

PEKING REVIEW

48

November 29, 1960

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Give Full Play to Revolutionary Spirit of 1957 Moscow Declarations

A review of the salient points of the declarations in the light of major world developments in past three years (p. 6).

Laos to Establish Friendly Relations With China

Chinese Government statement and press comment (p. 9).

When Chairman Mao Told Me About The Paper Tigers

Anna Louise Strong recalls the circumstances when the now famous statement was made by Chairman Mao Tse-tung (p. 13).

Farming in Pastoral Areas

The successful advance of agriculture in Inner Mongolia greatly helps stockbreeding (p. 20).

Six Collections of Excerpts from Lenin's Writings and Speeches

To commemorate the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin and to extensively propagate Leninism, the Foreign Languages Press of China has recently published six collections of excerpts of Lenin's writings and speeches. The booklets are entitled:

1. **Lenin on Imperialism, the Eve of the Proletarian Social Revolution**
2. **Lenin on Proletarian Revolution and Proletarian Dictatorship**
3. **Lenin on the National Liberation Movement**
4. **Lenin on War and Peace**
5. **Lenin on the Struggle Against Revisionism**
6. **Lenin on the Revolutionary Proletarian Party of a New Type**

Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian socialist revolution. Under new historical conditions, Lenin not only restored the revolutionary content of Marxism which had been emasculated by the revisionists of the Second International, but further developed the revolutionary spirit of Marxism. By so doing, he carried Marxism forward into a new stage, pointing out to all the exploited classes and oppressed peoples the bright road that leads to true emancipation from capitalist-imperialist enslavement and freedom from poverty and that leads to socialism.

In this great, new epoch of today in which imperialism is rotting with each passing day, while for socialism things are getting better and better every day, in the resolute and sharp struggle to oppose imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, and modern revisionism, all the great teachings of Marx and Lenin are still of fundamental importance as guides. Reading Lenin's works today, one finds them as correct, vivid and timely as if they had just been written. Leninism is eternal truth and will live for ever.

These six collections of excerpts from Lenin's works fully express the revolutionary spirit of Leninism, especially its hatred for imperialism and all reactionaries and its uncompromising, thoroughgoing militancy in the struggle against these enemies.

They teach people that they should fully understand the nature of imperialism and constantly maintain revolutionary vigilance; that they must entertain no illusions about imperialism but fight it to the end.

They also teach people that the fight against imperialism must be linked with the struggle against revisionism, otherwise it will be impossible for the cause of proletarian socialist revolution to progress.

*Editions in Russian, English, French, Spanish, Japanese and
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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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November 29, 1960

ROUND THE WEEK

Pardons Granted

Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the People's Republic of China issued an order on November 19 granting pardons to those war criminals of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the puppet "Manchukuo" regime who have really turned over a new leaf. The action was taken in accordance with a decision on this question made by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

In particular, the order specifies that if they have shown a real change of heart and behaved well, those war criminals who have been imprisoned for ten years are to be released; those given death sentences with two years' suspension and who have already served one year of their sentence may have their sentence reduced to life imprisonment or imprisonment for 15 years or more; and those sentenced to life imprisonment who have served seven years of their sentence may have their sentence reduced to imprisonment for ten years or more.

More Shed "Rightist Cap"

In accordance with the joint decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council of September 1959 on measures concerning rightist elements who have truly remoulded themselves, the central organs of the state and the democratic parties have recently decided that another group of more than 260 rightists who have turned over a new leaf, shall not be designated as rightists any more, that is, shall have the "rightist cap" removed from them. Included in this group are Huang Shao-hung, Liu Wang Li-ming, Chien Wei-chang, Wang Pao-chen, Tung Wei-chuan, Sung Yun-pin, Li Chun-lung, Li Po-chiu, Tan Ti-wu, Teng Chi-hsing and Lou Pang-yen.

Buddhist Congress in Tibet

The Second Congress of the Tibet Branch of the Chinese Buddhist As-

sociation, held in Lhasa between November 18 and 21, was a smashing rebuttal to the slanders spread by the imperialists and foreign reactionaries about the so-called "extermination of religion" in Tibet.

The various sects of Tibetan Buddhism were well represented at the congress. Among the 98 delegates were Gahden Tstripa Thubten Kunga, 96th successor to Tsong Ka-Pa, founder of the Yellow Sect; Kansu Chien-pai-Tzuli from the Daipung Monastery, one of the three great monasteries near Lhasa; Living Buddha Tsemonling from the Rabchen Monastery in Lhasa; Living Buddha Dingel from the Tashi-Lampo Monastery in Shigatse; the woman Living Buddha Dorje-Phagmo from the Samding Monastery (Red Sect) in Gyantse; and Drunyg Dorje-Dradiil from the Sakya Monastery (Sakya Sect).

In his speech at the congress, the Eminent Hologthu Pebala Cholieh-Namje, from the Chamdo area, praised the Chinese Communist Party for its adherence to the policy of freedom of religious belief in Tibet. "To the Buddhists, Tibet today is a really pure land. The abolition of feudal oppression, exploitation and privilege in the monasteries during the democratic reform has enabled monks and laymen to enjoy a peaceful religious life," he declared.

Speakers at the congress were unanimous in lauding the Government for protecting the monasteries and cultural relics and for the consideration shown to the lamas.

The congress adopted a resolution calling on Buddhists in Tibet to strengthen their unity, help implement the Government's policy of freedom of religious belief, take an active part in patriotic and anti-imperialist activities and the social reform movement and study the policies of the Chinese Communist Party and laws of the People's Government, so as to contribute to



To the Countryside

building a democratic and socialist Tibet.

Growth of a People's Commune

Down in Hsingjen County, Kweichow Province, "Panchiachuang" is the talk of the day! By scrupulously implementing the policies of the Communist Party and relying on the masses, this rural people's commune has, since its establishment, chalked up success after success and ushered in an era of prosperity for its peasant members.

Though Panchiachuang reaped a bumper harvest in 1958, it outdid itself in 1959 with another substantial boost in grain output. Holding enough reserve for its own food, fodder and seed needs, it was able to sell to the state 42 per cent more grain than originally planned. That year also witnessed a 40 per cent increase in the commune's stock of pigs, 8.9 per cent in cattle, and 11 per cent in poultry. This year, despite a serious and prolonged dry spell, Panchiachuang equalled its 1959 grain production.

The Panchiachuang cadres paid particular attention to strengthening the production brigades, the basic units of the people's commune. Aside from helping them draw up their production plans, the commune clearly defined the brigades' rights regarding organization of production, capital construction, financial management and the operation of welfare facilities. It also assisted the brigades in setting up such industries as farm implements

repair and fertilizer plants. For the poor brigades, it provided added direction and aid. By allocating to them funds from state loans, they were enabled to catch up with the well-to-do brigades.

The commune also consulted with its brigades on fixing output targets, workdays required and costs for their teams—the basic unit for organizing production—and in apportioning part of any output over and above its target for the payment of awards. Following the principle of democratic centralism, all production plans of the teams were thoroughly discussed by their members before being adopted and then approved by the brigades. Such practices, along with strict adherence to the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," have played a significant role in stimulating the initiative of the commune members. Last year, over 70 per cent of the 261 production teams in the commune won awards for overfulfilling their fixed targets.

By devoting its main energy to leading and developing the production brigades, the commune also made vast strides centrally. Using public funds derived from the brigades the commune last year set up a farm implements plant, a paper mill, a forestry station, several animal husbandry farms and built eight small reservoirs to irrigate the land of 13 brigades. In addition, it built and repaired sections of highways and gave financial support to the commune's own primary schools and homes for the aged.

Another byword among cadres in Panchiachuang is "as you tackle the question of increased production, tackle the question of improving livelihood." Many take a personal hand in running the community dining-rooms where members eat. As a rule each production team has its own dining-room. It allots from 3 to 5 per cent of its land to the dining-room to grow enough vegetables to meet its needs and feed the dining-room's pigs and poultry. By constantly soliciting the opinions and suggestions of commune members and regularly reporting on its finances, the majority of the community dining-rooms are well run and consequently have won

the full approval and support of the peasants.

Still another feature of the commune is the faithful implementation of the Party's policy of cadres working, living, eating and consulting with the masses. With a hoe, a sickle and other small farm tools always to hand, they stand ever-ready to work alongside rank-and-file commune members as well as direct the work.

The mainspring of Panchiachuang's growing prosperity lies in its meticulous and all-round implementation of the three-level (commune, production brigade and production team) system of ownership with the brigade as the basic unit. This system, it will be recalled, was laid down by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party early in 1959. Numerous other rural people's communes in China, by implementing this policy to the letter, have succeeded



Emulation

in bringing into play the full advantages of the commune form of organization.

Health Workers to the Farms

Thousands upon thousands of medical and health workers are flocking to the humming countryside. In the fields, on construction sites, in community kitchens, creches and kindergartens, they are to be found right in the "frontline," applying their skills and devoting their energies to the general welfare and health of rural commune members. This is their contribution to the current nationwide support-agriculture campaign.

In Chekiang Province, over 20,000 such medical workers are making the rounds in countryside and mountainous areas. Shihchiachuang, Hopei Province, has witnessed an exodus of 80 per cent of the city's health workers to the surrounding villages. During the busy farming season, tents are pitched right in the fields where not only is treat-

ment given to the sick or injured but classes are held on general hygiene or to train health workers. From Sining, capital of Chinghai, comes word of the wholesale transfer of two outpatient clinics to the rural areas.

Members of medical colleges too have gone out to the farms. Faculty members and students of the Shenyang Medical College have organized special teams to spread a knowledge of public hygiene and train medical and health workers in the countryside. On the basis of first-hand surveys and research, they have written a book on public health in rural people's communes.

In many provinces, the medical workers going to the countryside extended the scope of their work to include among other things helping to run community kitchens and other welfare facilities and participating in production (looking after the scientific treatment of night-soil, for instance). Practising the "four shares" — eating, living, working and consulting with the peasants, they have made themselves one with the masses and at the same time made public hygiene a truly public concern in reality as well as in name.

Another popular form of support widely practised in public health circles today is the "hook up" between city and countryside. By this is meant the establishment of permanent contacts between urban health departments and their county and rural commune counterparts. Thus urban medical centres regularly send experienced doctors to county and rural commune hospitals to provide guidance and treatment in difficult cases, conduct general check-ups and sometimes even set up local medical schools.

The health workers' massive support to the countryside is still gathering momentum, but already it has demonstrated its mighty force in the rapidly rising standards of China's recently established nationwide rural medical service.

Workers Write Papers

Latest reports from Lanchow Oil Refinery indicate that workers at this oil centre are busy not only operating machines, but writing technical papers and making technical reports as well. In fact, they have already produced some 500 such papers.

Since the refinery opened its technical revolution and technical innovations drive, a host of new techniques, new technological data and advanced operational experiences have come to the fore. In order to turn these new practices to full account, the leadership at the refinery hit upon this rather unusual method.

As in all other things, workers at the refinery rely on the strength of the collective in drawing up their technical papers. Whether finally written individually or collectively, the content of the papers reflect and incorporate the essence of the thoroughgoing discussion and pooling of many people's experiences and ideas. Often, after a subject is chosen, exhaustive research is conducted by a whole group. And because the facts and thinking presented come straight from production and embody the wisdom of seasoned workers, apprentices as well as technicians, these papers are usually characterized by both an abundance of data and freshness of ideas.

There are, of course, many obvious advantages in this enterprising effort. In guiding the workers to solve key problems of production, the leadership at the refinery has opened up bottomless springs of ingenuity which can be applied to production swiftly and effectively. At the same time, as in the case of the scientists mentioned earlier in these columns, such collective writing is a good way to summarise and popularize the scattered, advanced experience hitherto known to only the few concerned. And what's more, the writing of technical papers impels workers to dig deeper into their work and research, thereby raising their cultural and technical levels. All this helps to fur-

ther bridge the gap between manual and mental labour.

Hot Meals at Pit Bottom

At Penki Colliery, northeast China, where daily output continues to soar, welfare services too are getting better and better. Miners working underground can get a hot lunch right down in the pits where they work. Piping hot food prepared in surface dining-rooms is sent down to them 200 metres below ground. Instituted early last year, this considerate service ended the "cold snack for lunch" practice in the pit.

In the days of the Japanese imperialist occupation and Kuomintang rule, miners at Penki and elsewhere in China had to work underground 14 to 15 hours at a stretch without a meal break. There was no question then of snacks laid on either cold or hot. Serious stomach disorders were then a common miners' occupational disease. After liberation, the Penki mining administration took many measures to improve miners' living and working conditions and health. Men engaged in heavy or underground work were allotted special, nutritious foods. In 1958, lunch counters were established down the pits where underground workers could get hot meals during rest periods. Still, miners working at faraway faces often neglected to go, not wanting to waste time on the walk there and back. Going into this question with the miners, leading comrades of the mining administration were given the idea of the present handy service and put it into practice as soon as possible.

We have cited this instance of the Penki miners in detail because it is typical of attitudes to the worker in

China today: "Do all you can for the man who is producing." Hence this attention to improving working and living conditions. Precisely because the leadership is doing this at this same time as it attends to production problems, community dining-rooms in factories and mines alike are being better run.



Catering and Health Services
to the Fields

Sketches by Chiang Hsien-ching

Give Full Play to the Revolutionary Spirit Of the 1957 Moscow Declarations

Following is a translation of an editorial published in "Renmin Ribao" on November 21. — Ed.

FULLY three years have passed since the publication of the Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto adopted at the Moscow Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries. These are two documents of historic significance. In the past three years they have played a tremendous positive role in the struggle of the people throughout the world for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

The Moscow Declaration points out that "the main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism which was begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia"; that "while socialism is on the upgrade, imperialism is heading towards decline"; and that "the progress of socialism and of the national-liberation movement has greatly accelerated the disintegration of imperialism." What has happened in the past three years has further confirmed these correct theses.

