitiable are the Brazilian authorities in falling into the anti-China trap set by U.S. imperialism. One may ask what good can the Brazilian authorities get from this and what effect will it have on the international prestige of Brazil?

The Brazilian authorities can by no means call any witness against the nine illegally incarcerated Chinese, or produce any evidence to "incriminate" them, except the deliberately concocted "indictment" which is full of nonsense and the "letter" forged by the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek gang. On the contrary, many prominent Brazilian figures in various circles have appeared at the military tribunal to speak out in defence of justice. With convincing facts, they proved that the Chinese had legally entered Brazil and engaged

in lawful pursuits — trade, preparations for an exhibition and journalism — without violating any Brazilian law and that they were completely guiltless and in the open. Lawyer Sobral Pinto, the defence counsel for the Chinese, has repeatedly pointed out: "What is being done to the Chinese is a farce, for they are imprisoned and isolated and there is no evidence against them." We want to express our profound gratitude to the Brazilian people and their public figures for the deep friendship they showed in speaking up for truth and upholding justice.

Worldwide Protests

The facts have long become known. The "trial" and "conviction" of the nine innocent Chinese by the Brazilian authorities are, factually, morally and legally, completely groundless and unjustified. This is a political persecution rarely found in the history of international relations. Since the event occurred, the Brazilian authorities' perverse course of action has aroused great anger among the people of the five continents. Up to now, strong condemnation and protests have come from people of more than 70 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Western Europe, North America and Oceania. The voice raised by the world's people in demanding the immediate cessation of the political persecution of the nine guiltless Chinese is becoming increasingly strong; it has formed a mighty current to uphold international justice. The present arbitrary "verdict" will only further arouse anger and condemnation from world opinion and place the Brazilian authorities in the dock.

It is very clear that the frame-up of the nine Chinese by the Brazilian authorities at the bidding of U.S. imperialism runs completely counter to the interests of the Brazilian people and the friendship between them and the Chinese people. Frederico Schmidt, adviser to former Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek, has rightly said that the nine Chinese "are guiltless. They have been wronged." He has especially advised the Brazilian authorities: "We must have the courage to admit our error. If the innocence of the accused Chinese has withstood every attack, we must admit our error and let them return to their homeland."

We would like to warn the Brazilian authorities once more: Your outrageous adherence to U.S. imperialism and persecution of these Chinese will never be tolerated by the Chinese people. You should take full account of the friendship between the Chinese and Brazilian peoples, revoke the illegal "verdict," cease your persecution of the nine Chinese and immediately restore their freedom so that they can safely return to their motherland. If you continue to submit to the will of U.S. imperialism and insist on taking the road of no return, you must bear all the responsibilities arising therefrom.

U.S. Ends 1964 Amid Crises and Curses

As the final weeks of 1964 came and passed, U.S. imperialism found its policy of war and aggression caught in a tangled skein of chaos and crisis. The "trouble spots," instead of disappearing, were piling up. Problems, long insoluble, were growing more urgent and menacing. The gathering storm of anti-Yankeeism in December presaged worse headaches in the coming year. Christmas for Lyndon Johnson at his ranch in Austin, Texas, was hardly a time for merry-making; instead, the American President was forced to give priority attention "to a consideration of the realities of the Vietnamese situation in all their grim unpalatability."

South Viet Nam

Officers' Hotel Blown Up

On December 24 a 7-storey building for U.S. officers in downtown Saigon was shattered by a terrific explosion, just as the inmates were getting ready to celebrate Christmas. Two officers, one an army lieutenant colonel, were killed and over 70 wounded, according to a U.S. mili-

tary spokesman. Later, the casualty figures were corrected to over one hundred. But Western sources believed the figures had been watered down, saying "additional casualties might be discovered in the ground floor garage of the wrecked building." AP described the bombing as "the worst of its kind so far in terms of destructiveness and the number of American casualties."

