

PEKING REVIEW

5

February 1, 1963

What Kind of Unity Is Needed?

Renmin Ribao editorial calling for unity on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement (p. 5).

Premier Chou En-lai on Colombo Conference Proposals

China accepts six-nation proposals in principle as preliminary basis for meeting of Chinese and Indian officials (p. 10).

The Anti-U.S. Imperialist Struggle In Japan

(p. 13)

Notes From a Rural People's Commune

Drama, Photography and Other Features

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

February 1, 1963 Vol. VI No. 5

CONTENTS

ROUND THE WEEK	3
Spring Festival 1963	
ARTICLES	
Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement — Renmin Ribao Editorial	5
Premier Chou En-lai Replies to Madame Bandaranaike	10
Welcome the Peaceful Efforts of the Colombo Conference — Renmin Ribao Editorial	11
The Struggle Against U.S. Im- perialism in Japan — Tan Chien	13
Notes From a Rural People's Com- mune — Wei Chuang	16
"Never Setting Sun" in Lhasa — Sa Tien-wen	18
DRAMA, PHOTOGRAPHY	20
<i>The Red Propagandist</i> ; Record of Cuban Revolution	
SIDELIGHTS	22
WHAT'S ON IN PEKING	23

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

Round the Week

Spring Festival 1963

The Lunar New Year (Spring Festival) holidays are over, but the carnival mood of the past week lingers in the air. China celebrated its biggest traditional festival in grand style; everybody thoroughly enjoyed the four-day holiday from January 25 to 28.

North, south, east and west, in cities and countryside, the people everywhere celebrated the festival at countless New Year parties, get-togethers and dinners at industrial enterprises and commercial establishments, schools and government offices, people's communes and private homes. There were gala programmes at the amusement parks, cultural centres and sports grounds. Cinemas and theatres put on extra special shows and were packed from morning to night.

The festival, which dates back to more than 2,000 years ago, has many time-honoured national traditions. These were observed throughout the land; but each place, too, marked the season in its own traditional way.

In Peking, the Liulichang Street Spring Festival Fair, which dates back 300 years to the last years of the Ming Dynasty, was bigger this year than ever before. Over 700 stalls were set up along a 1,000-metre-long section of the street and spilled over into the sideways, selling all kinds of toys, handicraft articles, carvings, paintings, curios, antiques, sweetmeats and special holiday delicacies. Tens of thousands of holiday-makers thronged the place each day, buying toy windmills and fancy lanterns for their kiddies or enjoying titbits at the stalls. In Canton, the annual flower fair was one of the loveliest in years. With twice as many potted plants on display as last year, flower-lovers had a wide variety to choose from: plums and peach blossoms, jasmines and camellias, azaleas and roses from various parts of Kwangtung Province; daffodils from Changchow in Fukien; orchids from Hangchow in Chekiang; and peonies from as far afield as Hotse in Shantung Province. In multi-national Huhehot in Inner Mongolia, people of the various minority na-

tionalties, dressed in their colourful national costumes, converged on the main thoroughfares to greet each other on New Year's Day. And in Foochow, in the new residential quarters built by the West Lake, returned overseas Chinese and their families gaily celebrated the festival with a lantern show, lion dances and other traditional entertainments.

Grand Parties

At a grand party held at Peking's Great Hall of the People on New Year's Day, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu and other leaders spent a happy evening in the company of 40,000 officers and men from the People's Liberation Army and representatives from every trade and profession in the capital. Lit by a myriad lights and bright as day, the many halls of the building and its vestibules were filled with gaiety and laughter as soon as dusk fell. When Chairman Liu and the other leaders appeared, the gathering gave them a prolonged ovation. They exchanged festival greetings and then together enjoyed an evening of entertainment. Leading singers and dancers, opera actors and actresses, acrobats and gymnasts gave performances. Later, in various halls of the huge building, eager groups of spectators watched film shows and chess competitions, played games and chatted, exchanging greetings and wishing each other all the best in the coming year. There was dancing too, in which young as well as old joined. The New Year party continued till the night was well spent.

The next day, also at the Great Hall of the People, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other leaders joined the capital's 25,000 outstanding scientists, professors, doctors, engineers, young research workers and their families for continued Spring Festival celebrations. Among the scientists present were such well-known figures as paddyrice expert Ting Ying, geographer Coching Chu, mathematician Hua Loo-keng, physicist Wu Yu-hsun, nuclear physicist Tsien San-chiang, dynamics expert Tsien

Hsueh-shen, thoracic specialist Huang Chia-szu and pathologist Hou Pao-chang. Veteran professors Chien Po-tsan, Feng Yu-lan and others also attended. This was a meeting of old friends and colleagues. They shared a happy evening of entertainments ranging from Peking opera to bal-ladry, exchanged views on some of their latest findings and talked animatedly about their plans for the coming year.