Major world events in the past three years are:

The socialist camp, embracing one-third of the world's population, is growing stronger with each passing day. It has been thriving economically and its industry and agriculture have been developing rapidly. The Soviet Union, after successfully launching the first artificial earth satellite in 1957, scored many new successes in science and technology for the conquest of space and left far behind the most developed capitalist country.

In sharp contrast with the situation in the socialist camp, the imperialist camp is daily on the decline. The United States experienced its third postwar economic crisis in 1957-58 and is now facing a new economic crisis. The struggle has sharpened still further among the several major capitalist countries for redivision of the capitalist world market.

The policies of aggression and war pursued by the imperialist bloc headed by the United States have met with one reverse after another. The political strength of the imperialist camp is weakening. U.S. imperialism which is hostile to the people of the entire world is being encircled by the people all over the world.

Enormous progress has been made by the movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and for national independence and democratic freedom. The victory of the Cuban revolution, the proclamation of independence by a whole number of African countries, the heroic struggles of the peoples of Algeria, Iraq, south Korea, Laos and Turkey against imperialism and its lackeys and the Japanese people's heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys — all these events

show that the national independence movement has entered a period of new upsurge.

In the capitalist countries in Western Europe and North America, the working class and other labouring people have been waging extensive struggles for the right to a decent living and for democratic rights, and strike movements, both of an economic and a political nature, have been launched one after another.

The world peace movement embracing broad masses of the people is growing with every day that passes. The broad united front against imperialism and for safeguarding world peace is expanding.

The development of the situation in the past three years demonstrates that the forces of socialism have further surpassed the forces of imperialism, the forces of national liberation have further surpassed the forces of colonialism, the forces of the people have further surpassed the forces of reaction and the forces of peace have further surpassed the forces of war. This shows that the famous dictum propounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung three years ago, that "the East wind has prevailed over the West wind," is perfectly correct.

In a word, the entire situation is highly favourable to the people of the whole world and unfavourable to imperialism and all reactionaries. Any view that overestimates the strength of imperialism and underestimates the strength of the people is contrary to the Moscow Declaration and is utterly wrong.

THE Moscow Declaration has exposed the various contradictions inherent in the imperialist system and the aggressive nature of imperialism. It says:

"In the imperialist countries the contradictions between the productive forces and production relations have become more acute" and that "the capitalist economy is bound to encounter new deep slumps and crises."

"In the greater part of the capitalist world, particularly in the colonial and dependent countries, millions of working people still live in poverty."

"There is a sharpening of contradictions not only between the bourgeoisie and the working class but also between the monopoly bourgeoisie and all sections of the people, between the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie on the one hand and the peoples, and even the bourgeoisie, of the other capitalist countries on the other."

The Moscow Declaration also points out: "The aggressive imperialist circles of the United States, by pursuing the so-called 'positions of strength' policy, seek to bring most countries of the world under their sway and to hamper the onward march of mankind in accordance with the laws of social development." Therefore, "they are

becoming the centre of world reaction, the sworn enemies of the people."

Based on these correct analyses, the Moscow Declaration arrives at the correct conclusion:

"So long as imperialism exists there will always be soil for aggressive wars."

At the same time, the Peace Manifesto also correctly points out:

"Where does the threat to peace and the security of the peoples come from? From the capitalist monopolies who have a vested interest in war and amassed unprecedented riches from the two world wars and the current arms drive."

The Peace Manifesto puts it quite right:

"However, neither the Communist Parties nor any of the socialist countries have any motive or reason for launching wars or military attacks on other countries, for seizing alien soil. The Soviet Union and people's China both have vast expanses of land and untold natural riches. In all the socialist countries there are no classes or social groups interested in war."

All these theses are truths of Marxism-Leninism. The countries of our socialist camp have always opposed the unleashing of wars by imperialism, adhered to a foreign policy of peace and advocated peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. But the modern revisionists, represented by the renegade Tito clique, in their service to imperialism, deliberately stand things on their heads; while asserting that imperialism would "for-sake wars," they shamelessly smear the socialist countries as "longing for wars." This once again reveals their true features as lackeys of imperialism.

It is precisely because there still exists the danger of imperialism unleashing war in the world that the Moscow Declaration points out: "All the nations must display the utmost vigilance in regard to the war danger created by imperialism."

It says: "The Communist Parties regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task. Together with all the peace-loving forces, they will do their best to prevent war."

It further says: "At present the forces of peace have so grown that there is a real possibility of averting war."

The task of the people of various countries, therefore, is to turn the possibility of averting world war into a reality.

The Moscow Declaration points out that reliance must be placed on the joint struggle of the forces of the socialist camp and all peace-loving forces in order to avert world war, and to strive for lasting world peace. It says: "The cause of peace is upheld by the powerful forces of our era: the invincible camp of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union; the peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa taking an anti-imperialist stand and forming, together with the socialist countries, a broad peace zone; the international working class and above all its vanguard — the Communist Parties; the liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies; the mass peace movement of the peoples; the peoples of the European countries who have proclaimed neutrality, the peoples of Latin America and the masses in the imperialist countries themselves are firmly resisting plans for a new war. An



Unity Is Strength

Cartoon by Mi Ku

alliance of these mighty forces could prevent war, but should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of anything, to unleash a war, imperialism would doom itself to destruction, for the peoples would no longer tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices."

This is to say, peace can be most effectively safeguarded only by incessantly strengthening the socialist camp, the national liberation movement, the people's struggles in the capitalist countries, the forces of all peace-loving people and the unity of all these forces and by waging a joint struggle. The broader and stronger this united front of the peace forces against the unleashing of war by imperialism and the more extensive and intensive its struggles, the firmer will be the guarantee for world peace.

THE might and solidarity of the countries of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, is the main force in opposing imperialism and defending world peace. At the same time, the movement for defending world peace and the revolutionary struggles of the various peoples for national liberation, democratic freedom and socialism are inter-connected, mutually consistent and complementary to each other. The development of the liberation movement of the oppressed nations and peoples of the world and the victories of their revolutionary struggles constitute an extensive force for preventing imperialism from unleashing war and for defending world peace.

After the end of World War II, U.S. imperialism, by using the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries to wage a civil war, tried to wipe out the Chinese people's revolutionary forces and turn China into its colony and military base

for attacking the Soviet Union and carrying out aggression against Asia. But the Chinese people, compelled to fight a patriotic revolutionary war in self-defence, finally defeated the attack of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries and smashed the U.S. imperialists' rabid schemes of aggression against China. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution has greatly strengthened the forces defending world peace. The same point is proved by the development and victories of the people's revolutionary movements in many Asian, African and Latin American countries. Those views which oppose the revolutionary struggles of the various peoples to the struggle for defending world peace are, therefore, very wrong.

MARXISM-LENINISM has always held that revolution can neither be exported nor imported and that revolutions of the peoples of various countries are the outcome of the development of the class struggle and the product of the revolutionary awakening and revolutionary demands of the peoples of the respective countries. All oppressed nations and peoples will sooner or later rise in revolution and the socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system. The Moscow Declaration says rightly:

"By this policy these anti-popular, aggressive imperialist forces are courting their own ruin, creating their own grave-diggers."

It adds: "The working people of the capitalist countries live in such conditions as convince them more and more that the only way out of their grave situation lies through socialism."

This is an objective law of social development nobody can change.

The Moscow Declaration has summed up the common laws governing the socialist revolution and socialist construction. These laws are: "Guidance of the working masses by the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist party, in effecting a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the alliance of the working class and the bulk of the peasantry and other sections of the working people; the abolition of capitalist ownership and the establishment of public ownership of the basic means of production; gradual socialist reconstruction of agriculture; planned development of the national economy aimed at building socialism and communism, at raising the standard of living of the working people; the carrying out of the socialist revolution in the sphere of ideology and culture and the creation of a numerous intelligentsia devoted to the working class, the working people and the cause of socialism; the abolition of national oppression and the establishment of equality and fraternal friendship between the peoples; defence of the achievements of socialism against attacks by external and internal enemies; solidarity of the working class of the country concerned with the working class of other countries, that is, proletarian internationalism." These laws are not only applicable to those countries which have already embarked on the road of socialism, but will also be the guiding principles hereafter for the peoples of various countries in carrying out their socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The entire theory of Marxism-Leninism serves the revolutions of the world proletariat and of the peoples of

various countries. The revolutionary spirit is the soul of Marxism-Leninism. The combination of a strict scientific spirit and a high degree of revolutionary spirit is the inherent characteristic of Marxist-Leninist theory. If we want to uphold the theoretical positions of Marxism-Leninism and the banner of the Moscow declarations, then we must defend and give full play to this scientific spirit and revolutionary spirit. New historical developments and new experiences in the class struggle constantly demand that we, basing ourselves on the fundamental principles and fundamental methods of Marxism-Leninism and on the scientific analysis of objective things, make new summations to guide the revolutionary struggles and enrich the content of Marxism-Leninism. But, in the course of studying new situations and new experiences, we should under no circumstances depart from the fundamental principles and fundamental methods of Marxism-Leninism and disregard the facts. To do otherwise would be a fundamental violation of Marxism-Leninism.

THE Moscow Declaration points to "the necessity of resolutely overcoming revisionism and dogmatism in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' Parties." It also clearly points out that "the main danger at present is revisionism." The characteristic of revisionism is to emasculate the revolutionary spirit of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries, in order to save themselves from their fate of decay, are always and ceaselessly trying to influence the working class. The revisionists of different hues always make use of a certain new situation to distort and adulterate Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory so as to divert the working class from the correct path of revolutionary class struggle, and so cater to the needs of imperialism and the reactionaries of the various countries.

The struggle against revisionism is a protracted one. Since the publication of the Moscow Declaration in 1957, the international communist movement has won important victories in its struggle against modern revisionism. Modern revisionism has been discredited but it has not yet been thoroughly smashed. The modern revisionists of Yugoslavia are still frenziedly attacking Marxism-Leninism, clamouring that Marxism-Leninism is "outmoded." The further imperialism goes on its downward path, the more will it use revisionists to spread poison among the masses in an attempt to weaken and break the fighting will of the people. Therefore, the waging of an irreconcilable struggle against modern revisionism remains an important immediate task of the Communists of various countries.

Like all forward movements in human history, the communist movement inevitably meets with different sorts of difficulties. But Marxism-Leninism, reflecting the laws of development of history and imbued with revolutionary spirit, is invincible. The Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow declarations, will ceaselessly strengthen their unity, and, together with the working class and broad masses of the people of various countries, continuously overcome all obstacles on the tortuous path of advance and bring about great, new victories for the cause of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

Supporting Laotian Government Decision to Establish China-Laos Friendly Relations

- STERNLY CONDEMNS THE CRUDE INTERVENTION BY U.S. IMPERIALISM IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF LAOS
- RESOLUTELY SUPPORTS THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF LAOS HEADED BY PRINCE PHOUMA

Following is a translation of a statement issued on November 20 by the Government of the People's Republic of China supporting the decision of the Royal Laotian Government to establish friendly relations between China and Laos. — Ed.

ON November 17 and 18, 1960, the Kingdom of Laos issued in succession the communique of the meeting of the Royal Laotian Government and the No. 1 joint communique on the negotiations between the delegations of the Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat Party. The communiqués announced that the Royal Laotian Government would accept aid from the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and in the near future send a friendly delegation to visit the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam so as to conduct negotiations on the establishment of economic and cultural relations, that it had decided to restore postal and telecommunication contacts between Laos and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and that it pledged good-neighbourly relations between Laos and the People's Republic of China. The Government of the People's Republic of China warmly welcomes the above-mentioned indications of the Royal Laotian Government's aim to strengthen friendly, good-neighbourly relations between China and Laos and consolidate peace in Indo-China; it is ready to take corresponding measures to facilitate realization of this aim.

Everyone knows that the People's Republic of China is a participant of the 1954 Geneva Conference, a guarantor of the Geneva agreements, and also a close neighbour of the Kingdom of Laos. The Chinese Government has consistently and strictly abided by the Geneva agreements, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the spirit of the Bandung Conference, respected the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos, and supported the Royal Laotian Government's pursuit of a policy of peace and neutrality and the achievement of domestic unity. Historically, China and Laos are friendly neigh-

bour; after the Geneva Conference, friendly relations between our two countries underwent a new development. The visit which the delegation of the Royal Laotian Government headed by Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma paid to China in August 1956 was a concrete expression of this development of friendly relations. In their joint statement, Prime Minister Phouma and our Premier Chou En-lai stated that the two Governments agreed to observe the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, develop good-neighbourly relations and foster their economic and cultural relations. The boundary between our two countries has always been one of peace and friendship, and it should always remain so in the future. There exist between our two countries favourable conditions for developing economic and trade relations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. We are convinced that the proposals made recently by the Royal Laotian Government, if realized, will certainly be conducive to the establishment and development of friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Laos as well as their economic and cultural relations.

The Chinese Government considers that the present unstable situation in Laos is a result of U.S. imperialist support to the Phoumi Nosavan rebel group. The Chinese Government sternly condemns the crude intervention by U.S. imperialism in the internal affairs of Laos and resolutely supports the legal government of the Kingdom of Laos headed by Prince Phouma. It believes that, so long as the Laotian people strengthen their internal unity and resolutely oppose foreign interventionist and subversive activities, they will certainly be able to overcome the difficulties in their way ahead, realize the peace, neutrality, national amity and unity of Laos, and build the Kingdom of Laos into a prosperous and strong country. The Chinese Government hopes that all the participants of the Geneva Conference will strictly abide by the Geneva agreements and respect the national rights of the Laotian people so as to safeguard the peace, neutrality, independence and unity of Laos.

Welcoming the Expression of Friendship By the Royal Laotian Government

Following is a translation of excerpts from a "Ren-min Ribao" editorial published on November 21. — Ed.