Having scarcely got their breath back following the surprise attack on Bien Hoa air base where the people's forces inflicted on them still greater losses two months ago, the American aggressors now received a blow right on the nose in the centre of the city they think they control. That was bad enough. But the perils facing the United States in south Viet Nam, its inescapable military defeat apart, were made doubly calamitous by a new crisis bursting out in an unexpected quarter.

6th Coup in 14 Months

On December 20 the "young Turks" of the military junta overthrew the so-called civilian government knocked together by the U.S. "embassy" two months ago, dissolved the "high national council" and made widespread arrests of political figures. This was the sixth coup in less than 14 months, and it plunged Saigon into chaos or, in the words of the *New York Herald Tribune*, created "confusion in an already badly confused situation." The strife among the stooges upset Washington's new apple cart. For the "civilian government" of Phan Khac Suu and Tran Van Huong was designed to rescue the rapidly deteriorating war effort and stabilize the political situation. Instead, it had forced the in-fighting into the open and made it fiercer.

Worse still, however, was the fact that the scramble for power among the minions erupted into bitterness against the United States itself. Anti-American feeling has been mounting and now there is a scarcely concealed demand for the ousting of Taylor, the American "ambassador." Nguyen Khanh, "the man on whom we have been staking our hopes" (Walter Lippmann, *New York Herald Tribune*, December 24), was working for Taylor's recall because, according to Saigon news reports, he resented being put in a position where "he had lost credit with the American authorities." Thus, AP reported, "a determined campaign aimed especially at Taylor was building up and grave trouble was expected soon."

The predicament in which Washington has landed itself has been widely commented upon in the American and British press. Walter Lippmann saw fit at this late hour to go into the pros and cons of the U.S. "special war" in south Viet Nam. He said, "It is a pity, it has been a grievous mistake, to have involved ourselves so much in a part of the world where it is impossible for a non-Asian country to win a war against Asians . . . I am inclined to think that if we let things drift, this is the way the American intervention will end, not with a bang but with a whimper."

The British *Guardian* (December 23) shared the opinion of the American press about defeat confronting the United States. "Here," it said, "is the most powerful nation in the world slowly but surely losing a military struggle against an ill-equipped and far from numberless guerrilla force in the swamps and forests of Viet Nam . . . the U.S. finds itself committed to a foreign war it now realizes it cannot win."

But being unable to win is one thing and realizing it and admitting defeat is quite another. U.S. imperialism, true to form, shows no sign of drawing the only correct conclusion — to get out of the places where it has no business to be in the first place. It persists in carrying on with its policy of war and aggres-



"May I speak to our staunch, loyal ally, the head of the Vietnamese Government— whoever it is today."

Louisville Courier-Journal

sion, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But such a policy has only brought it rebuffs, and more are in store.

United Arab Republic

U.S. Can "Drink From Sea"

On December 19 a U.S. aircraft violated the air space of the United Arab Republic and was shot down after failing to comply with repeated signals to land. The United States lodged a protest, and threatened to stop all "aid" to the U.A.R. The protest was rejected and President Nasser denounced the United States on December 23 for trying to use its "aid" to bring the U.A.R. to heel. "America," he said, "gives us minimal aid and they think by this aid they can control us and direct our policy. This is impossible. . . . Anyone who does not like our conduct can drink from the sea [Arab saying meaning to go to hell]. If the Mediterranean is not enough, he can drink from the Red Sea as well. We are not ready to sell our independence for 50 million pounds and we will cut out the tongue of anyone who tries to insult us."

President Nasser also condemned the United States which collaborated with Belgium in perpetrating armed aggression against the Congo (L) in November last and pointed out that there was little difference between this landing of Belgian paratroopers from American aircraft and the British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt in 1956. He said, "Both landed by parachutes, both killed the people of our two countries." The U.A.R. President reiterated that Tshombe would not be recognized as the representative and premier of the Congolese people because "Tshombe is an agent serving American and Belgian interests."