But there was much more to it. The presence of Chairman Liu and other leaders expressed the warmth and solicitude of the Communist Party towards them, its deep appreciation of their work and wish, too, for still greater successes and still greater contributions from them in the days to come. Said Chairman Liu when chatting cordially with some of the leading scientists: "The progress of our country and the modernization of our agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology depend on the concerted efforts of the people and scientists of the whole country. The leadership and initiative of veteran scientists, in particular, plays an important role. There is no doubt that we shall make rapid progress if we work hard together. You have our wholehearted support in your work. Everything necessary for the successful carrying out of your work will be provided."

Backed by the unre-served support of the Communist Party and state and inspired by the encouragement and trust given them, China's scientists are out for great achievements in 1963 — the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan.

In Canton, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Chu Teh and Vice-Premier Ho Lung who happened to be in the city joined 5,000 people there at a sports gala in celebration of the Spring Festival. They watched a series of basketball, table tennis and badminton matches between local teams.

In Shanghai, at a banquet given by the Shanghai Trade Union Council on the eve of the Lunar New Year, Premier Chou En-lai and his wife Teng Ying-chao celebrated the festival together with 300 outstanding workers in the city and retired veteran workers. Toasting the health and happiness of everyone present, Premier Chou paid tribute to the workers in Shanghai for the great successes they had scored in the past few years in production, in culture and education, in science and technology and in other fields. Recalling the heroic struggles the Shanghai workers waged for a century and more against both foreign imperialists and domestic reactionaries, he exhorted them to carry forward their great revolutionary tradition. "China's socialist construction," said the Premier, "has now entered the first year of its Third Five-Year Plan. Our socialist revolution and socialist construction will develop further and more deeply during this Third Five-Year Plan period. This requires us to give fuller play to the spirit of self-reliance and carry out technical innovations so as to lay a more solid foundation for the modernization of our industry, agriculture, science and culture. The Party and the state, therefore, look forward to greater contributions by the advanced working class of Shanghai." Wishing the Shanghai workers

greater successes in the coming year, the Premier and everyone present drank toasts to the victory of Mao Tse-tung's teachings and to the Three Red Banners — the general line for the building of socialism, the great leap forward and the people's commune.

Worker-Peasant Unity

It has now become a custom during the Spring Festival for workers in the cities and peasants in the villages to hold parties together or to visit each other. It is a vivid demonstration of their close unity, a symbol of the ever growing strength of the worker-peasant alliance on which the People's Republic is based.

This year, too, workers and peasants across the land joined hands in celebration. Workers of the Shih-chingshan Iron and Steel Works and miners of the Chinghsi Colliery on Peking's outskirts invited members of the people's communes in their neighbourhood to parties and entertainments. In Shanghai, workers in 12 districts in the city sent delegations to the counties around it to bring festival greetings to the peasants. When the workers from Hungkou District arrived at the Chengxi People's Commune in Sungkiang County, they were welcomed by the commune members as their own kinsfolk. Over the years a fast friendship has developed between them. The commune is known far and wide as a first-rate producer

of rice. The Shanghai workers on their part have had a main hand in helping it acquire electric pumping machinery. Besides installing these machines, they have lent a hand in overhauling them whenever necessary and in passing on technical know-how on handling and repairing them. Over their wine and festival delicacies, the workers and peasants chatted about the way things are going, the good harvest last year, the happy festival everyone was enjoying; and, never forgetting the task ahead, together they worked out plans for still better co-operation in the coming year.



Spring Festival Fair

Woodcut by Wen Chuan-yuan

Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement

Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on January 27. Subheads and emphases are ours.—Ed.

THE Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was held January 15-21.

In their attempts to stop the successful development of the people's struggles for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the Yugoslav revisionists are using every means to disrupt the unity of the peoples of the world, and especially the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement. The Communists of all countries and all progressive mankind are deeply worried and disturbed over the ever increasing harm that is being done to the unity of the international communist ranks, and they are eagerly demanding the ironing out of differences and the strengthening of unity in the common struggle against the enemy on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

It was our hope that the congress of the German Socialist Unity Party, meeting in these circumstances, would contribute to the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement by adhering to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. The German Democratic Republic stands on the western front of the socialist camp, and is facing the menace of the West German militarism backed by U.S. imperialism. The spearhead of the struggle should naturally have been directed against our common enemies; there was no reason at all for this congress to repeat practices which grieve those near and dear to us all and gladden the enemy.