THE Chinese people have always greatly treasured the deep friendship that has long existed between themselves and the Laotian people and hoped that China and Laos should become neighbour states living in harmony. In August 1956, in welcoming the Government Delegation of the Kingdom of Laos headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma on its visit to China, our Premier Chou En-lai clearly stated: "China, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, will unswervingly be a good friend and neighbour of Laos." The Chinese Government has all along strictly abided by the Geneva agreements, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the spirit of the Bandung Conference, respected the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos and supported the Royal Laotian Government's pursuit of a policy of peace, neutrality and the realization of domestic unity.

The implementation of a policy of peace and neutrality is the universal desire of the broad sections of the Laotian people. As early as 1956, Prime Minister Phouma clearly declared that the Kingdom of Laos would pursue a policy of peace and neutrality, would establish friendly relations with all countries, particularly neighbouring countries, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, would join no military alliances of any kind and would not tolerate the establishment of foreign military bases on Laotian territory. These policies are favourable to the consolidation of the peace and independence of Laos and to bringing about democracy, unification and prosperity in Laos; they are favourable to the implementation of the Geneva agreements in the countries of Indo-China and to safeguarding the cause of peace in Southeast Asia.

U.S. imperialism has all along been crudely interfering in and sabotaging the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Royal Laotian Government. After its repeated failures in forcing the Phouma government to give up this policy by threatening to discontinue its "aid," U.S. imperialism went so far as to subvert the Phouma government in July 1958, foisted a pro-U.S. clique into power and made them openly tear up the Geneva and Vientiane agreements, and start a civil war in an attempt, step by step, to turn Laos completely into a U.S. colony and military base. Intervention and aggression by U.S. imperialism seriously impair the independence of Laos

and threaten its security. This cannot but arouse ever stronger opposition among broad sections of the Laotian people. After the victory of the coup d'etat on August 9, which enjoyed the support of broad sections of the Laotian people, Prince Souvanna Phouma was once again entrusted with the task of forming a government. He thereupon declared that he would follow the policy of peace, neutrality and national harmony.

U.S. imperialism, however, unreconciled to defeat, still seeks to stage a come-back. It is openly propping the Phoumi Nosavan rebel clique and plotting to subvert the Phouma government once again. It was disclosed in a radio broadcast of the Pathet Lao fighting units that up to the present U.S. imperialism has given 16 million U.S. dollars to the Nosavan clique, transported large quantities of arms from Thailand and the southern part of Viet Nam, helped it build airfields and open new air lines, dispatched officers to train and direct the rebel clique's troops, sent foreign soldiers to masquerade as troops of the Nosavan rebel clique so as to reinforce the strength of that clique and plot to attack Vientiane. On November 11, U.S. imperialism gave further support to the Phoumi Nosavan clique in staging a new rebellion in Luang Prabang and abducting the king of Laos. The pressure which the U.S. Government is putting on the Phouma government is also becoming increasingly crude. The U.S. State Department has even threateningly warned the Phouma government to refrain from the "use of force" against the Luang Prabang rebellion and openly sought to prevent the Laotian Government from establishing friendly relations with China and Viet Nam.

From November 16 to 18, the SEATO held a three-day "military advisers meeting" in Bangkok to plot an invasion of Laos. Harry Felt, U.S. representative to this meeting and commander-in-chief of U.S. forces in the Pacific, brazenly ranted that his forces "are ready to answer calls" at any time. Thanom Kittikachorn, Deputy Prime Minister of Thailand, uttered the slander that Laos had "intruded" across Thailand's border and clamoured about taking vigorous "retaliatory" action against Laos, even threatening war against Laos.

The above-mentioned facts show that U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are stepping up their scheme of subverting the Royal Laotian Government.

As a result of this crude interference by U.S. imperialism in the internal affairs of Laos, the present situation in Laos is still very serious. The Laotian people are

still faced by various kinds of difficulties and obstacles in their path of winning and safeguarding peace and independence and realizing democracy, unification and prosperity. But, confronted by broad sections of the Laotian people who are determined to defend the policy of peace, neutrality and national harmony, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will find it difficult to put through their plots. In a press conference on November 16, Laotian Prime Minister Prince Phouma lashed out at the United States for supporting the Phoumi Nosavan rebel clique. Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat Party, issued a statement to the whole people on November 17, calling on them to unite closely and smash the plot of U.S. imperialism and the traitorous Phoumi Nosavan clique to overthrow the Phouma government. The spokesman of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat Party warned U.S. imperialism and SEATO that should U.S. imperialism and its lackeys dare invade Laos, they will certainly be opposed by the resolute counter-attack of the Laotian people. The Laotian people warmly support these standpoints.

China is a participant of the Geneva Conference and a close neighbour of Laos. China has all along deeply

sympathized with and supported the Laotian people in their just struggle to defend their sovereignty and safeguard peace in Indo-China. In its statement, the Chinese Government has sternly condemned U.S. imperialism for its crude interference in the internal affairs of Laos, resolutely supported the legal government of the Kingdom of Laos headed by Phouma and expressed the belief that "so long as the Laotian people strengthen their internal unity and resolutely oppose foreign interventionist and subversive activities, they will certainly be able to overcome the difficulties in their way ahead, realize the peace, neutrality, national amity and unity of Laos, and build the Kingdom of Laos into a prosperous and strong country."

The Chinese people welcome the Phouma government's expression of intent to persistently pursue a policy of peace, neutrality and national harmony; they welcome its decision on the establishment of friendly, good neighbourly relations with the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. We are deeply convinced that this proposal, if realized, will certainly be beneficial to the establishment and development of friendly, good-neighbourly relations and of economic and cultural relations between our two countries.

Comments on the General Election In Japan

by "RENMIN RIBAO" OBSERVER

Following is a translation of a commentary published in "Renmin Ribao" on November 24. — Ed.

THE full returns of the November 20 elections to the Japanese House of Representatives are now available. The Japanese Socialist Party and Communist Party made marked increases in the number of their seats in the House while the Liberal Democratic Party's plan to seize more than two-thirds of the seats ended in failure. This is a victory for the Japanese patriotic and democratic forces and for the Japanese people; it indicates the firm will of broad sections of the Japanese people to win independence, peace, democracy and neutrality.

Struggle in this general election centred on the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and the question of neutrality; it was a serious struggle between the Japanese people who demand independence, peace, democracy and neutrality and the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries who implement the U.S. policy of aggression, hold fast to the Japan-U.S. military alliance and strengthen the militarization of Japan. According to the final results announced, out of a total of 467 seats in the House of Representatives the Socialist Party gets 145 seats, an increase of 23. Before

the election Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda bragged about "reducing (the number of members in the House of Representatives of) the Socialist Party to below 100," but he failed to do so. The Japanese Communist Party increased its seats from one to three, while its total votes increased by more than 144,000 compared with the last general election. The seats obtained by the right-wing Democratic Socialist Party which split from the Socialist Party dropped sharply from the original 40 to 17. Hayato Ikeda time and again boasted that the Liberal Democratic Party would "certainly" win 320 seats, actually it won only 296 seats.

With the slightest knowledge of some of the actual course of events during this general election, one can easily understand under what difficult conditions the Japanese Communist Party and Socialist Party made the advances mentioned above. In the course of the election campaign the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries resorted to all kinds of base means in their attempt to control the election. On the one hand, they did their utmost to spread the idea that the Ikeda government "differs from Kishi"; they tried to cover up its essentially reactionary nature and used every means to curry public favour. On the other hand, the Ikeda government called a special national

conference of police chiefs, mobilized 18,000 policemen for criminal affairs and 50,000 plainclothes police to step up suppression of the democratic forces. It also instigated a fascist thug to murder Inejiro Asanuma, leader of the Socialist Party, promulgated reactionary laws and decrees depriving the people of their rights to assemble and demonstrate and restricting the freedom of elections, and hired large numbers of fascist elements to sabotage the campaign activities of the progressive parties.

THE U.S.-Japanese reactionaries specially concentrated their efforts on attacking the Communist Party and adopted the most brutal and shameless methods to undermine the campaign activities of the Japanese Communist Party. To capture votes for the Liberal Democratic Party, the Japanese monopoly-capitalist clique had contributed more than 2,000 million yen to the party's campaign funds, an amount far exceeding all the previous records. Even the Japanese bourgeois newspapers had to admit that this was "an election of money and power on the largest scale since the war." The U.S. Government also openly stepped forward to interfere in the internal affairs of Japan. U.S. Secretary of State Herter and U.S. Ambassador to Japan Douglas MacArthur II successively made statements supporting the Liberal Democratic Party; during this period the "Internal Security Sub-Committee" of the U.S. Senate also issued a report slandering the Japanese Communist Party and Socialist Party in an attempt to influence the Japanese election.

It is quite clear that under the tight control of the Japanese monopoly-capitalist clique, and at the present time when the army, police, and intelligence service as well as the press, broadcasting stations and other propaganda media are all held in the hands of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and when the troops of U.S. imperialism are stationed all over Japan, it is impossible to hold genuinely free elections. The people's freedom during the elections was extremely limited, and they could not give full expression to their will through the elections.

It was precisely because of this correct understanding that the patriotic and democratic forces and the broad masses of the people of Japan never calculated that the results of this general election would enable the patriotic and democratic forces to win more seats in the Lower House than the reactionary forces. It was commonly acknowledged that, barring any untoward situation, the Liberal Democratic Party would get more than half of the seats and that the Ikeda government would be reinstated. At the same time it was also pointed out that through this election the patriotic and democratic forces would surely demonstrate that they had increased their strength in the course of the struggle against the Japan-U.S. military alliance.

The outcome of this election has fully confirmed the accuracy of the above views and appraisal. As Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Japanese Communist Party, said, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party which have waged joint struggles against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" have made conspicuous progress, while, in contrast, the Democratic Socialist Party which opposes neutrality and actually adopts an attitude supporting the "Security Treaty" has met with a dismal failure.

The upshot of this election was that the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries have failed to get two-thirds of the seats in the Diet, the legal number of seats they require to push through their long-planned scheme to revise the present constitution which stipulates that Japan shall renounce war, and step up the implementation of the Japan-U.S. military alliance, forcing Japan on to the dangerous road of war. Hayato Ikeda, however, brazenly said that his majority, won by "money and power," showed that the Japanese people "support" the Liberal Democratic Party in carrying out its policy of subservience to the United States and that it signified the Japanese people's "recognition of the Security Treaty," and so on and so forth. How absurd and shameless these statements are! The U.S. State Department also did its utmost to cover up its "anxiety" over the tremendous progress made by the Japanese patriotic and democratic forces during this general election and the crushing defeat of the Democratic Socialist Party. It tried to encourage the Ikeda government, saying that the result of the Japanese general election was "evidence that the majority of the people of Japan support their government's policy of co-operation with the nations of the free world," and that the United States "looks forward to working closely with Prime Minister Ikeda and his government in the days to come."

The U.S.-Japanese reactionaries must not, however, think that they can do whatever they like now that they have a majority in the Lower House. They should not forget that, when the Kishi government was in power, the Liberal Democratic Party also held a majority in the Lower House. It was precisely by relying on this majority that Kishi illegally railroaded the new Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" through the Diet. And it was also precisely because Kishi carried out an extremely pro-U.S. policy in violation of the interests of the Japanese people, submissively sold out Japan's sovereignty, relied on U.S. imperialism, revived the Japanese militarist forces, pursued the U.S. policies of war and aggression and followed the United States in its hostility to China that he aroused the extreme indignation of the broad masses of the Japanese people who launched a mighty struggle unprecedented in its scale against the Japan-U.S. military alliance and finally brought ruin and shame to Kishi, forcing him to step down in utter ignominy. The Japanese people have never ratified the Japan-U.S. military alliance treaty in the past, nor will they ever ratify it in the future. No matter who comes into power, should he persist in his hostility to the Japanese people and insist on pushing Japan on to the road of militarism and of launching war and aggression, he will certainly end up no better than Kishi.

FOR the present the Japanese reactionaries, fostered and backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism, still enjoy a temporary superiority and appear to be strong. Therefore they are still able to continue to do evil, manipulate the elections through the state machine in their hands, and retain a majority in the Diet. They are also plotting to realize their ambition of once again dominating Asia, by relying on U.S. imperialism and even forcing the Japanese people to be cannon fodder for U.S. imperialism. However, this superficial strength of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries can only be a factor playing a temporary role. From a

long-term point of view, it is the people and not the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries who are really powerful.

In the course of the 15 years after the war, the Japanese people, who have suffered grievously from enslavement and control by U.S. imperialism and from the Japanese reactionaries' policy of reviving militarism in subservience to the United States, have increasingly enhanced their political consciousness and strengthened their unity with each passing day. Especially in the past year and more, the Japanese people have persistently launched 23 united actions against the Japan-U.S. military alliance. The strength of the Japanese people has developed as never before and they have won one victory after another. Does this not demonstrate that the really mighty strength belongs to the Japanese people? Although obstacles in the form of collusion between the Japanese and U.S. reactionaries still lie in the path of their struggle for independence, peace, democracy and neutrality, the broad

masses of Japanese people, in the course of their heroic struggle against the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance, have seen their own strength, and increased their courage and determination in the struggle. Although they may encounter difficulties on their path of advance and their struggle may still have ups and downs, there are no obstacles that cannot be surmounted.

The present world situation in which the East wind prevails over the West wind and the forces of peace further surpass the forces of war is extremely favourable to the struggle of the Japanese people against U.S. imperialism and the Japanese militarist forces. With the deepened and extensive development of the Japanese people's patriotic and just struggle, the strength of the Japanese people will continue to grow from weak to strong; through a series of repeated and serious struggles, an independent, peaceful, democratic and neutral Japan will finally appear in the world.