With reference to the support the U.A.R. and other African countries are giving to the Congolese patriots in their fight against the U.S. and Belgian imperialists, President Nasser said, "They are accusing us of sending arms to the Congolese people. We say to them we have sent arms to Congolese revolutionaries,

we are sending them now and will continue to do so in future."

The following day the U.A.R. President hit out at the United States again, this time to condemn Washington for supporting Israel against the Arab countries. He said it was the United States which pushed West Germany to give weapons to Israel. And he added, "We should depend upon ourselves first of all in fighting imperialism and Zionism. We should liberate Palestine by working hard; mere words will not, because we are not facing Israel alone but all its supporters."

The Philippines

Murders by U.S. Armymen

Anti-Yankeeism has burst forth in the Philippines, too. It was touched off by the recent killing of two Filipinos, a fisherman and a 14-year-old boy, by servicemen stationed at U.S. military bases. The fisherman was shot dead by U.S. leathernecks at the Subic naval base while fishing off the coast, and the boy was killed when collecting scrap metal near Clark airbase.

Public opinion throughout the Philippines was stirred by these foul murders. They were, however, not the first outrages committed by American troops on Philippine soil. Since 1952 no fewer than 31 Filipinos have died at the hands of trigger-happy American soldiers. The people were further incensed by the underhand tactics employed by the American Ambassador in Manila in an effort to wriggle out of the responsibility for these latest killings. Ambassador Blair advanced as some sort of justification for the shedding of Filipino blood the allegation that there had been an attempt to blow up an American school at Clark Field. As a reply, five thousand people held a mass rally and demonstrated before Clark Field on December 27 in protest. They demanded the dismantling of the American bases and the Ambassador's expulsion.

Manila newspapers were given over to editorials and comments denouncing the American crimes. They

demanded, first, the arrest of the criminals and their trial before a Filipino court, and, secondly, the abrogation of American extraterritoriality, the intolerable prerogative under which U.S. servicemen enjoy immunity for the crimes they commit. Public feeling ran so high that Foreign Minister Mauro Mendez communicated with President Macapagal "recommending that the Philippines seek a waiver of jurisdiction from the United States so that it can try the American servicemen involved in the base killings," according to UPI.

Columnist Ernesto Granada of the *Manila Chronicle* suggested that the Government "demand the ouster of the 13th Air Force from Clark Field." The paper in an editorial on December 24 warned that the Filipinos were "no longer willing to take every manner of indignity to which their supposedly American friends subject them."

Yankee, No!

The fact that U.S. imperialism today is condemned and cursed everywhere is underlined in a dispatch published in the *New York Herald Tribune* on December 21. The paper warned U.S. government officials abroad to be agile these days especially if they were stationed in certain Asian, African, Middle Eastern or Latin American countries. It said that "increasingly over the last several years crowds in those countries have been attacking American Embassies, consulates, information agency libraries or other U.S.-occupied buildings to express displeasure over U.S. policies or programs." More than 50 American Embassies, libraries or other offices in some 30 countries, it added, have been attacked by the people since July 1962. The paper might also have added that American films are boycotted these days in many countries and American publications burnt because the people do not want to be contaminated by imperialist trash. The writing is on the wall and the people in many lands are giving the U.S. imperialists their marching orders and saying—Get out!

ACROSS THE LAND

1964 Industrial Targets Overfulfilled

REPORTS of pre-schedule fulfillment of 1964 production plans began pouring in from the nation's major industrial cities and enterprises a month before the year's end.

For many industrial centres, production showed its biggest gains in recent years. In Shanghai, where a large number of plants topped state plans from a fortnight to a full month ahead of schedule, the textile and other light industries tallied their biggest increase in several years because of abundant raw material from the rural people's communes. Compared with all of 1963, outputs in the first 11 months of 1964 were from 9 to 47 per cent higher. Shenyang in the northeast also scored the biggest advance in years, with output of most major products gaining by 10 per cent and more. Over a

hundred factories in Peking beat the deadline by a week and the capital achieved an all-round industrial rise last year. A similar number of plants in the triple city of Wuhan on the Yangtse River completed 1964 targets ten days before the end of the year with engines, fertilizer, insecticides and other supplies for the farms registering large gains. Chemical, textile, light and engineering enterprises in the north China port city of Tientsin increased output 20-60 per cent over 1963.