Unfortunately, events at the congress ran counter to our hope.

Words v. Deeds

The outstanding features of the congress were that while much was said about stopping attacks and strengthening unity among the fraternal Parties, extremely crude attacks were continued against the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, attacks which further widen differences and damage unity, and that while much was said about supporting the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, brazen attempts, which were in open violation of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, were made to reverse the verdict passed on the Tito clique of renegades to Marxism-Leninism.

When in the course of his speech the head of the Chinese Communist Party Delegation, which attended the congress by invitation, quoted and expounded the criticisms of Yugoslav revisionism made in the Moscow

Statement, the executive chairman of the congress repeatedly stopped him. Prompted by this cue, there was an uproar of booing, whistling and foot-stamping in the congress hall. It is indeed strange and almost incredible for such a phenomenon to occur in the international communist movement. When the delegate of the Chinese Communist Party ended his speech, the executive chairman of the congress went so far as to protest. He stated that he "most decidedly rejected" the criticism of Yugoslav revisionism made by the delegate of the Communist Party of China and described it as "contradicting all the norms prevailing among Communist and revolutionary Workers' Parties." Following this, the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* attacked the delegate of the Communist Party of China for his criticism of Yugoslav revisionism, stating that it was "utterly impermissible."

This congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has posed the following vitally important questions to the Communists of the whole world: Are the ranks of the international communist movement to be united or not? Is there to be genuine unity or sham unity? On what basis is there to be unity—is there to be unity on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, or "unity" on the basis of the Yugoslav revisionist programme or some other basis? In other words, are differences to be ironed out and unity strengthened, or are differences to be widened and a split created?

The Chinese Communists, all other Marxist-Leninists and all progressive mankind unanimously desire to uphold unity and oppose a split, to secure genuine unity and oppose a sham unity, to defend the common foundation of the unity of the international communist movement and oppose the undermining of this foundation, and to uphold and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

It Is the Unity That Counts

The Communist Party of China has always held that the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement is the reliable guarantee of victory for the revolution of the people in all countries, for the struggle against imperialism and its running dogs, for the cause of world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, and for the communist cause throughout the world. The basis for such unity is Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960. These two documents of vital and historic importance were unanimously agreed upon by the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries and constitute the common programme of the international communist movement. Only by strict adherence to them is it possible to strengthen

unity and is it possible to have genuine unity. Violation of these two documents can only result in the undermining of unity or in a sham unity. It is the sacred duty of Communists in all countries resolutely to uphold both the revolutionary principles and the common principles guiding the relations between fraternal Parties and countries laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and to wage an uncompromising struggle against all words and deeds violating the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The Communist Party of China has consistently worked to uphold and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement. In 1956, the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the Yugoslav revisionists organized a worldwide anti-Soviet and anti-communist onslaught and engineered a counter-revolutionary revolt in Hungary. Together with other fraternal Parties the Communist Party of China waged a resolute struggle, thus safeguarding Marxism-Leninism and defending the socialist camp. Through their joint efforts and full consultations at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings, the other fraternal Parties and the Communist Party of China formulated a common line for the international communist movement and established common principles guiding the mutual relations of fraternal Parties and countries. At these two meetings, we conducted a necessary struggle against certain wrong tendencies detrimental to unity and also made necessary compromises on certain matters, thus contributing to the unanimous agreement reached at the meetings.

C.P.C.'s Sincere Advice

At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1961, when there occurred the first serious incident in which one Party at its own congress made an open attack by name on another fraternal Party, that is, on the Albanian Party of Labour, the Delegation of the Communist Party of China voiced firm opposition and proffered sincere advice. There and then we pointed out that a practice of this kind "does not help unity and is not helpful to resolving problems. To bring a dispute between fraternal Parties and fraternal countries into the open in the face of the enemy cannot be regarded as a serious Marxist-Leninist attitude. Such an attitude will only grieve those near and dear to us and gladden our enemies. The Communist Party of China sincerely hopes that fraternal Parties which have disputes or differences between them will unite afresh on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of mutual respect for independence and equality." It is regrettable that our efforts failed to prevent a further deterioration in Soviet-Albanian relations. Our good intentions were even subjected to repeated censure by certain people.