Reminiscences on Interview with Chairman Mao Tse-tung on the Paper Tiger

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

THE statement by Chairman Mao Tse-tung that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, made to me fourteen years ago in Yen-an, is now both famous and historic. It has illumined the course of world events in these fourteen years. It is therefore of interest to recall some of the details of the conditions under which the statement was made.

When I went to Yen-an in the summer of 1946, the Anti-Japanese War, and the Second World War of which it was a part, had been over for just a year. Most people in America still thought of the U.S.S.R. and of China as allies, but reactionary elements had already begun the "cold war" and were even threatening to make it a hot war. Their hostility to the U.S.S.R. had not stopped for a moment even during the war against Hitler in which the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. were allies. They had shown this undying hostility in many ways, especially by the statement that Hitler was the "wrong enemy" and that after he should be beaten, the U.S.S.R. would still have to be fought. When the World War therefore ended, and the U.S.A. had for the time a monopoly of the A-Bomb, propaganda became open for using this power to compel the Soviet Union to accept any American demands.

In China a condition of formal truce continued between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communist-led forces but it was being frequently violated by Chiang, whose armed assaults against the Communists had continued even during the Anti-Japanese War. America's official position was that China should be unified under Chiang, and that the Communists should give up their separate armies and be legalized as a minority party. A truce had been signed that was known as the Marshall Truce, because General George C. Marshall also signed it and set up in Peking an "Executive

Headquarters," with participation of Chiang and the Chinese Communists under American chairmanship. Its alleged purpose was to settle the armed clashes that arose. For this purpose "truce teams" were set up in almost forty cities of North and Northeast China, connected with Executive Headquarters by American military planes.

Washington's purpose in all this was to gain control of all China through treaties with Chiang Kai-shek. They used the truce to transport Chiang's soldiers by ship and plane into North and Northeast China, to places from which they could most easily attack the Liberated Areas of the north. Their connections by plane to forty Chinese cities were not controlled by any Chinese supervision; they were able to photograph from their planes all China as far as Tsitsihar. The purpose of the American reactionaries was not only to gain control of China's wealth, which they hoped to exploit and grow rich on for another fifty years. But also, as revealed by General Wedemeyer, they hoped for military bases in the Northeast and in Sinkiang to use against the U.S.S.R.; they also expected the use of millions of Chinese soldiers as cannon-fodder in this future anti-Soviet war.

Meantime in early 1946 a truce officially existed and Executive Headquarters planes were open to use by newspaper correspondents. It was therefore possible for me to fly from San Francisco to Shanghai and thence to Peking, and from Peking to the different Liberated Areas of the north, most of which had not been visited by any outsider. This opportunity would clearly not long exist. Chiang launched war against the Central Plains Liberated Area and occupied its capital in mid-summer of 1946. Negotiation still went on about other Liberated Areas, and

General Marshall still claimed the intention of settling the questions peacefully. As long as this formula continued it was possible to fly every week from Peking to Yen-an or to any of the other Liberated Areas. These facilities were open even to writers from the working-class press.

I therefore flew to Yen-an in late summer of 1946 and spent a few weeks there, and then returned to Peking from which I visited three other Liberated Areas, spending a week each in Kalgan, the capital of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region, and in the Taihang Mountains where Liu Po-cheng had headquarters in a large Liberated Area containing parts of four provinces, and then in Harbin and Tsitsihar, where a strong Northeastern Liberated Area flourished, protected by Lin Piao's troops. After visiting these areas, I returned in October to Yen-an and remained there through the winter of 1946-47 until Yen-an was evacuated in March 1947.

IN Yen-an during my visit all the activities still continued which had been built up over a decade. Yen-an was headquarters of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the residence of Chairman Mao and Chu Teh and many other members of the Central Committee. It was also the capital of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, and a center of culture where Yenda (Yenan University) was maintained, and an International Peace Hospital named for the Canadian surgeon Bethune. Yen-an published the *Liberation Daily* and maintained a Central Radio Station and had a theatre where good Peking opera, both classic and modern, was presented. These facilities went on under very primitive conditions. The only electric light came from a dynamo at the American Military Liaison Group which was set up during the Anti-Japanese War and had not yet closed down; this served only the Americans and a few other nearby dwellings. Most people, including the members of the Central Committee, used kerosene or candles for light. Yen-an was under military threat from Hu Tsung-nan, Chiang's general in Sian. During my stay Hu's planes often flew over the area for observation and sometimes dropped small bombs but these attacks were not at first serious.

How primitive the transport was is shown by the fact that my first interview with Chairman Mao had to be postponed because of a shower of rain in the upper valleys which caused the Yen River to rise. This river is usually a small stream, so shallow that children splash easily across it, but a sudden rain could make a torrent deep and strong enough to overturn an auto-truck. Since Chairman Mao lived on the other side of the river from where I was staying and there was no bridge suitable for autos, I had to wait for the following day. Then I went to Mao's home by truck, bumping over the boulders in the river, climbing the far side with much grunting of the motor, and entering a gate into Yang Family Village, the ravine where the Central Committee's headquarters was. A short distance further, the truck halted next to a steep hill path. We climbed between corn-stalks and tomato-vines, to a wide clay terrace from which a long row of caves opened into the steep hillside. Four of these were the home of Chairman Mao.

We sat on the flat clay terrace under an apple tree with a view of distant hills through the afternoon hours

until sunset. Mao's beautiful dark-haired wife sat beside us for a time and then went into a cave to prepare a meal. Their small daughter, in a dress of bright figured cotton, played around her father's knees, climbed into his lap, received his caresses and then came over to give her hand to the visitor. Early in the talk I noticed a movement in the grass higher up the hill about twenty meters above the top of Chairman Mao's cave. Since Hu Tsung-nan's planes had dropped a small bomb near the cave where Mao had lived somewhat earlier I wondered if a sentry was stationed to watch the Chairman's home. So I asked: "Who is up there?"

"Just another family," replied Mao. "Their children are curious about my foreign guest." I thus had a lesson in the relativity of human curiosity. It was myself whom the people on the hill were watching. Chairman Mao was to them the neighbor with whom they shared the vegetable garden on the hill.

Seldom have I seen a man who fitted so simply into his environment. He did not seem to demand the isolation that some intellectuals think necessary for their work. What privacy he needed was given by the respect his neighbors felt for him. The children above peered down but made no noise. His little daughter, while inviting his caresses, made no attempt to divert his attention from our talk.

He wore the usual suit of dark blue cotton, but it was neater and better cared for than with others. There was no haste or restlessness in his manner but a poised friendliness. His comments were full of imagery and his face lit often into vivid humor when he smiled, but he had eyes that nothing escaped.

THE conversation went easily. The interpreter did a good job and Chairman Mao's own manner was so expressive that I was not conscious of any barrier of speech. His mind swept easily over the world, including many lands and epochs. He first questioned me about America. On many American events he was better informed than I. This was surprising for I had left America only a few weeks earlier while for twenty years Mao had not even had a postal connection with the outside world. But he planned the smuggling of knowledge as carefully as the strategy of war. The Radio Center in Yen-an monitored the world's news services and made digests for the Central Committee's use. The brief connection with Peking which the planes of Executive Headquarters gave, was used to bring in books and journals from many lands. The Chairman's knowledge of world events was very complete.

It was after I had answered to the best of my ability his questions about America that I raised the question about the threat of war between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. with which the interview now published in the 4th volume of Mao's selected works began. The Chairman said that the talk of war was at present largely a smoke-screen which the reactionaries created to cover up the many immediate contradictions facing U.S. imperialism. American monopoly capital of course dreamed of destroying the U.S.S.R. but this aim was not so immediate. They must first wear down the American people's opposition to war, and then they must bring other capitalist countries under American control. Any war against the U.S.S.R. had to be done through other countries' territory, through Britain, France and

China. So the American reactionaries used all this talk about fighting the U.S.S.R. to give excuse for attacking the American people's civil rights and living standards and for bringing the other capitalist lands under American control. He pointed out how, under this pretext, the U.S.A. was setting up military bases in many places and had already taken a very large area under American control.

CHAIRMAN Mao laughingly illustrated his point with the tea-cups and little white wine cups on the table, placing a big cup for American imperialism and surrounding it with a circle of little wine cups for the American people, with a long zigzag line filled up with match-boxes and cigarettes to represent other countries all separating American imperialism from the Soviet Union, a big cup at the other side.

The cooperation of the people, he said, was strong enough, if properly aroused, to prevent a third world war. But this cooperation against world war must be aroused, otherwise the war would come.

It was a simple but delicious meal that Mrs. Mao set before us, much of it from the ripe tomatoes, onions, beans and peppers from their hillside garden. For dessert there was "eight treasures rice," but in this case the rice was flavored with four things: peanuts, walnuts, plums from the Chairman's garden and dates from Date Garden further up the Yen River where Chu Teh resided.

"This rice is not grown in Yen-an County but we grow it in this Border Region near the Yellow River," commented Mao. He added: "We southerners found the millet diet of the north difficult when we arrived in Yen-an. Finally we found a place where rice could be grown."

We talked on over fresh tea while Mrs. Mao put the small daughter to bed in one of the caves. Mao's direct speech, wide range of knowledge, sharp analysis and poetic imagery made his conversation the most stimulating I have ever known. In speaking of American weapons captured from Chiang's troops he called them "a blood transfusion, from America to Chiang, from Chiang to us". . . . In speaking of American imperialism he used many metaphors. . . . At one time he said: "It is the strongest in history and also the weakest in history. The sky-scraper is highest but the foundation is shakiest." At another moment he said: "American imperialism grows lonely; so many of its friends are dead or ill. Even penicillin will not cure them. It is only now that so many reactionaries grow sick with mortal illness."

The metaphor of the "paper-tiger" was used during this talk and I was especially impressed, not only by the metaphor but by the way in which Chairman Mao, without knowing English, was able to correct the exact translation of his words. When he first said that reactionary rulers are paper-tigers, the word was translated "scare-crow." Chairman Mao immediately stopped the talk and asked me to tell him just what a "scare-crow" is. When I replied that it is a figure like a man which peasants put up in a field to scare away crows, he at once expressed dissatisfaction, and said that this was not his meaning. A paper tiger, he said, is not something dead to scare crows. It scares children. It looks like a terrible tiger but actually, being made of pressed paper, it softens when damp and is washed away in a heavy rain.

After this Chairman Mao used the "paper-tiger" in English, laughing at the sound of English words in a sentence, the rest of which was Chinese. Before the February Revolution in Russia, he said, the tsar looked very strong and terrible. But a February rain washed him away. Hitler also was washed away by the storms of history. So were the Japanese imperialists. They were paper-tigers all. The same thing would happen to all imperialists and reactionaries. Their strength lay only in the unconsciousness of the people. The consciousness of the people is the basic question. Not explosives of atom bombs but the man who handles them. He is still to be educated. . . . After a moment, he added: Communist Parties have real power, because they awaken the people's consciousness.

It was nearly midnight when the Chairman and his wife accompanied me down the hillside with a kerosene lantern to light the path to the waiting truck. Goodbyes were said. They stood on the hill watching as my truck jolted downward and splashed into the Yen River. Bright, very bright were the stars over the wild, dark Yen-an hills.

The paper-tiger metaphor, thus introduced, was used by Chairman Mao more than once during my stay in Yen-an. Since I remained through the winter months I saw the Chairman many times on different occasions, such as an anniversary dinner-party or a performance of the Peking opera, which he liked to attend, or at the Saturday night dances, which brought together the cadres in many parts of Yen-an for social contact every week.

ONE of the dark days in Yen-an was the day when the news came that General Marshall had given an estimated two billion dollars' worth of "war-surplus" to Chiang Kai-shek. This broke all pretense that America wished to avoid civil war in China; it was a direct encouragement to Chiang to continue all-out attack. Chairman Mao himself gave me the news. It was at this time that he said: "In the end we depend on Chiang's soldiers. We lose men, but also we capture men and some come over to us. Thus we advance."

I made some stupid remark about the United Nations mediating the civil war, but Mao shook his head. "They are not dependable. Only Chiang's soldiers are dependable." With a swift smile he added: "Chiang's soldiers are very good soldiers. They need only a little political training. . . ." Mao's strategy was confident because, in the invading armies he saw the long-oppressed peasantry of China, which could not remain his foe, but which he must win. It is my impression that at this time he also spoke again of the paper-tiger but I am not sure.

I have, however, a very sharp recollection of my last talk with Chairman Mao in Yen-an, at which the paper-tiger was mentioned again. It was early March 1947 and Yen-an was almost evacuated. For three months the troops of Hu Tsung-nan had been raiding the frontier of the Border Region of which Yen-an was capital. During that time most of Yen-an's activities were "dispersed," a tactics in which the Communists were experienced and which they often used. The writers, musicians, and other members of the Cultural Association went to organize winter classes and land reform in different areas. The Yenda students went into the villages, to correlate the peasants' evacuation with the news from the front. Half of the newspaper and

radio station left to set up another base. The state bank moved away, and even the big plate glass windows of the bank were taken out and buried under the earth so that the enemy would not destroy them but they would one day be recovered and used again. In the same way the big wooden table tops of the Central Committee dining-room were buried, to save for later use. The women and children moved north into the deeper hills.

The famous International Peace Hospital, named for Bethune, had just celebrated its seventh anniversary. Now the sick and the mothers who had just given birth were carried in litters down the nine high terraces of caves, with the doctors and nurses following. Small babies lay in sheepskin-lined baskets balanced on the sides of donkeys, ready for their journey into the winter night. Magdalen Robitzer, the UNRRA dentist, a Czech who had told me of "the chaos in Czechoslovakia when Hitler marched in," marvelled now at what she called "this most orderly evacuation of any capital."

"All day I worked in the dental clinic," she said, "on the children whose teeth most needed treatment. The next morning there was nothing left; they had moved in the night. In the evening as they packed they were laughing and singing. I talked with a kindergarten child whose mother left on the same night. He was going with the kindergarten; I asked why he did not go with his mother. He replied 'She is not in my group.' Such understanding among children I have never seen." She added: "But there are doctors who have worked here seven years, a surgeon, an eye specialist, a bacteriologist, important specialists. And they take nothing but the clothes on their backs and a small parcel in a handkerchief and set off on foot to the hills."