Shanghai, with 7,000 new products developed in 1964, leads the country in this important aspect of industrial growth. Peking and Shenyang successfully trial manufactured over 1,000 and 160 new products respectively. All the several score new forgings and rolled stock developed at Anshan, China's foremost steel base, are key items, most of which had to be imported before 1964. Among new products from Chungking steel mills are plates for ocean-going ships and ice-breakers and special rolled stock for farm machinery and the chemical industry. The big Changchun No. 1 Motor Works, in the northeast, which completed its 1964 quota of "Liberation" lorries by December 2, put a new model of lorry and de luxe sedans into production.

Another salient feature of 1964 industrial gains is the continued improvement in quality. In the drive to catch up with the nation's best, more than 300 industrial items in Peking and 74 in Shenyang hit their targets. Transistor radios, terramycin, ammonium bicarbonate, and other items made in Wuhan now rank among the best in the country.

Behind the 1964 industrial success were the

movement to compare with, learn from and catch up with the advanced and help those lagging behind, and the drive to introduce technical innovations. These were factors that helped Shanghai industries increase output without expanding its labour force. Wuhan workers popularized 4,000 advanced methods developed elsewhere and themselves introduced 1,000 innovations.

Communes Sell More to State

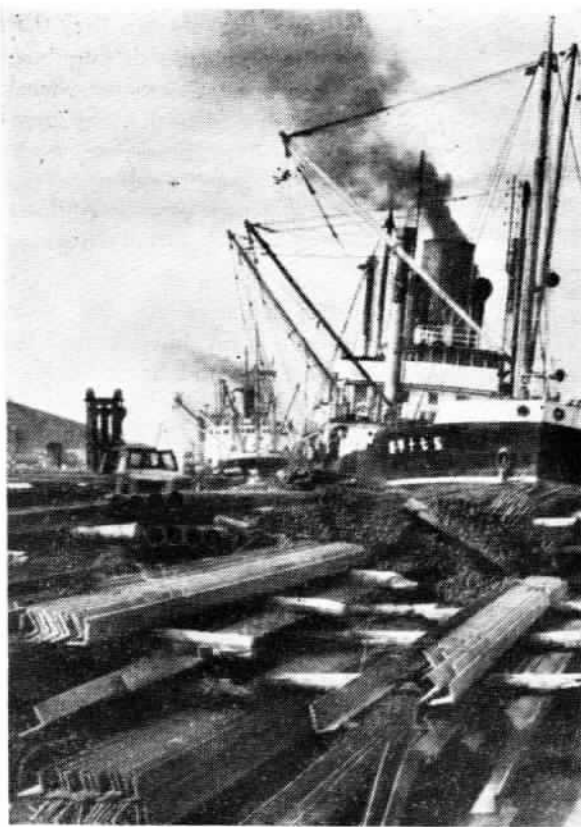
SALES to the state by rural communes for the whole of China last year raised the income of teams and their members by 15 per cent over 1963. State purchases of agricultural products rose nearly 10 per cent, forestry products 7 per cent, livestock products 38 per cent and aquatic products 11 per cent. Side-line products were up 7 per cent.

Cotton, edible oil, pork, eggs, sugar cane and beets purchased by the state were 30 per cent higher than the previous year. Procurements of grain, hemp, vegetables, tobacco, fruit, both fresh and dried, medicinal herbs, wool and fish were 5 to 60 per cent higher.