In its desire to uphold the principles guiding the mutual relations of fraternal Parties and countries and to strengthen unity, the Chinese Communist Party in April 1962 gave its active support to the proposals made by some fraternal Parties for easing relations and improving the atmosphere, and, in a letter to the fraternal Party concerned, formally expressed its opinion that a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries should be convened to iron out differences and strengthen unity through comradely discussion and consultation. We also pointed out that, prior to such a

meeting, all fraternal Parties should make extensive preparations, including the cessation of radio and press attacks on another fraternal Party, in order to create favourable conditions for the meeting and ensure its success.

To our great distress, these positive proposals of the Communist Party of China and some other fraternal Parties have not evoked a corresponding response from the fraternal Party concerned. On the contrary, the practice of violating the principles guiding relations between fraternal Parties and countries, and especially the vicious practice of openly attacking other fraternal Parties by name at a Party congress, has gone from bad to worse. At every one of the recent congresses of fraternal Parties the attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour were continued and attacks were made against the Communist Party of China, while at one congress the Korean Workers' Party, too, was attacked.

A New Climax

This adverse current, which runs counter to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and which is disrupting the unity of the international communist movement, reached a new climax at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. There, the Yugoslav revisionist clique was shielded in many ways, while the fraternal Party delegate who criticized Yugoslav revisionism in accordance with the Moscow Statement was treated in an utterly uncomradely and rude manner. Such behaviour is extremely vulgar as well as completely futile. In the view of certain comrades, adherence to the principles of the Moscow Statement, which had been unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties, was impermissible and illegitimate while the Yugoslav revisionism condemned by the Moscow Statement was to be welcomed and was legitimate. On the one hand, they wantonly attacked comrades who adhere to Marxism-Leninism, and on the other, they talked volubly of uniting with out-and-out revisionists. On the one hand, they used every conceivable method to deprive delegates of fraternal Parties opposing Yugoslav revisionism of the opportunity to speak, and on the other, they applauded the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism. This outrageous practice was all the more serious because it was carefully planned.

Here we must state in all seriousness that the international communist movement is at a critical juncture. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement—the common basis of the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries—are in great danger of being publicly torn up. The unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement is under a grave threat.

In the international communist movement of today, one's attitude towards Yugoslav revisionism is not a minor but a major question; it is a question that concerns not just one detail or another but the whole. It is a question of whether to adhere to Marxism-Leninism or to wallow in the mire with the Yugoslav revisionists, whether to take the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement as the foundation of unity or the Yugoslav revisionist programme or something else as the foundation of "unity," and whether genuinely to strengthen unity or merely to pay lip-service to unity while in fact creating a split. In the final analysis, it is a question of whether to adhere

strictly to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement or to tear them up.

Yugoslav Revisionists Condemned

The Moscow Statement of 1960 unequivocally declares: "The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist 'theories' in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called 'aid' from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties."

The stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party vis-a-vis Yugoslav revisionism is exactly that prescribed in the Moscow Statement, a stand which should be taken and must be taken by all Marxist-Leninist Parties. It is the exact antithesis of the stand of the Yugoslav revisionists, who are fundamentally opposed both to the Moscow Declaration and to the Moscow Statement and who set their revisionist programme against the common programme of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. In the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Tito clique deny the basic antagonism between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp and advocate what they call the "extra-bloc" stand; they deny the theory of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and maintain that the capitalist countries can "peacefully grow into" socialism; they describe ownership by the whole people in the socialist countries as "state capitalism" and regard Marxism-Leninism as obsolete. All this is as incompatible with the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement as fire with water.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia declared in the communique of the ninth plenum of its Central Committee, issued in December 1957 after the Moscow meeting of the same year: "The plenum considers that the delegation, pursuing the political line of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, acted correctly by not taking part in the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the 12 socialist countries and by not signing the Declaration of that meeting, which contains some attitudes and appraisals contrary to the attitude of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which considers them incorrect."

The Tito Clique's Attacks on the Moscow Statement

As for the Moscow Statement, the Tito clique has made wilder attacks on it. The same Vlahovic, who was

given a delirious ovation by some people at the recent congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany as the representative of the Tito clique, declared in February 1961 at the enlarged meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia: "The Moscow Conference followed the line of 'seeking a compromise between different standpoints and tendencies, the line of setting patterns and mechanical levelling, and of establishing uniform tactical rules for the struggle.' Thus within the framework of a single statement there are to be found standpoints and tendencies reflecting contemporary objective social developments in the world mixed together with bureaucratic-dogmatic conceptions, the most obvious example of which is the position taken towards socialist Yugoslavia." The resolution on the Moscow Statement adopted at the same meeting said that "the Moscow Statement . . . can have only harmful consequences not merely for the cause of socialism but also for the efforts to consolidate peace throughout the world."