FINALLY for a week, the American planes of Hu Tsung-nan came over, watching, sweeping low. The Central Committee had already dismantled its caves and moved some fifteen kilometers northward into steeper hills. I knew that I must soon be leaving, on one of the last American planes. On the night before my plane's departure, the Central Committee members returned to Yen-an for the evening—travel by day had stopped because of the enemy planes—to see a new play about the land reform, in the theatre which would soon be destroyed. Chou En-lai sent for me and I went for the last time to the theatre but I remember nothing at all about the play. I only remember that Chairman Mao and the other leaders sat in the front row, and warmed their hands over charcoal braziers for the house was unheated and it was very cold.

Afterwards I was taken into one of the empty caves—and one was now as good as another—with Chairman Mao and Chou En-lai and Lu Ting-yi. Young orderlies brought stools and a table and tea, melon seeds and candied peanuts for a farewell feast. Chairman Mao told me that I must quickly leave Yen-an now on the plane which would leave in the morning, for if I remained any longer I might find myself isolated for a long time. I could not go to the hills where they would go. But I had now all the information about Yen-an and the Liberated Areas and the strategy by which the People's Liberation Army would win against Chiang Kai-shek. I must carry this news to the world. "Then when we again have contact with the world you will return." It would

be in about two years, he thought. It proved to be somewhat less.

I showed him a letter that had come that day from New York by the plane on which I myself would next day leave. It was full of tension and worry. "The progressives make no dent in American foreign policy," wrote my friend. "They must fight to save even their own skins. I hope the Chinese Communists have no illusions about what the American government may do."

MAO TSE-TUNG smiled. No, he had no illusions. But he thought the American progressives over-estimated the power of the American reactionaries and underestimated the power of the democratic forces. It is a psychological weakness among American progressives, he said.

The American reactionary, he continued, has a heavy burden. He must sustain the reactionaries of the whole world. And if he cannot sustain them, their house will fall down. It is a house with one pillar. Like all reactionaries in history, the American reactionaries will prove to be only paper tigers. It is the American people who are strong, who have lasting power. . .

At midnight the friendly orderlies brought fresh tea and new candles to the cave which for Mao Tse-tung was now only an evening's halt on the march. I thought of my friend in New York, in a steam-heated apartment, not yet in danger of jail, much less of death, who worried about the activities of the American reactionaries. And I thought how Chairman Mao, with his Central Committee, were receiving the full force of Chiang Kai-shek's four million armed men with their new American weapons, against which the Communists had not even anti-aircraft guns; and were now leaving their last capital, and going out into the winter night of the North Shensi hills, so confident in the strength of the Chinese people and in their own analysis of how to release and organize that strength that they talked easily of their probable date of return, and sent a message of comfort to the progressive friend in New York that the American reactionaries should not be too greatly feared.

I watched Mao's face, relaxed and confident, as he discussed the future of the world. This was the picture I took with me next morning on the plane to Peking, and in later years across the world.

The past fourteen years of China and of the world have proved the correctness of that paper-tiger statement, but others can analyse this history far better than I. The first proof of the soundness of the thesis was given by China's own war of liberation. When Chiang Kai-shek, in mid-summer of 1946, launched war against the People's Liberation Army and the Liberated Areas it had freed from Japan, Chiang had an army of over four million men already armed by the U.S.A. to fight Japan; he had all the arms surrendered by a million Japanese troops, and additional war supplies from America worth two billion U.S. dollars. He controlled areas containing over 300 million people, including all the big cities and most of the railways of China. Outwardly the Kuomintang was mighty but inwardly it had a fatal weakness. It represented the dying classes, the big landlords and comprador bourgeoisie. These were waging an unjust war

against the welfare of the Chinese people. They could not win the people's support.

The Liberated Areas contained only a little more than 100 million people and these were scattered in several areas, with little communication between them. Their armies were less than one-third as many as Chiang's and poorly armed. But the P.L.A. had one great asset. They were fighting for the Chinese people's interests and were able to win the people's support. On this support they based their strategy and tactics. The people's support was not by itself enough; it was necessary also to organize this support with good strategy and tactics. Here China was fortunate in having the great genius of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and also of many able and experienced fighters.

WHEN Chairman Mao withdrew from Yen-an in early March of 1947, most of the world believed that the Communist-led armies had been defeated. Not even the most progressive groups in America would organize lectures for me to tell what I had learned in Yen-an. They said: "The Chinese Communists are washed up; they have lost their last capital." But in less than a year the People's Liberation Army had gone over from strategic defense to strategic offensive, and by autumn of 1948 they had begun to take the big cities of the Northeast and then of North China — Changchun, Shenyang, Tsinan and Hsuehchow. Less than two years after I said farewell to Chairman Mao in Yen-an, his troops held Tientsin and Peking.

This was the first proof of the paper-tiger statement that Chairman Mao made in Yen-an.

The war in Korea gave another example. When the United States sent its armed forces into Korea, it was considered the strongest military power in the world by far. The Second World War had devastated the U.S.S.R., but America had emerged with very few losses and with a great gain in wealth and in arms. America had the monopoly of the A-Bomb. She also dominated the United Nations so thoroughly that she brought the U.N. into the Korean war as the official belligerent. And this war was waged not even against a small country but against half of a small country, the northern part of Korea. Beyond Korea lay the newly liberated China, whose government had been less than a year established and had not yet fully liberated all parts of the country.

From the outward appearance of the two forces, it seemed that the U.S.A. had only to fight a small colonial war and overwhelm the North Koreans in a few weeks, and then perhaps drive through the Northeast provinces of China against the U.S.S.R. China at first did not enter the war but tried by repeated warnings to induce the U.S.A. to stop at the boundary between South and North Korea. Only when the American forces were already burning Korean cities on the Chinese border and even dropping bombs into China's own provinces, did the Chinese volunteers enter Korea. The Chinese and North Koreans were very poorly armed compared to America's great mechanized war machine. But they were fighting a just war in defense of their countries. They drove back the American forces, repelled again and again their offensives, and finally forced America to an armistice.

As Chiang Kai-shek's defeat was a turning-point in China's long struggle for a hundred years against imperialism, so the Korean war marked a turning point in America's domination on a world scale. The moment when the U.S.A. brought the United Nations into the Korean war marked the high point in America's world prestige. From that act, it began to decline. The decline of American prestige is now worldwide; it began in the war in Korea which seemed its greatest moment of power.

The most striking example today is that of Cuba. This small island, under the very feet of the American colossus, has for sixty years been ruled by U.S. monopoly capital. Then Fidel Castro defied America by one measure after another. Washington responds by every kind of indirect aggression but does not dare immediately open war. What prevents the Pentagon from immediately sending the U.S. marines, as Washington has been used to do for a century when Latin American nations defied the U.S.A.? What prevents the U.S.A. from dropping an H-Bomb on Havana, when, it is claimed, she has enough H-Bombs to "annihilate mankind"? Is it not fear of the effect this would have on the people of Latin America, and also on the people in the United States?

In money and armament imperialism is mighty. Washington is belted with megatons and can buy up whole governments with dollars. But imperialism has a fatal inner weakness; it cannot operate without at least some people's support. And the people of the world grow daily more conscious that imperialism injures their vital interests. What pulled the British and French out of Suez when they had already invaded Egypt? What pulled the American forces out of Lebanon, when they had been invited by the Lebanese premier who was their tool? Was it not the active moral judgment of the world's people which included also voices from the people of Britain, France and the United States?

What is the strength of the imperialists? Chairman Mao said to me in Yen-an: It lies only in the unconsciousness of the people. The consciousness of the people is the basic question. It is not explosives or oil wells or atom bombs but the man who handles them.

TODAY the anti-imperialist revolution rumbles and erupts around the world because the oppressed people stand up in one country after another and each new nation that stands up is a help to the others. Cuba's resistance helps China and the people of Laos help Cuba because, however powerful may be the Pentagon, it cannot attack all the world's people at once. This is not an easy nor simple struggle. Imperialism has many faces; many nations have gained a political form of independence, yet found themselves economically in chains. If the people then remain passive, deceived by illusion of independence or the hope that some other nation may free them or the fear of the imperialist tiger, they remain in chains. But wherever the people grow conscious of their strength, and their leaders develop a sound strategy based on the interests of the people, they discover that the tiger is paper.

This is the great truth of our present epoch which Chairman Mao's statement on the paper tiger makes clear.

Visitors from the Forefront in the Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

CONTINUING its sojourn in China last week, the Cuban Revolutionary Government Economic Mission headed by Major Ernesto Che Guevara, President of the Cuban National Bank, received a rousing welcome everywhere it went. The Chinese people enthusiastically greeted their Cuban guests as envoys from a heroic land, as comrades-in-arms who stand firm at the forefront in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Peking Mass Rally

On November 21, Peking held a rally of over 10,000 citizens in honour of the Cuban mission. When Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien and Vice-Mayor of Peking Wan Li, accompanying Major Guevara and members of the Cuban mission, mounted the rostrum in the Great Hall of the People, the audience rose and broke into a tumultuous ovation amidst the music of the Cuban "July 26" revolutionary march.

Addressing the rally, Vice-Mayor Wan Li warmly acclaimed the victory of the Cuban revolution. The Chinese people, he said, greatly rejoice at the victory won by the Cuban people under the leadership of Prime Minister Fidel Castro and his comrades-in-arms. The Vice-Mayor pointed out that "U.S. imperialism shows the utmost hatred for the Cuban revolution and is by no means reconciled to its defeat in Cuba." He sharply denounced the Eisenhower administration which has just brazenly sent naval and air force units to the Caribbean Sea. This, he said, is another grave step taken by U.S. imperialism to suppress the revolutionary movements of the people of the world and aggravate international tension, and calls for sharp vigilance on the part of all the world's people.

Wan Li stressed: "The U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and intervention against Cuba has not changed and cannot change just because Kennedy of the Democratic Party is going to succeed Eisenhower of the Republican Party. U.S. imperialism will never lay down its cleaver of its own accord, nor will it show benevolence to the people's revolutionary cause. So long as it survives, it will seek to disrupt that cause." As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, the Vice-Mayor added, "disrupt, fail, again disrupt, again fail, and so on till doom—this is the logic followed by the imperialists and all reactionaries in the world in countering the people's cause, a logic which they will never violate."

The Vice-Mayor expressed firm confidence that aggression and intervention by U.S. imperialism can

never cow the revolutionary Cuban people. "The awakened and united Cuban people," he said, "with the support of the people all over the world who love peace and uphold justice, will surely continue to develop their revolutionary fighting spirit, overcome every difficulty, smash every enemy attack and so achieve their great revolutionary goal."

Wan Li further pointed out that the victory of Cuba has set a brilliant example for the Latin American peoples. He declared: "The victory of the Cuban people's revolution has once again exploded the myth about the strength of U.S. imperialism and proved that U.S. imperialism, seemingly powerful, is essentially merely a paper tiger. Every oppressed nation or people, provided it unites, dares to win victory and is skilful in struggle, will surely become an invincible force and achieve its own liberation."

The Vice-Mayor pledged China's support to the Cuban people: "The Chinese people have always regarded the struggle of the Cuban and other Latin American peoples as our own struggle and their victories as our own victories. We consider the struggles of the Cuban and other Latin American peoples a strong support to the Chinese people, and we in our turn will do our utmost to support the struggles of the Cuban and other Latin American peoples. The 650 million Chinese people will always remain a most reliable friend of the Cuban people and the other peoples of Latin America!"

Major Guevara also spoke at the rally. He received a massive ovation when he took the floor. He said that the gathering "expresses the friendship of the great Chinese nation for the small island of Cuba."

Major Guevara spoke proudly about the significant victory of the Cuban revolution. He said that for the imperialism situated on the opposite coast which plays with the peace, well-being and future of the world, Cuba has become a bad headache. Because Cuba gained continued victories in land reform and other fields, he said, this imperialist wolf soon bared its fangs and unleashed aggression against the Cuban people. In reply to each aggressive act, he said, the Cuban people have taken another step forward and another counter-measure, which has intensified the revolution more and more.

"Now, we have embarked upon a new road along which we will quickly industrialize our country, carry the agrarian reform further, completely wipe out unemployment and illiteracy and institute a planned economy," Major Guevara said. These tasks, he added, were already

approved by the people's rally at Havana, which condemned the exploitation of man by man.

Speaking about future work, this battle-tested Cuban revolutionary declared with full confidence that although the road is arduous, "we are not isolated; we are no longer, as a political fable says, sardines defenceless before the U.S. shark."

Major Guevara referred to the resolute support and assistance extended by the peoples of the various socialist countries to the Cuban revolution, saying that the militant solidarity of the socialist countries has built up a strong wall in the face of imperialism.