More abundant raw materials gave the light and textile industries a tremendous boost and also promoted urban and rural trade. Cotton yarn was 40 per cent above that of 1963 and sugar was more than doubled. Paper, cigarettes, alcoholic beverages, soap, canned foodstuffs and leather products all showed marked increases. Milk processing plants fulfilled 1964 annual targets in July. More poultry, eggs, fish, vegetables, sugar and fruit were supplied to the cities. Seventy per cent more pork, the main meat consumed in China, was sold in comparison with 1963.

Improved Industrial Designing

CHINA'S industry is being aided by men and women on the job who are not afraid to innovate and cut through hidebound and outmoded traditions. Working together with the builders and drawing up their blueprints at actual construction sites instead of in far-removed offices,



Rolled stock from Anshan being loaded in the port of Dairen

designers are able to cut costs and work more efficiently.

The Peking Municipal Designing Institute was put in charge of designing a water supply project for a factory in 1963. According to the construction department's requirements, the source of water was to be a reservoir some distance away. This called for many cast iron pipes and a plant to purify the water. Underground water was ruled out because it was believed to be insufficient and to have a high mineral content. The designers, however, were not satisfied that they could not use underground water. They began a long and difficult job of investigation. A huge amount of data on underground water was obtained before it was decided that reservoir water did not have to be used. The original design was overhauled and the nation was saved several million yuan in investment.

Following the Pigs to Market

CAN porkers shipped from the countryside to Nanking reach the city quicker, cheaper and in better condition? The deputy head of Nanking's Foodstuffs Bureau, the manager of the Municipal Foodstuffs Company and other responsible cadres decided to find out.

Cadres must be good at spotting and solving problems, so the deputy head, the manager and other cadres spent two months away from their offices and went to the main collecting depots in Tanyang 80 kilometres away and to Lishui. During this period they went with buyers, made



Not long ago two engineers of the Light Industry Designing Institute were called on to design a centrifugal screen for a Shanghai paper mill. With the men who would build the machine, they went to the mill and held a joint forum of designers, builders and operators, and carried out experiments before doing their drafting work. During their on-the-spot investigations, the two men took suggestions from workers and technicians and incorporated in their design the workers' latest innovations. They worked out a screen which is technically improved, better built and lower in cost in comparison with anything previously designed in their Peking office.

Throughout the country designers in all industrial departments are looking into and discussing feats such as the ones that have taken place in Peking. Rich experience has been ac-

purchases, and travelled every mile of the journey to the Nanking slaughter house to butcher the pigs for market.

On their trips they paid special attention to time, distance, the care of the animals, the work involved, and handling and freight costs. They talked with everyone concerned, asked questions and analysed their findings with a view to improving the work of buying and delivering porkers. Theirs was not just a note-taking expedition. Leading cadres personally helped to load and unload, weigh, feed, examine, and finally slaughter the animals.

The two months' experience brought forth proposals for improvement. Before long, porkers began arriving in Nanking in better condition, and handling and freight costs were cut.

The process was repeated by these enterprising cadres at other depots with equal success. They followed this with another sortie into the countryside to find out how eggs reached Nanking. This took 85 days and resulted in a slash in breakage and handling charges, and fresher eggs for the public.

quired since liberation, therefore summing up will help improve designing and carry out designing ideas, methods, and techniques on a larger scale, more quickly, better and more economically.

New-Type Rural Schools

INSPIRED by the success of pioneer part-work part-study schools set up since 1958, more such schools are being established all over China. These schools are developing into a regular educational system alongside full-time schools, training large numbers of educated people who are adept at mental and manual labour.

In Kiangsu Province, east China, where new-type agricultural middle schools were pioneered, 240 new ones have recently been set up. Four-fifths of the 20,000 enrolled are sons and daughters of former poor or lower-middle peasants.