Is it or is it not right to criticize Yugoslav revisionism? There should have been no doubt about this in the international communist ranks. The principled stand taken by the Communist Party of China in firmly opposing Yugoslav revisionism also had the approval of the other fraternal Parties. We may all recall that, at the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in June 1958, Comrade Khrushchov said that "the Chinese comrades and also the other fraternal Parties are rightly and profoundly criticizing the revisionist propositions of the draft programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia."

We also remember that at the previous congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, that is, at its Fifth Congress held in July 1958, there was no difference of opinion among Communist and Workers' Parties on whether Yugoslav revisionism should be criticized. Comrade Khrushchov then said: "The anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist views of the Yugoslav leaders were subjected to thoroughgoing principled criticism by the Communist Party of China, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and all the other fraternal Parties. In decisions taken by their leading bodies and in articles in the Party press, all the Parties took a clear-cut position and condemned those views, paying considerable attention to a critical analysis of them. And this was correct."

He also said: ". . . when the Yugoslav leaders declare they are Marxist-Leninists and use Marxism-Leninism only as a cover to mislead gullible people and divert them from the path of revolutionary class struggle charted by Marx and Lenin, they want to wrest from the hands of the working class its sharpest class weapon. Whether they wish to or not, they are helping the class enemy of the working people, and in return for this they are given loans; in return for this the imperialists praise their 'independent' policy of 'no blocs,' which the reactionary forces make use of in an attempt to undermine our socialist camp."

He added: "In their speeches and official documents the Yugoslav leaders have outlined openly revisionist views that are contrary to the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism. They have taken a clearly schismatic, revisionist line and by so doing are helping the enemies of the working class in the fight against communism, in the imperialists' fight against the Com-

munist Parties and against the unity of the international revolutionary working-class movement."

He went on to say: "In essence, the programme of the Yugoslav leadership is a worse version of a whole series of revisionist platforms held by Right-wing Social-Democrats. Consequently the Yugoslav leaders have not been drawn to the path of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist teachings; they have followed the path laid down by revisionists and opportunists of the Second International — Bernstein, Kautsky and other renegades. In actual fact they have now joined forces with Karl Kautsky's offspring — his son Benedict. . . ."

We cannot understand why some comrades, who formerly took the correct stand of criticizing Yugoslav revisionism, should have now made an about-turn of 180 degrees.

It has been claimed that this was because "the Yugoslav leaders have removed very much of what was considered erroneous." Unfortunately, the Tito clique themselves have never admitted having made any mistakes, let alone removed them. It is indeed subjectivism pure and simple to assert that the Tito clique have "removed" their mistakes. We would ask the apologists for the Tito clique to listen to the Titoists' own statements.

As early as April 1958, Tito declared at the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, "It would just be a waste of time for any quarters to expect us to retreat from our principled position on international and internal questions."

In 1959, Kardelj, another leader of the Tito clique, stated even more bluntly in a pamphlet, ". . . and now the critics insistently urge on us what they themselves have begun to renounce, and criticize us for what they themselves have begun to accept."

Only recently, in December 1962, the moment he alighted from the train on his return to Belgrade from the Soviet Union, Tito said: "Discussions . . . about how Yugoslavia will now change her policy are simply superfluous and ridiculous. We have no need to change our policy." He added a few days later, "I said there (in the Soviet Union) that there is no possibility of Yugoslavia changing her foreign policy."

These statements by Tito and Kardelj demonstrate the Tito clique's firm denial of any change in their revisionist line and policies. In fact, they have not changed at all. What were the apologists for the Tito clique doing if not lying when they said that the Tito clique "have removed very much of what was considered erroneous"?

Coming Closer to the Tito Clique

Certain people have lately been talking a lot about how their views on many problems are coming closer to or agree with those of the Tito clique. We would ask, since there has not been any change in the revisionist line and policies of the Tito clique, does it not follow that the makers of these statements are themselves moving closer to the revisionist line and policies of the Tito clique?

What is particularly astonishing is that certain people have publicly declared the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement to be a "stereotyped formula." They do not allow any fraternal Party to expose and condemn

Yugoslav revisionism. Whoever insists on condemning Yugoslav revisionism, they say, "follows the jungle laws of capitalism" and "adopts this same jungle morality." One might ask, what is the object of describing the Moscow Statement, which was unanimously agreed upon by 81 fraternal Parties, as "a stereotyped formula" or "the jungle laws of capitalism"? Is it not the object to tear up the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement? If it is "jungle morality" to condemn Yugoslav revisionism in accordance with the Moscow Statement, what kind of morality is the violation of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and the eagerness to "strangle" a fraternal Party and fraternal country?