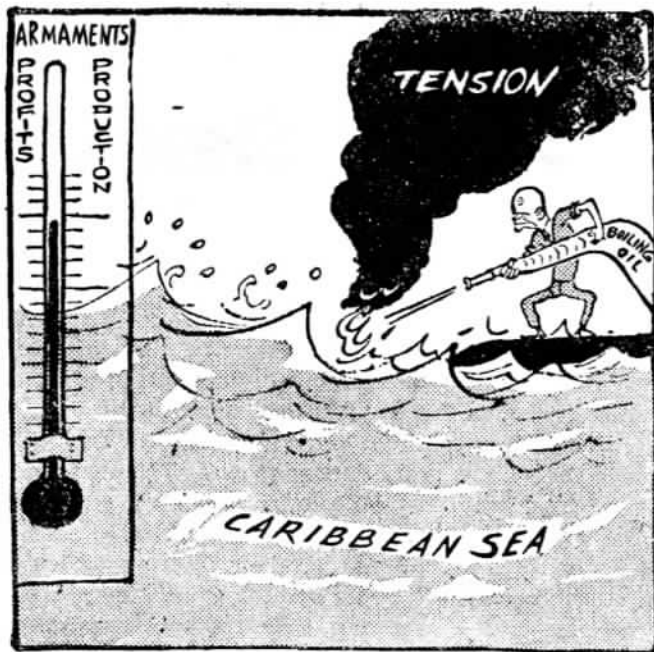
Major Guevara laid special emphasis on the great significance of mobilizing the people to struggle for victory. He said that Cuba has set forth the clear truth before the peoples of the Americas. It displays to all visitors from the Americas its present beautiful reality and the future it dreams of. It has achieved this neither by resorting to the method of the ballot-box, nor by pseudo-democratic parliaments, Major Guevara said. And he went on to declare: "Cuba has won freedom and the right to free development by her people's armed struggle face to face against the enemy clique and defeating it and its imperialist masters who armed it. By smashing the troops which protected the wealth of the puppet dictatorship and replacing them by a people's army, the Cuban people eliminated the state organs of the former hypocritical government and laid in their stead the foundation for new organs which a people's government should have. The army, the workers and peasants, waging concerted struggles, defeated the enemy troops in decisive campaigns and seized the cities from the countryside. Those in the uprising constantly conducted revolutionary propaganda and agitation and, by incessantly attacking the life-lines of the enemy and the enemy troops with guerrillas, created the subjective and objective conditions for the seizure of state power." All this, the Cuban guest said, has incurred imperialism's hatred for Cuba.

Major Guevara noted that Cuba is situated in the backyard of the U.S. colonial system. "At the time of the birth, formation and growth of the Cuban revolution and when imperialism is seeing the final liberation of the peoples of various countries approach and become evident, a qualitative advance has been taking place in America," he said.

Concluding amidst tumultuous applause, Major Guevara warmly hailed the great friendship and solidarity between the Chinese and Cuban peoples. "Because we have a common enemy who hates us and the common aspiration for a more beautiful world," he said, "our friendship will be ever-lasting like the snows of the Himalayas."

China-Latin America Friendship

Earlier, on November 20, the China-Latin America Friendship Association gave a reception welcoming the Cuban mission. Speaking on that occasion, Major Guevara said that since the host was the China-Latin America



Eisenhower's Emergency Measure

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

Friendship Association, he would like to speak not as a representative of Cuba, but as one of the Latin Americans who are fighting for their liberty.

The Latin American peoples, Major Guevara said, had been temporarily separated from each other by imperialism, but now they are uniting. The history of the great Chinese revolution, he pointed out, the history of China's struggles and successes serve as experience for the peoples of Latin America and also as a contact point for all of them.

Major Guevara said: "Here as in Latin America, feudalism reigned for hundreds of years and later colonialism came and our people lived under the heel of those who oppressed the Chinese people. From this the roads to liberation in some way have similarities."

Apart from their past historical experience, the Cuban guest continued, the Chinese people provide us with their current experience. In China today there is this great reality—the most populous country in the world, 650 million people, are working with incomparable enthusiasm and overcoming the difficulties which face them for the rapid construction of a better world. We have also many things to learn from the achievements of the people's communes and all the other social institutions adopted by China, Major Guevara said. It may be that some of these methods or something similar will be adopted by the Americas in pursuing the road of liberation when the first step has been taken—that is, the seizure of power by the workers and peasants, he added.

The Cuban mission arrived in Peking on November 17. It left the capital on November 22 to tour other parts of the country. As we go to press, the mission is continuing its visit—a visit which is forging new links in the militant friendship between the Chinese and Cuban peoples.

Silingol Steppe Grows Its Own Grain

by LI FANG

A GREAT change has come over the Silingol League of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Its nomad herdsmen have taken up agriculture in a big way. Where for centuries only nomads with their herds roamed the steppe, grain is now grown. This mass movement to grow grain in the pastoral areas grew out of their realization of the key importance of agriculture as the foundation of the national economy. Now agriculture and stockbreeding are being simultaneously developed in Silingol League. This spring, large tracts of virgin steppe were ploughed up and planted with farm crops to provide food for men and feed for their livestock. This year's autumn harvests of grain and fodder crops have been good. They are enough to feed the entire population of the pastoral areas and their livestock, with a surplus to give an extra aid to national construction.

Significant Change

This change is all the more significant because Silingol League is Inner Mongolia's biggest pastoral area. It has 6.1 million head of livestock, big and small. In the past ten years, it has sent out over four million head of livestock to other parts of the country as meat and as draught animals. Yet up to 1956, over 80 per cent of its area was purely pastoral. Food grains for its more than 100,000 inhabitants and fodder for its several million head of livestock had to be brought in from other areas of the country hundreds of kilometres away.

This left the Silingol herdsmen at the mercy of the weather, and the weather on the steppe can often be merciless. In the past, whole flocks have been wiped out by natural calamities. As late as the spring of 1954, an untimely snowstorm buried the pastures on the Udiumtsen Grassland under two feet of snow. Snow-bound roads held up relief supplies. Over 100,000 livestock would have perished if the Central People's Government hadn't sent planes to air-drop feed for the snowed-in animals. This experience brought home to the herdsmen the need to have their own grain and fodder base if they wanted to achieve a steady, all-round and speedy development of stockbreeding. However, a switch from a pastoral economy to the simultaneous development of agriculture and stockbreeding was no easy matter. Manpower had to be diverted from tending the herds to farming, and individual methods of herding did not leave nearly enough people to attend to both herding and tilling the land. Things improved after the herdsmen formed mutual-aid teams and co-operatives. But even in a herdsmen's co-operative with dozens of households it still needed one man to look after 100 animals. The herdsmen kept alive the idea of going in for large-scale

crop farming on the steppe but were still doubtful whether or when they could do it.

In 1956 the Silingol League Party committee, implementing the Party's policy on integration of agriculture and stockbreeding, called on a part of the mutual-aid teams and co-operatives and the state ranches of the pastoral areas to start crop farming on an experimental basis. In 1958, inspired by the Party's general line for building socialism and showing the same revolutionary enthusiasm and energy as the rest of the nation the Silingol steppe also set up people's communes. The herdsmen devoted greater attention to agriculture, put more land under crops and reaped pretty good harvests. By 1960, Silingol League has got four years' experience of experimental farming on the steppe. This shows that the grassland is quite suitable for the development of agriculture and that wheat, millet, rape, sugar beet and other crops can be successfully raised.

The Party's guiding idea that agriculture is the foundation of the national economy and its call to go in for agriculture in a big way exactly accorded with the long-cherished desire of the herdsmen. By the spring of this year, Silingol League was all set to make its all-out effort to develop agriculture. The league's Party committee summed up experience already gained in raising crops in the pastoral areas. The call went out to herdsmen, peasants, workers in enterprises and offices, armymen and townfolk in general to open up big areas to cultivation. Nine new state farms were established in the league. The people's communes in the pastoral areas also set aside land for their own farming. The agricultural departments of Silingol League and its constituent banners sent 2,600 herdsmen and 360 Party branch secretaries on short training courses to acquire a basic knowledge on farming techniques and methods of practical leadership in this field. More than 30,000 herdsmen were mobilized in the movement. They were reinforced by Han farmers from other parts of the country. Traction power was naturally no problem. More than ten thousand draught animals were used for the spring ploughing.

The Big Push for Grain

Collective effort and a soaring enthusiasm overcame the many difficulties encountered in this joint effort of herdsmen and farmers. To ensure timely sowing, more than 2,000 young herdsmen, each with two horses, rode day and night to bring 400,000 *jin* of seeds from the agricultural areas 150 kilometres away. Ploughshares were made from the iron the herdsmen and peasants themselves smelted. When rope ran short it was made from wild plants. Timber was hewn and hauled down from the mountains for making farming tools. Herdsmen

sent their favourite steeds to help the ploughing. Towns, factories and offices gave more help in the way of men, farm machines and tools, trucks, carts and camel trains. Transport departments helped to rush seeds to the farms. Medical workers came and set up clinics where the peasants worked. From spring through scorching summer and into autumn, the effort was kept up. This year, 1,630,000 *mu* of land was planted with grain, fodder, oil-bearing and other industrial crops. With the autumn harvest in, enough grain has been garnered to feed the population of the pastoral areas for a year; there is enough fodder to feed their livestock too. A large amount of straw and succulent stalks make enough additional feed to tide the animals over even the worst of winter.

Herdsmen on the threshing floor picked up handfuls of fat, rich grain and let it run through their fingers delightedly. Older herdsmen particularly rejoiced at this grain grown with their own hands. Before liberation, the herdsmen had rarely enjoyed having enough grain to keep the family going through the year. What little they had was earned at the cost of month-long journeys carrying goods for the nobles and the rich. Now their long-cherished desire to grow their own grain had come true. And it had been done on land which had been said to be utterly unsuited to raising grain.

Villages on the Steppe

When the Silingol herdsmen were nomads, the only buildings on the steppe were those of the nobles or the temples of the lamas. Now, over a hundred new permanent settlements have appeared in the pastoral areas on the steppe. These are groups of new houses, with clusters of felt yurts (tents) about them. Spread around are the fields newly opened up to crops, market gardens, stables, sties, pens for the animals and beyond, the pastures.

The grain and fodder base of Khudilt Brigade of the Bayanbulag People's Commune in the Udiumtsen Banner is a typical example of these settlements. It has several dozen houses and a score or so yurts. Some fifty families of Mongolian and Han commune members are engaged in farming here. They gathered in a spring wheat harvest grown on more than 2,000 *mu* which they opened up to crops this year. They also planted another 12,000 *mu* with wheat, millet, rape, potatoes, carrots and other crops. The brigade has also branched out into other activities as well. It has teams for smelting iron and doing woodwork. Its general store provides commune members with goods and articles in daily use. Community dining-rooms have also been set up. Sanitation and the health of the community are looked after by a doctor permanently stationed here. Increasing prosperity has brought the brigade more and better welfare service—impossible to imagine in the days of nomadic herding.



New Settlement in the Grasslands

Sketch by Yeh Chien-yu

The leader of the brigade is 53-year-old Erden-Tokhtokh, affectionately known as the "founding father" of the settlement. He comes of a slave family. A herdsman born and bred, yet he was one of the first to respond to the Party's call to try growing crops. In 1957, he came to settle here and together with six other families of poor herdsmen organized a mutual-aid team. A year later, this was already a co-operative and he led the co-operative members in building three houses and putting 200 *mu* of land under crops. In late 1958, people's communes were formed on the steppe. His brigade's effort to try growing crops won the support of the banner Party committee. By the autumn of 1959 the brigade had 2,000 *mu* under crops. This produced more than 300,000 *jin* of grain and vegetables. Those who had scoffed at Erden-Tokhtokh's early efforts saw that they had plenty to learn from him. His example inspired other brigades to follow his lead. This year his brigade, with its one thousand members, did better than ever. It produced enough grain and vegetables for all its members for a year's supply and enough fodder for its 50,000 head of livestock.

The success achieved by the people's communes on the steppe in developing both agriculture and animal husbandry has also brought about still greater unity and co-operation between the Mongolians and Hans of the area.

When the Han peasants first arrived, the Mongolian herdsmen billeted them in their yurts and made them warmly welcome. Peng Fu-teh, a Han peasant from Ningcheng County, with his knowledge of farming techniques, quickly won the admiration of the herdsmen. His eagerness to pass on what he knows was matched by the eagerness of the herdsmen to learn from him. They have quickly mastered the skills needed to work the soil and make farm tools. He and the other Han farmers on their part too have learnt much quickly from the Mongolian herdsmen whose skill with animals left them gaping in admiration when they first arrived. They have fallen in love with the life of the steppe and its broad prospects.

The co-operation and mutual help between the Mongolian and Han peoples have made possible a flying start with agriculture here on the steppes. With the advance of their people's communes in which they work together with comradely concern for each other, the co-operation and unity between them will be further strengthened. They work in brotherly unity to build a happy and prosperous new life in the steppe-lands.

LITERATURE

"*Riding on the Wind*"

*Riding on the Wind** is the third novel written by Tsao Ming following her *Motive Force* and *Locomotive*. All three deal with the life of workers. Together with Ai Wu's *Steeled and Tempered* and Lo Tan's *Dawn in Wind and Rain*, *Riding on the Wind* is generally conceded to be one of the outstanding recent novels describing life on China's all-important steel front.

In this swift-moving record of events which take place in a steel mill during the course of the rectification campaign in 1957 and the big leap forward of 1958, Tsao Ming takes her readers into the midst of life in a big modern iron and steel works, at a time of complex social conflicts and struggles.

The novel is distinguished first of all by the characterization of the young worker Li Shao-hsiang and the veteran worker Liu Chin-chun. These are heroes of a new type seldom found in past literary works. Shao-hsiang comes from a fishing village in the seaboard province of Shantung. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he had the horrifying experience of seeing his father, the village's Communist Party secretary, being tossed to a pack of bloodthirsty wolfhounds by the Japanese invaders. The timely arrival of the People's Liberation Army saves the life of the old man, but this lesson in imperialist atrocity transforms the 15-year-old Shao-hsiang from a playful lad into a serious, steadfast and courageous young man anxious to do his bit in fighting the enemy. He gains a brilliant record as a local militiaman and is commended by his Youth League organization as an outstanding member. When we first meet him in the novel, he is already 25, working in the big steel mill as foreman in charge of the "Young Communist" open hearth furnace. The very beginning of the story shows him entangled in a misunderstanding with the girl friend of his boyhood. How he gets out of it only emerges at the end of the book. In these matters Shao-hsiang is so inexperienced and shy that his friends get worried for him.

*Published by the Writers' Publishing House, Peking, October 1959.