Unlike their prototypes which were built by people's communes, the new ones are run by production brigades singly or jointly. Schools are near where students live, and study schedules are flexible so they can work for their brigade during busy farming seasons. Classroom work is closely integrated with local farming practices. The three-year work-study schools offer middle school courses in political affairs, Chinese, mathematics, and farming. Agronomy makes up 40 per cent of the syllabus. The teachers are the many young people who have completed secondary schools and have returned to the villages. They are paid by the number of days they teach, and work in the brigades' fields earning work-points alongside their students about six months of the year.

BRIEFS

The Great Khingan Mountains in Inner Mongolia, one of China's major timber-felling centres, has nearly 100 new villages for lumberjacks and their families, with schools, clinics and stores. One million sq. m. of new housing has been completed since liberation.

National Minorities' Amateur Art Festival

The National Minorities' Amateur Art Festival brought the 1964 theatrical year to a triumphant close. It left many rich impressions. The melodies, rhythms and beat of 250 songs and dances and other musical items from China's 50-odd national minorities, the flash and colour of their national dress and ornaments, are not easily forgotten. But the outstanding impression is that this is an art of, by and for the masses, revolutionary in content and in strongly defined national styles.

From Ruled to Rulers

Almost all the 700 amateurs who took part in the festival were the sons and daughters of or themselves former serfs or slaves, or poor peasants and other working people. Only 15 years ago in the old society, this part of the national minorities were some of the most downtrodden in the land. Many of them were still living in primitive slave and serf societies.

Today, from being ruled, these same working people have become the rulers. In the capital now, deputies of the various national minorities are attending the meetings of the 3rd National People's Congress — the highest organ of state authority — while their cultural representatives have just concluded an artistic concourse unprecedented in China's long history.

Understanding all this, one understands why these artists share with all China's working people an overwhelming love for the new life and their leaders in revolution and construction: the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, and a desire to express that feeling in art.

At the festival this sentiment transcended all language barriers. Songs and dialogues were performed in dozens of different minority languages, but even without the aid of the translations projected on a side screen, one could pick out the constantly repeated words "Gong Chan Dang" and "Mao Zhu Xi" — "the

Communist Party" and "Chairman Mao" in the Han language. For all China's nationalities, these are now universally understood symbols for a new socialist life of happiness and prosperity and further revolutionary advance.

Many Themes

The amateur art of the national minorities is an art of great directness and contemporaneity. Festival items clearly brought out what emancipation means in terms of political, economic, and other progress in their regions.

Changed political status was not only the theme of many items, the artists themselves were living examples of it. No less than a fifth of the performers were township heads or heads of people's communes, militia commanders, Communist Party or Communist Youth League secretaries, model workers or outstanding personalities in different fields.



Young Heheh woman sings in praise of new life

Changes brought by economic progress were depicted in vivid terms. One example was a dance of Tibetans from Chinghai Province. It recalled their jubilation at the completion of a bridge across the Tung-tien River — "The River That Flows to Heaven." It was a picture taken from real life. This torrential river

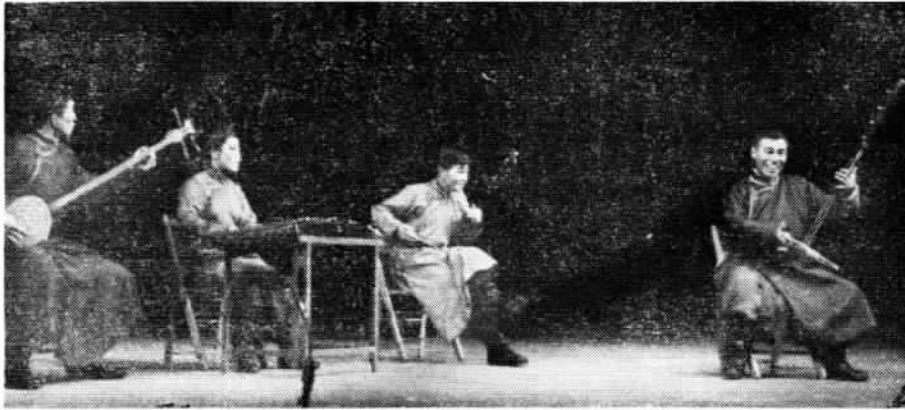
had never before been spanned by a bridge. When the bridge was started after liberation, the Tibetans set their hands enthusiastically to the work, and thousands came to rejoice the day it was completed.