We also note that Comrade Togliatti has gone so far as to say: ". . . this amply justifies the stand which we and others have taken towards the Yugoslav comrades, hence correcting the resolution of 1960 (the Moscow Statement unanimously agreed upon by the 81 fraternal Parties — *Renmin Ribao* Editor) which is wrong on this point." We want to ask, what right has Comrade Togliatti to declare one part or another of the Moscow Statement, which was unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties, to be wrong? What right has he to "correct" or tear up a solemn international agreement at will? If one or several Parties may do as they please in "correcting" agreements unanimously reached by all the Communist and Workers' Parties, will it be possible to speak of any principle that all must abide by?

Certain people are contemptuous of solemn documents adopted unanimously by the international communist movement; they not only refuse to abide by documents which bear their own signatures, but abuse others for abiding by them. Clearly, this is perfidy.

Here we should like to emphasize that those who are zealously engaged in reversing the verdict on the Tito clique are trying to make a breach in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement on the Yugoslav issue and then to tear them up completely. Were their scheme to succeed, it would be tantamount to declaring that the criticisms of Yugoslav revisionism made by all Communist and Workers' Parties over these years are wrong whereas the traitorous Tito clique is right, that the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are wrong whereas the Yugoslav revisionist programme is right, that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism have become obsolete and modern revisionism can no longer be opposed, still less be treated as the main danger in the international communist movement, and that we should all follow at the heels of the Tito clique and "join forces with Karl Kautsky's offspring — his son Benedict."

Were this to happen, the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement would have to be completely changed and the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism would have to be replaced by the capitulationist line of revisionism. Were this to happen, what possible common basis would there be for unity among the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries? Is this not a deliberate attempt to create a split in the international communist movement?

The urgent task now facing the Communist and Workers' Parties is to defend the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and to uphold and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international

communist movement on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. We resolutely uphold unity on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and we resolutely oppose "unity" on the basis of the Yugoslav revisionist programme or on some other basis. Together with all fraternal Parties, the Chinese Communist Party will work indefatigably to this end.

The proletarian cause has always been international. To be victorious in this common cause, Communists of all countries must unite and wage a common struggle. Without the unity and solidarity of proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary cause cannot be victorious and consolidate its victory in any country.

The Only Way to Uphold Unity

The only correct way to uphold and strengthen this kind of unity is to abide by the principles guiding relations between fraternal Parties and fraternal countries laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The principles guiding relations between fraternal Parties and countries, as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, are as follows: the principle of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; the principle of mutual support and mutual assistance; the principle of independence and equality; and the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation.

The primary test of a Communist's sincerity in upholding the unity of the international communist movement is whether he conscientiously abides by the principles guiding relations between fraternal Parties and countries.

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, the two international documents unanimously agreed upon by the Communist and Workers' Parties, are binding on all the fraternal Parties. These Parties have the obligation to abide by them and have absolutely no right to wreck them. No single Party or group of Parties have the right to change them or to declare them null and void. In the international communist movement, the resolutions of any one fraternal Party, whether right or wrong and however important the place and the role of that Party, can be binding on that Party alone. According to the principles laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, it is impermissible to impose the programme, resolutions, line or policies of any one Party on other fraternal Parties, or to require other fraternal Parties to obey the irresponsible self-contradictory statements made by the leader of a Party who talks this way one day and that way the next, as if those statements were imperial decrees; and it is all the more impermissible for one or more Parties wantonly to kick out one or another fraternal Party from the international communist movement or pull in renegades to Marxism-Leninism.

Since the international situation is complicated and is changing rapidly and since each fraternal Party finds itself in different circumstances, the emergence of different views among fraternal Parties on one question or another can hardly be avoided. The important thing is that, once differences have emerged among fraternal Parties, they should straighten out their differences and

achieve unanimity through inter-Party consultation on the basis of equality, basing themselves on the principles guiding the relations between fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. In no circumstances should they make the differences among the fraternal Parties public in the face of the enemy, nor should they make use of the press and other propaganda media for open attacks on other fraternal Parties, and still less should they make use of congresses of one Party for this purpose. Clearly, if open attacks are directed against one fraternal Party today and another tomorrow, will there be any unity of the international communist movement to speak of?