But before the furnace, he is a different man. When he passes by the neighbouring open hearth furnace and finds that molten metal has seeped into the tap hole and solidified there just before the tapping, he swings into action immediately and courageously and skilfully removes the blockage. In a sudden dangerous summer flood, and again in an accident due to faulty banking of the furnace, he is the first to go to the rescue. Molten steel splashes over the furnace, the flames run wild, and Shao-hsiang is burnt and faints. When he comes to in the hospital, his first question is: "Is the furnace all right?" His example has inspired all the workers in the mill; it has also helped to change the backward attitude of his assistant whom he has worked hard to influence, but who is responsible for the faulty banking. In Shao-hsiang, energetic, tough, infinitely loyal to the cause of the people, modest and with a fine collective spirit, we see the image of tens of thousands of China's model workers, pace-setters in our socialist construction.

Veteran worker Liu Chin-chun has a very different background. Thirty years ago, he himself helped to put up the plant's main building. Working here during the long years of Japanese occupation, he knew how the enemy waxed fat on the blood and sweat of the Chinese workers who were treated worse than cattle. Liberation brought the workers into a new world. Liu

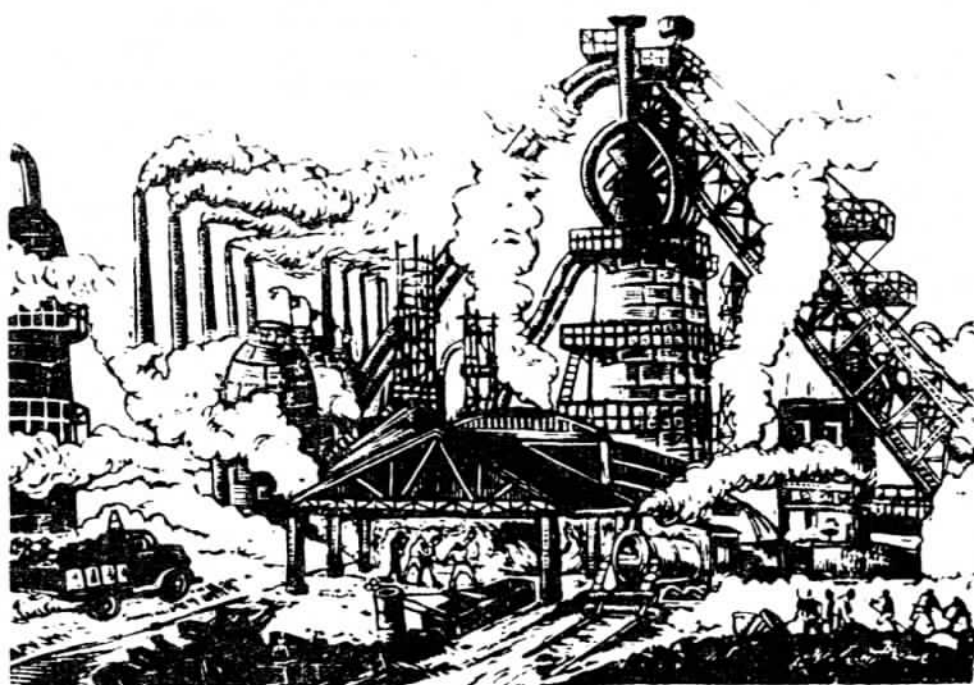
puts heart and soul into the work of the mill. He is soon promoted to be a member of the steel mill's Communist Party committee, and later a vice-director.

Tsao Ming gives an excellent indication of his mental make-up in her description of his conflict with Sung Tzu-feng, the capable yet conservative director of the mill whom, in his own words, he "loves with half his heart, but disapproves of with the other half."

With a sharp nose for new things, Liu Chin-chun gives his immediate support to Shao-hsiang and his innovations.

The characterization of the mill's director, his wife, and Chen Chia-chun, the general manager of the company, is also notably successful. Sung, the director, is capable. When he first came to the mill in 1956, it was lagging behind its plan but he quickly managed to increase its annual production by 180,000 tons. This was not a small leap forward at the time but then, much pleased with himself, he falls into complacent, routine ways of thinking.

The reason why Liu Chin-chun disapproves of him "with half his heart" is, as Liu himself puts it, because "he believes only in himself and would listen to no one else. . . . He has a very fixed way of thinking . . . dares not offend what's written in books, the rules and reg-



Steel Plant

Woodcut by Wu Hui-kang, a worker

ulations, and above all, his slide rule. . . ." Liu looks at his slide rule with resentment and even shouts at him: "130,000 tons of steel are being lost on account of you!" when Sung tries to prove with his slide rule that the target proposed for the mill is not realistic. His slide rule actually has become the symbol of his seeing things only and not men, and his distrust of the masses. He ignores the rationalization proposals put forward by the workers and refuses to support their new experiments. Even when Shao-hsiang succeeds with the experiment which he has carried on to completion by himself, Sung still withholds his support. His way of working is essentially a bourgeois way of running industry. He is heading towards a dangerous impasse until saved by the Party's rectification campaign in which his bourgeois outlook is shaken by criticism from the workers.

Chen, the new general manager, offers a striking contrast to Sung. Chen knows and acts in the belief that men are the active factor in production. The moment he comes to his new post, he gets to know the workers and staff. He visits Shao-hsiang at his home and gets so absorbed in what Liu Chin-chun has to tell him that he sends somebody else to meet his wife at the railway station! He soon learns all the ropes in this big modern plant and gets going with energy and drive in his complicated new job.

In revealing the inner emotions and feelings of her characters, Tsao Ming leads us to an understanding of their essential differences. When Sung makes the rounds of his mill, he delights in his own importance and laps up expressions of respect and admiration. Chen, the general manager, has the feeling that he is a "small tree," but wants eagerly to grow into a big tree deep-rooted and wants others to do so quickly too so that they can form a forest windbreak against the whirlwinds that "blow from the wrong direction."

Sung's wife is an appealing character. Like her husband, this director of the propaganda department of the city's Party committee, is a veteran Party member. She is not blind to her husband's political mistakes and her husband's affair with a woman engineer puts her in a very delicate position. She loves her husband; she doesn't want to drive him away from

her, yet all the time she holds firm to principle. Her insistence on principle and her patience turns out to be a great help to Sung. He finally learns to love his comrade-wife even more than when they first married.

An outstanding merit of this novel, as reviewers have pointed out, is that its author has convincingly linked the specific conflicts and contradictions she describes with the broad scene of the contemporary class struggle. So it is the spirit of the times that is reflected in the novel. She had originally intended to write about the great enthusiasm of the workers in 1956 and their struggle against right conservatism. Then there came the anti-rightist struggle in 1957, and she felt it necessary to revise her plan to cover the theme of the struggle in industrial construction between the line of the Party and the bourgeois line. Soon the big leap forward was sweeping the country, and she revised her plan once again to incorporate into the novel the rectification campaign and the big leap forward.

This novel is the fruit of years of living and working at the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, the big steel centre in China's northeast. Here she worked as deputy secretary of the Party committee of the company's steel mill. She was close friends with just the sort of men and women who people her novel. Her home was open house to guests of all kinds: Party workers, trade union officials, ordinary workers, their wives and children. She became intimately acquainted with the complex production problems of the plant and was equally well-informed about the political campaigns that stirred it. In this she has stuck to the path which she began in her Yen-an days, that is, to go to the very source of artistic creation—life itself. And this accounts for the fact that in each of her novels we see her grow as an artist—broadening and deepening her knowledge of life and of art.

SHORT NOTES

Swedish Ballet in Peking. The 51-member Swedish Royal Opera Ballet, the first group of Swedish artists to come to New China, has had a most successful series of performances in Peking. There is a great interest in ballet in China and when dance-lovers heard that this "flower of art from Northern Europe" (as the *Renmin*

Ribao called it in its review) was to perform, there was a rush for tickets. All four performances in the capital were sold out within two hours after tickets went on sale.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi were among the audience at the third performance which presented, among others, excerpts from *The Sleeping Beauty* and *Don Quixote*, as well as *Les Syphides*, the Swedish ballet *The Swedish Rhapsody* and Bizet's *Symphony in C Major* with Balanchine's choreography. At the end of the performance, Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen went up on stage to congratulate the performers while the audience gave them a standing ovation.

The programme of the first performance featured *Swan Lake*, Act II, with ballerina Marianne Orlando-Jonsson as Odette and Teddy Rhodin as the Prince. The ballet was accompanied by the orchestra of the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio in Peking. The Swedish dancers also performed the Swedish ballet *The Prodigal Son* with costumes and decor in Swedish folk style and the *C Major Symphony* which was performed with great precision and sparkle.

The Swedish Ballet is touring China at the invitation of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. In addition to Peking and Hangchow, the one-month tour includes three other cities, Shanghai, Nanking and Tientsin.

Generals' Chorus Recorded. At the music and drama festival of the People's Liberation Army held in Peking last year, the songs presented by the Generals' Spare-Time Chorus became an immediate hit not only with the thousands who were in the hall to hear them, but also with the millions who tuned in to hear the programme on the radio. Rebroadcasts of this chorus formed of 230 veteran generals have confirmed their popularity.

Now to meet the demand of listeners, the China Phonograph Records Studio has produced a long-playing disc of five of the favourite songs sung by the generals' chorus. They are: *Advance Under the Banner of Mao Tse-tung*, *The Red Army's Song of Discipline*, *I'm Just a Soldier*, *On Taihang Mountain*, and *We'll Plant the Victory Flag on Taiwan*.

Dark Clouds Over the Congo Will Be Dispersed

Renmin Ribao in an editorial on November 25 comments on the situation in the Congo. At present, it says, dark clouds are hanging over that country. It is now more than four months since "U.N. troops," manipulated by the United States, entered the Congo under the pretext of giving "aid." Right up to now, the aggressive Belgian troops have not been completely withdrawn from the Congo, and with growing brazenness the Belgian colonial forces are staging a come-back. At the same time, the sacred sovereignty of the Congo state has been wantonly encroached upon and trampled underfoot by the "U.N. troops" which have gone so far as to carry out bloody repressions against the patriotic and just struggles of the Congolese people. Meanwhile, the *Renmin Ribao* editorial continues, the imperialist countries headed by the United States have gathered to themselves the dregs of the Congolese people and instigated a series of activities which betray and split that country and which, paralysing the legal Lumumba government, have created a state of confusion that enables the imperialist countries to divide and rule.

The situation in the Congo reflects in concentrated form the complex and intricate contradictions now existing in Africa. The peoples of the African countries striving for national liberation, the editorial says, are being given an increasingly profound lesson by the criminal activities of imperialism in the Congo.

The overall situation in the national independence movement throughout Africa is excellent, the editorial continues. Chief indications of this are that the level of the peoples' consciousness has been greatly raised, and more and more people are being awakened. The national independence movement continues to rage with tempestuous force; it cannot be held back and is surging onward. Immediately after the Congo declared its independence, the Congolese people launched a struggle to liquidate the colonial forces in their country and

to gain genuine and complete independence. This precisely reflects the general tendency of the intensified growth of the national independence movement in Africa.

As that movement rolls forward in the African countries, the imperialist colonial forces will launch even more frantic counter-attacks and desperate struggles. The fight of the peoples of the various African countries against imperialism and colonialism will become increasingly acute and tense, the *Renmin Ribao* editorial states. The issue in the Congo today shows in bold relief that the struggle between the African colonial peoples and imperialism and colonialism is one of life and death. The aggressive nature of imperialism will never change; battenning on the sweat and blood of the colonial peoples, imperialism will never become kind-hearted and tamely disgorge the meat in its maw. The national liberation struggles of the peoples of the Congo and other African countries, will, therefore, inevitably be protracted, tortuous and arduous, says the editorial.

The realities in the Congo have once again thoroughly exposed to the African peoples the true features of the neo-colonialists — the U.S. imperialists. The U.S. Government, in seizing economic control of the Congo, has adopted a series of crafty neo-colonialist measures, exporting capital under the pretext of "developing" and "aiding" that country. And with the "United Nations" as a screen, it is seeking to control the Congo militarily and politically. Recently, both President Eisenhower, who will soon step down, and president-elect Kennedy have been blustering about the U.S. policy of colonial expansion in Africa. This, says the *Renmin Ribao* editorial, cannot but arouse the keen vigilance of the African peoples.

However, the editorial says, precisely because the truculent features of U.S. imperialism, in pushing through its neo-colonialism in the Congo under cover of the United Nations, have been thoroughly exposed before the world, the "United Nations"

cloak with which it has disguised itself is steadily losing its usefulness and can no longer hoodwink the African peoples.

The sufferings and misery endured by the Congolese people at the present time also clearly indicate to the African peoples the true path of national liberation, the editorial points out. Should they rely on the magnanimity and alms of imperialism, on "aid" from the United Nations controlled by U.S. imperialism, or should they firmly rely on the struggle waged by the people themselves?

When they were under the brutal rule of the Belgian colonialists, the Congolese people did not harbour unrealistic illusions about them, *Renmin Ribao* says. With the sympathy and support of the peoples all over the world, the Congolese people, relying wholly on their own heroic and indomitable struggle, won an initial victory in the national liberation and left the Belgian colonialists no alternative but to recognize the independence of the Congo. When the Belgian colonialists launched armed aggression against the Congo, its patriotic army and people immediately plunged into an armed struggle against aggression, demonstrating their mighty strength in standing together to defend their motherland. However, owing to intervention by the United Nations, their struggle has suffered temporary setbacks and has become more complicated.

Some naive people, the editorial points out, originally were inclined to



Where It Really Hurts

By Yeh Hsueh-chien

believe that the United Nations could help the Congolese people put a halt to Belgian colonialist aggression and quench the flames of war started by the Belgian aggressors in the Congo, and so enable the Congolese people to end the bloodshed and gain complete independence. But, they did not realize that the United States has always used the United Nations as its instrument for aggression and that inviting in the United Nations means letting in U.S. imperialism. Such is the result of United Nations' "assistance" and its "guarantee" for the independence of the Congo, *Renmin Ribao* says.