Rich harvests and other new things in life were extolled in many items. For the minority peoples, these are not just hopes, but already facts. The many nationalities of Sinkiang for one, last year celebrated a 27-fold rise in their grain output since 1949. The Hehehs of Heilungkiang, China's smallest nationality, were so starved and ill-used that their number dwindled from several thousands to 300 at the time of liberation. In the mountains and forests into which they had been driven, they subsisted on the precarious results of hunting and wild vegetables. Today they have settled down in new homes by the Ussuri River, fish in modern motorized boats and live as well as the rest of the country. Their population has more than doubled.

An army of heroes of the new age has emerged from among the national minorities. It is they who lead the progress of their regions. We saw dances by heroes about heroes. One such item was the Korean *Jar Dance* done by eight young women from Kirin Province. In dance pantomime, they recreated the story of how members of their commune had scaled mountains and crossed gorges to bring water to their parched fields. Grace and dauntless courage informed their every movement. Seven of the eight performers had actually taken part in just such a fight in 1953 to wrest a harvest for their commune despite severe drought.

Determination to defend their country against imperialism and its lackeys was expressed in many items. Outstanding among these were seven different dances with militia training as their theme. The Miaos of Hunan adapted a traditional drum dance to this important new side of life. Nine women dancers took turns in beating out the rhythm on three huge drums as the others practised shooting and other military exercises.

How effective militia training is in actual operation was illustrated in the song done to actions by the Lis



Inner Mongolian "hao lai hao" — "Hero Herdsman"



The Yis' "Harvest Dance"

of Hainan Island. In it they described how the militia helped capture U.S.-Chiang agents air-dropped on Wuchih Mountain. All the performers were real militiamen or women; two had taken part in the actual event in 1963.

These are only some of the main themes touched upon. Women's

emancipation, new marriage customs, love of labour, and many more inspired songs and dances. But whatever the subject, it was treated with revolutionary insight and feeling.

Treasure-Trove of National Styles

The festival was a treasure-trove of national styles in art. Each na-

tionality had its traditional styles in singing, dancing and acting. Many of these were near-lost at the time of liberation. Revived since then, they have been cleaned of the dross accreted in the old society and developed to suit the new content of today.

Among the Huis in Ningsia, Kansu and Chinghai, folk tunes called "flowers" or "counting flowers" have been popular for centuries. In the unhappy days before liberation, they hardly dared lift their voices in song; their "flower" tunes were mournful in melody and meaning. Today, as heard at the festival, both lyrics and melody are gay and in tune with the spirit of the new day. The "arm-swinging" dance of the Tuchias in Hunan originated in hunting and farming movements; later it came to be performed during sacrificial and religious rites and took on superstitious features. Today as we saw it in the festival dance *In the Fields*, its movements have been freed from the stiffness of old and taken on a warmth and enthusiasm expressive of the peasants' mood as they work. Similarly, the drum dance of the Yis from Szechuan, once an exclusive entertainment of the slave-owners, has been enriched with movements derived from present-day life to become a dance of the working people.

Boatmen of the Yellow River brought the energetic rhythms of their occupation to the festival stage; lumbermen and other workmen