We hold that continuing to make attacks while talking about one's desire to halt them is not the attitude an honest Communist should take. As the leader of the Korean Workers' Party Delegation at the recent congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany pointed out: "At this congress, which is not an international meeting of fraternal Parties, there has been some talk of ending open disputes over differences of view and strengthening unity, and yet differences of view among the fraternal Parties have again been brought up, and in particular there has been unilateral criticism of the Chinese Communist Party. We maintain that this cannot be regarded as a friendly and comradely attitude and that such an attitude is not conducive to the unity and unanimity which we are all calling for."

Better a single good deed contributing to unity than a thousand empty words about unity. It is time to rein in on the brink of the precipice. To do so late in the day is better than not to do it at all. We sincerely hope that the fraternal Party which launched the first attack will suit its action to its words, take the initiative, and return to the path of inter-Party consultation on the basis of equality, to the principles guiding relations between fraternal Parties and countries as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

C.P.C. Will Do Its Part

The Communist Party of China is profoundly conscious of the duty incumbent on it to uphold and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement. As always, we shall spare no effort in making our contribution in this connection. The Communist Party of China has advocated on more than one occasion, and still advocates, the convening of a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries at which all can sit down calmly, and, through adequate and comradely discussion, harmonize their viewpoints, iron out their differences and strengthen their unity on a new basis. Together with all other fraternal Parties, we desire to take every possible step towards easing relations and strengthening unity, in order to improve the atmosphere and create the conditions necessary for convening the meeting of fraternal Parties.

Today, the imperialists headed by the United States and all the reactionaries are frantically and vainly struggling to halt and turn back the tide of our epoch, to prevent the emancipation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people and to disrupt the socialist camp. In the face of our arch-enemy, we Communists should, more than ever, unite closely and wage the common battle

unswervingly. No words or deeds detrimental to the struggles against imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries, to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world, or to the unity of all Communists and the revolutionary people of the world, will be countenanced by Communists anywhere, by the proletariat and working people of all countries, by all the oppressed nations and oppressed people and by all those engaged in the struggle to safeguard world peace.

The unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement is the source of our strength and the hope of the oppressed nations and the

oppressed people of the world. The more closely we are united, the more the people of the world are heartened and inspired. The more closely we are united, the greater is our ability to strengthen the revolutionary people's confidence in victory and to deal telling blows at the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries.

We should not disappoint the expectations of the people of the world. We must firmly uphold unity and oppose a split. We must have genuine unity and oppose sham unity. Let us unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement!

Premier Chou En-lai Replies to Madame Bandaranaike

The Chinese Government accepts in principle the proposals of the Colombo Conference as a preliminary basis for meetings of Chinese and Indian officials. To facilitate implementation of the principle of being equitable to both China and India and also the principle of equal application to all sectors of the Sino-Indian border, it puts forward two points of interpretation of the proposals.

Following is the text of Premier Chou En-lai's letter of January 19 in reply to the letter of Ceylonese Prime Minister Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike dated January 14. — Ed.

Your Excellency Respected Prime Minister,

I have received your message which you handed to our Charge d'Affaires in India on January 14, 1963 for transmission to me. The Chinese Government is agreeable to your publishing the proposals of the Colombo Conference when you deem it appropriate. It has always supported the peace efforts of the participating nations of the Colombo Conference and sincerely hopes that their efforts will lead to the opening of direct negotiations between China and India for the stabilization of the ceasefire, for disengagement and for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question.

The Chinese Government has always held that, in order to secure a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, it is important for China and India to enter into negotiations speedily. China's measures of effecting a ceasefire on its own initiative, and particularly its continued withdrawal along the entire line, have created favourable conditions for direct Sino-Indian negotiations. Cherishing a sincere desire to bring about direct negotiations between China and India, the participating nations of the Colombo Conference have put forward their six-point proposals. I have already explained comprehensively to Your Excellency the Chinese Government's attitude towards the Colombo Conference and its proposals. In view of Your Excellency's conviction expressed in paragraph 4 of your letter of January 14, I now state to you that the Chinese Government accepts in principle the proposals of the Colombo Conference as a preliminary basis for meetings of Chinese and Indian officials to discuss stabilization of the ceasefire and disen-

agement and to promote Sino-Indian boundary negotiations, but that it maintains the following two points of interpretation of the proposals of the Colombo Conference:

(1) In the interest of stabilizing the ceasefire and disengaging the troops of the two sides, the Chinese frontier guards will withdraw 20 kilometres along the entire Sino-Indian border on China's own initiative in accordance with the plan announced in the statement of the Chinese Government dated November 21, 1962; the stipulation in the proposals of the conference regarding the Indian troops keeping their existing military position should be equally applicable to the entire Sino-Indian border, and not to the western sector alone. It is the understanding of the Chinese Government that in the eastern sector, India will continue to refrain from sending its troops to re-enter the areas south of the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959, vacated by the Chinese frontier guards, and will send there only civilian personnel carrying arms of self-defence, as India says it has done up till now.