Could anything explain this more profoundly than the example of the Congo? In the past, at present and in the future, for their liberation, all the oppressed nations must rely on their own struggles, rely on the strength in the hands of the people themselves to seize victory step by step in the national revolution. There is no easy way other than this, the editorial says.

The strength of all oppressed nations, in the course of their struggle for liberation, invariably grows from small to big and from weak to strong. This is a process of struggle and development, the editorial continues. To overthrow the colonialists lording it over them, all oppressed nations must rely on constantly strengthening their own national unity. Unity is strength; unity means victory. That is why the imperialists are most fearful of this unity and do everything possible to undermine it. At the present time, the imperialists headed by the United States are not only deliberately splitting the Congolese nation, venomously using Congolese to fight Congolese, but also viciously fomenting conflict between the Congolese people and the peoples of other African countries in an attempt to undermine the unity of the African peoples. These scheming activities of U.S. imperialism enable the Congolese people and the peoples of other African countries to understand more and more clearly the important significance of unity. So long as all patriotic Congolese, men and women, young and old and irrespective of which tribe or party they belong to, close their ranks and wage a joint struggle they will form an invincible force. So long as the peoples of all the African countries unite and support each other in their struggle against the colonial system, they will leave no loophole for im-

THE PASSING SHOW

Keeping It In the Family

Many a toppling dictator has longed for a whole army of relatives. Ngo Dinh Diem in south Viet Nam is making do the best he can with what he's got.

Having purged thirty-five ministers in the last few years and more than three hundred high ranking officials and commanders since June this year and with another purge going on at the moment, there is no lack of government jobs for the family.

He himself is "President," "Defence Minister" and "Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces." His brother Ngo Dinh Nhu is in charge of all political affairs while another brother, Ngo Dinh Canh controls the "personnel" and information departments. Another brother is in charge of international trade and a fourth, Ngo Dinh Thuc, looks after religious affairs. Tran Le Xuan, a sister-in-law, looks after industry and commerce.

perialism to take advantage of, keep imperialism occupied everywhere and so expedite the victory of the cause of national liberation in the various countries, *Renmin Ribao* declares.

The heroic Congolese people have not bowed their heads in face of the gang of imperialist robbers headed by the United States, *Renmin Ribao* points out. They have cleared their eyes and sharpened the weapons in their hands too, mustered their ranks again and started to wage new battles. In Leopoldville, in Eastern Province and especially in Katanga Province which is tightly controlled by the imperialist forces, the Congolese people have been waging organized, patriotic armed struggles. On November 23, the Congolese troops in Matadi and Kissi in the Lower Congo Province, disarmed the "U.N. troops," 150,000 people in Leopoldville took part in a big demonstration against the killing of Congolese armymen by the "U.N. force" and the demonstrators shouted the slogan "United Nations get out of the Congo!" A few days ago, the people of Leopoldville severely punished a U.S. officer who killed a Congolese with his recklessly driven car. The Congolese people have awakened and gradually come to recognize who is their true enemy. These heroic and arduous struggles that are now being waged by the Congolese people are the greatest hope of the Congolese nation, the editorial says.

In the light of their own experience in waging struggles, *Renmin Ribao* continues, the Chinese people know profoundly that imperialism and all

reactionaries are paper tigers and all of them must be and absolutely can be overthrown by the people's forces. During the past century, the Chinese nation went through difficulty after difficulty; it experienced a national crisis in which one imperialist country launched an all-out armed aggression against our country; it also experienced a national crisis when a gang of imperialist robbers jointly attacked China and attempted to divide up our country; particularly it experienced for the last time the difficult days when U.S. imperialism and its agents, in order to turn China into a U.S. colony, threw the Chinese people into a sea of blood in the civil war. The liberated Chinese people, therefore, can fully understand the present situation of the Congolese people. On the basis of their own experience, the Chinese people are deeply aware that temporary complications and short-term difficulties will inevitably arise on the road of national liberation. But the general tendency in the development of world history can only become better and cannot become worse. Justice and progress stand on the side of the Congolese people who are winning and safeguarding independence. With the sympathy and support of the peoples of the countries in the socialist camp and of all progressive mankind in the world, the Congolese people will ultimately come to the end of their tortuous road of struggle and attain victory. Concluding, the *Renmin Ribao* editorial declares: The dark clouds over the Congo are short-lived. The darkness will certainly end; the dawn lies right ahead!

Albanian Progress: Ambassador's Press Conference

At a press conference given on November 23, in Peking in connection with the forthcoming 16th anniversary of the liberation of Albania and the 4th Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, Albania's Ambassador to China Mihal Prifti described the great successes in socialist construction achieved by the Albanian people under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour, and the draft directives on the Third Five-Year Plan (1961-65) to develop national economy and culture.

The Ambassador said that the Albanian Party of Labour, headed by Comrade E. Hoxha, has always and will always hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism till the complete victory of socialism and communism.

Following a review of achievements since the 3rd Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, Ambassador Prifti said that Albania had successfully fulfilled its First and Second Five-Year Plans ahead of schedule. Total industrial output in 1960 will show an increase of 113 per cent compared to 1955. The agricultural productive co-operatives today till 85 per cent of Albania's cultivated land.

The Third Five-Year Plan, the Ambassador said, will rapidly advance Albania's economy and culture and transform it from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one.

The Ambassador stressed that the Albanian people are entering a new stage of development of their economy and culture. They will resolutely fulfil the tasks set by the Albanian Party of Labour, will heighten their revolutionary vigilance and oppose imperialism, in the first place U.S. imperialism and its servant Yugoslav modern revisionism.

Paying tribute to the assistance and support given by the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, the Ambassador said that the Albanian people can see in every step they take the profound friendship of the fraternal Chinese people. This friendship,

based on the highest level of observance of Marxist-Leninist principles, is continuing to develop, he declared.

In conclusion, he warmly praised the Chinese people, who are marching forward victoriously under the correct and brilliant leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, holding aloft the three red banners of the Party's general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune.

Fraternal Socialist Co-operation

The Fifth Session of the Fisheries Research Commission for the Western Pacific opened on November 21 in Peking. Member countries of the commission are China, the Soviet Union, Korea, Viet Nam and Mongolia. The major items on the agenda include discussion of a report on the results of an investigation of fisheries in the Viet Nam area, and discussion and approval of proposals for co-operation among member countries in 1960-61 and the plans of various work teams of the commission.

At the opening ceremony, Vice-Premier Hsi Chung-hsun greeted the meeting on behalf of the Chinese Government and people. He said that the work of the commission exemplifies the spirit of fraternal mutual co-operation among the socialist countries. Based on proletarian internationalism, this mutual co-operation inspired by complete equality and mutual benefit is of great importance to the economic development of the socialist countries and the promotion of their solidarity. The Chinese Government and people who have always highly valued this relationship of mutual co-operation will do their utmost to continue to strengthen and develop it, the Vice-Premier declared.

Foreign Guests' Impressions Of China

Asia

The head of the Japanese Modern Drama Company Tomoyoshi Muraya-

ma said in a press interview in Canton that what impressed him most during the company's tour of China was the correct, creative application of Marxism-Leninism by the Chinese Communist Party and Government to concrete conditions in building China. This is most strikingly illustrated, he said, in the three red banners of the general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes. Contrary to the slanders of imperialism to the effect that the Chinese people are being subjected to forced labour, the Chinese people are enthusiastically building socialism. He said that he and his colleagues were amazed at the unprecedented speed of China's big leap forward.

Deputy head of the company Haruko Sugimura remarked that in order to build socialism, the Chinese people need a peaceful environment. China's transformation into a powerful socialist country spells happiness for the people of Asia and the rest of the world, she declared.

* * *

Member of the Presidium of the Burma National United Front and President of the People's Comrades Party Bo Po Kun said in Rangoon that it is only natural that China, striving so energetically in various fields of socialist construction, should desire world peace. It desires peace so that the work carried on will be successful and progress on a firm and stable basis.

It is also natural that a country desiring peace should want to live amicably with every country in the world, said Bo Po Kun. The People's Republic of China has already successfully concluded a treaty of friendship and a boundary treaty with the Union of Burma and, he added, is continuing its efforts to successfully solve boundary questions with other neighbouring countries.

Interviewed by a Hsinhua correspondent Bo Po Kun hailed the enthusiasm shown and achievements scored in socialist construction by the Chinese people. He said that he was an eyewitness of the great leap forward in China's socialist construction, and that the people's communes, based on the strength of the masses,

are continuously progressing from victory to victory.

Africa

"What impressed me most was the self-confidence of the Chinese people and their faith in the future," said Madame Aradia Haddad, President of the Tunisian National Union of Women and member of the Tunisian Neo Destour Party Delegation which recently visited China. She was speaking to the women members of the Chinese Delegation to the 8th Tunis International Fair. She said she knew that in the past China experienced the same disasters as Tunisia. The Chinese people had suffered and millions had died of starvation. But, she said, today, a fundamental change has taken place in China. Unemployment has been eliminated, everyone works, lives well and is healthy. That she has seen with her own eyes.

Of the people's communes, Madame Haddad commented that from her observations in China she concluded that they are a good form of organization. "Some say that the people's communes break up the family. This is not true. What I have seen in China indicates that not only are families not

broken up, but they live well. People work during the day and in the evenings the family gets together again. In old China poverty drove the father to sell his children or even his wife and the family was truly smashed," she said.

Latin America

Villalpando Abelardo, head of the visiting Bolivian Cultural Delegation to China and President of Thomas Frias University, said in an interview given to a Hsinhua correspondent that the People's Republic of China has radically changed the face of old China and achieved an amazing leap forward. China's terrific speed in building socialism has far outstripped the capitalist countries which are in a state of corruption and decay. Sharply refuting the imperialist slander that China uses forced labour, he called it an unmitigated lie. The soaring enthusiasm of the working people would be impossible on the basis of forced labour. The reason why the Chinese people are able to work with such wholehearted zeal and carry on a movement for technical innovations and technical revolution, said Abelardo, is because China has eliminated exploitation and the work-

ing people have become the creators of their own happiness. Try as they may, the capitalist countries can never arouse such enthusiasm among the workers.

BRIEFS

A branch of the Nepal-China Friendship Association has been established in Patan, Nepal. The chairman of the new branch spoke at the founding ceremony that its establishment will help more of the Nepalese people understand that the peoples of Nepal and China are good and true friends. The Chinese Ambassador Chang Shih-chieh declared on that occasion that the Himalayas towering between the two countries had not blocked friendly contacts between the two peoples, but had rather become a grand symbol of their friendship.

Chinese Ambassador to Nepal Chang Shih-chieh on behalf of Premier Chou En-lai has presented Nepalese Prime Minister Koirala with a number of specimens of famous Chinese animals. They include a south China leopard, spotted deer, red crested cranes, mandarin ducks, giant salamanders, Yangtze river alligators and gold fish.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

— Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc. —

Programmes are subject to change. Where times are not listed consult theatre or daily press.

PEKING OPERA

▲ **THE MAGIC LOTUS LANTERN** Based on an ancient Chinese fairy tale. The nymph of Mt. Huashan falls in love with a scholar. Infuriated by her attachment to a mortal, her intolerant brother imprisons her. Fifteen years later her child, who has grown up to be a brave warrior, defeats his uncle in combat and sets his mother free. Produced by the Peking Opera Company of Peking.

Nov. 29, 7:00 p.m. Guang He Theatre

▲ **BEAUTY DEFIES TYRANNY** A traditional opera. The daughter of a venal prime minister of the Chin Dynasty pretends to be insane to avoid marriage to an emperor whom she does not love. Produced by the Peking Opera Company of Peking.

Nov. 30, 7:00 p.m. Guang He Theatre

MODERN OPERA

▲ **STORM ON THE YANGTSE** An opera with libretto by Tien Han and music by Nieh Erh, produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the death of Nieh Erh as well as the 15th anniversary of the death of Hsien Hsing-hai. Its theme

is the heroic struggle of the Shanghai stevedores against the Japanese invaders in 1932.

Dec. 4 & 5, 7:15 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

SONG AND DANCE RECITAL

Songs, solos and choruses, folk dances and music played on folk instruments. Performed by the Central Song and Dance Troupe.

Dec. 4, 10:00 a.m. Wu Dao Kou Club

THEATRE

▲ **PEOPLE OF THE NORTHERN WASTELAND** A play produced by the China Youth Art Theatre. It is about the heroic exploits of the demobilized People's Liberation Army men pioneering new lands.

Nov. 29-Dec. 4, 7:15 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

FILMS

▲ **SHACHIATIE GRANARY** How the people of northern Shensi protected the Shachiatie Granary from falling into the hands of the Kuomintang troops during the counter-revolutionary attack in 1947. A Northeast Film Studio production.

Nov. 29 & 30, Shoudu Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema

▲ **THE SUN RISES OVER THE HILL** Changchun Film Studio production. A feature film about the changes in outlook of the inhabitants of a village since the big leap forward and their confidence in the future.

Nov. 29 & 30, Shoudu Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema

▲ **ON THE WILD BANKS OF THE IRTYSH** A Soviet feature film portraying the indomitable spirit of the Soviet people in communist construction. Dubbed in Chinese.

Nov. 29 & 30, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong

▲ **WARRANT OFFICER PANIN** A Soviet feature film dubbed in Chinese. How a Bolshevik in the Russian navy in 1912 helped 13 comrades escape from a tsarist prison.

Nov. 29 & 30, Guang An Men, Zhongyang, Peking Workers' Club

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **PHOTO EXHIBITION OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC** showing the industrial, agricultural and cultural achievements of Albania. Open daily, (except Mon.) 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till Dec. 14.

At Working People's Cultural Palace

▲ **DISPLAY OF CALLIGRAPHY FROM SUNG AND CHING DYNASTIES** Open daily 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.

At Palace Museum

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