Festival performances by: The Tibetans



The Miaos

brought their work chants. But underlying this diversity of art among the working people of each nationality or region were certain distinctive characteristics. In Kwangsi, where China's largest national minority, the Chuangs, live with other peoples, singers fall naturally into harmony in part singing. Hui dancers nod and shake their heads as they dance in a style infectious in its gaiety. The Tungs of Kweichow have a way of alternating the falsetto with the natural voice as they sing. The music of the Koreans is distinguished for its rhythm in three-quarter time. The Tibetans, as typified by ex-serf girl Yangshi of Tibet and Ahsia of Szechuan, took the prize for their silvery voices and high-pitched, spiralling melodies. Inner Mongolian and Sinkiang acts are marked by the vigour of their movements, their fast pace and spirit. Performing a *hao lai bao*—a form of ballad singing in Inner Mongolia—the ballad singer, even playing his instrument, is an animated figure. In the quartet *Hero Herdsman*, performers, accompanying themselves on their instruments, recount the true story of a well-known herdsman who stayed out in a snowstorm for two days and nights rounding up strays from the droves of his commune. At the climax, Lubsan, a balladier, was gripping his chair with his feet and galloping on the stage as on a horse while his fiddle bow served as the whip—without missing a note.

There was an astonishing array of musical instruments. They ranged from the leaves of trees that boys of

some of the nationalities use as a whistle to the ancient Chiang flute which Chinese history recorded as early as the Han Dynasty 2,000 years ago. The latter had become almost extinct at the time of liberation. Since then its use has been restored. There were other instruments with distinctive features; to name only a few: the *dombra* of the Sinkiang Kazakhs, the bamboo *hu lu sheng* mouth organ of the Yis, the "horse-headed fiddle" of Inner Mongolia, the "cow-legged fiddle" of the Tungs, and the "ting tong" of the Lis—two five-foot lengths of resonant wood hung horizontally on a stand and struck with sticks.

Characteristics of Amateur Art

Festival programmes used curtains, or a roseate or misty, sky-blue cyclorama as a backdrop. The stage was bare of props. This is typical of the way the amateurs perform at home. Numbers were short and punchy and presented in many forms: solos, duets, or massed choruses, dance, balladry, local opera and the unique folk form of poetic question-and-answer duets. A single performer often showed his skill on two or three different instruments. Dancing and singing were interwoven naturally. Most of the performers were also their own composers and lyric writers, seizing with a ready ear and eye on matters of local or national interest. These are the salient characteristics of amateur art in China today. They make it easy for items or performances to be put



The Shes

on anywhere and at any time, to spread and draw in the largest audiences among the working people. This art, filled with the militant revolutionary spirit of the nation's advanced people, plays a big role as a means of education as well as entertainment.

These workers- and peasants-cum-artists, coming from the thick of socialist life, create their art out of it and directly serve the worker, peasant and soldier masses and socialism. They are, as Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi said, "people who are good at both productive labour and in cultural and artistic activities . . . the best cultural and art workers."



The Yaos



The Koreans



The Huis

Sketches by Li Ke-yu, Tung Chen-sheng and Hung Lu



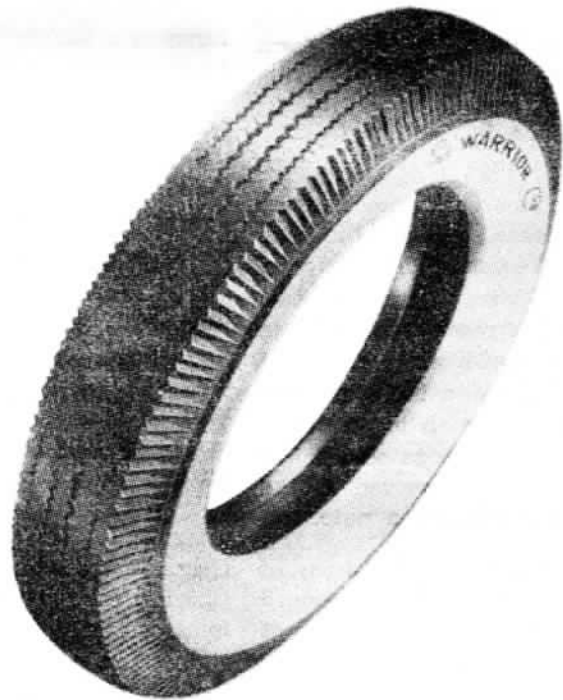
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