(2) After their continued withdrawal all along the border to positions 20 kilometres from the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 in accordance with the statement of the Chinese Government, the Chinese frontier guards will be far behind their positions on September 8, 1962. Thus no Chinese frontier guards will be stationed in the Che Dong area and Longju in the eastern sector, Wuje in the middle sector and the areas in the western sector where India once set up 43 strongpoints. Since all these places are on the Chinese side of the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959, it is a matter of course for China to set up civilian check-posts there. However, with a view to responding to the peace call of the Colombo Conference and promoting direct negotiations between China and India, China is willing to move another step forward on the road of reconciliation by refraining from setting up civilian check-posts in those

places, provided Indian troops or civilian personnel do not re-enter these places.

The above-mentioned two-point interpretation by the Chinese Government helps to carry through, in the proposals of the Colombo Conference, the principle of being equitable to China and India and the principle of equal application to all the sectors of the Sino-Indian boundary, and does not in the least prejudice the positions held by China and India as regards the final alignment of the boundary. The Indian Government may have its own interpretation of the proposals of the Colombo Conference. The Chinese Government hopes that the difference in interpretation by the Chinese and Indian sides will not prevent the speedy holding of talks between Chinese and Indian officials, but will be resolved in these talks.

The Chinese Government has always attached importance to the sincere efforts made by friendly Asian and African countries to mediate the Sino-Indian border dispute. Before the convocation of the Colombo Conference, the Chinese Government called on Asian and African countries to make efforts to promote a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. Later China decided to cease fire and withdraw its troops on its own initiative, thus creating favourable conditions for the mediatory activities of Asian and African countries. After the Colombo Conference made its appeal and put forward its proposals, China responded to them positively, persisting in the ceasefire effected on its own initiative and continuing to withdraw along the entire border, despite the fact that India has failed to take any corresponding measures and has, moreover, put up certain obstructions. The Chinese frontier guards will soon complete their plan of withdrawing along the entire border in accordance with the

Chinese Government's statement. By then they will be far behind their positions prior to September 8, 1962. Thus, what the Chinese Government has done and is doing actually far exceeds what is required of China by the proposals of the Colombo Conference.

The Chinese Government not only has continued to carry out its plan for withdrawal all along the border, but is prepared, in accordance with the above-mentioned second point of interpretation of the Colombo Conference proposals, to make another concession by vacating the places where there is dispute between the two sides about the ceasefire arrangement, that is, the areas in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border where India once set up 43 strongpoints, Wuje in the middle sector, and the Che Dong area and Longju in the eastern sector, and by refraining from establishing civilian check-points there. I wish to stress that the repeated conciliatory efforts on the part of the Chinese Government have shown great regard for the honour and self-respect of India and have in fact stabilized the ceasefire and brought about a disengagement of the two sides. However, moves towards a reconciliation should come from both sides. The Chinese Government earnestly hopes that, through your propelling effort and assistance and those of the other Colombo Conference participants, China's new conciliatory effort will meet with a favourable response from India and direct Sino-Indian negotiations will start speedily.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) **CHOU EN-LAI**

*Premier of the State Council of
the People's Republic of China*

Welcome the Peaceful Efforts of the Colombo Conference

Following is an abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial (January 28) entitled "Welcome the Efforts of the Colombo Conference to Promote Direct Negotiations Between China and India." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

ON the proposal of Ceylonese Prime Minister Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike, six Asian and African nations held a conference in Colombo in December 1962 to promote a reconciliation between China and India. The conference proposed the stabilization of the ceasefire, disengagement and an appeal to China and India to hold direct talks. Premier Chou En-lai wrote to Madame Bandaranaike on January 19, indicating that the Chinese Government accepts in principle the Colombo Conference proposals as a preliminary basis for meetings of Chinese and Indian officials to discuss stabilization of the ceasefire and disengagement and to promote Sino-Indian boundary negotiations, but, at the same time, maintains two points of interpretation of the proposals of the conference. The Chinese Government's active support for the Colombo Conference fully reflects the

sincere desire of the Chinese Government and people to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

We have always valued the active role played by friendly Asian and African countries in mediating the Sino-Indian border dispute. The Chinese Government's statement of October 24 last year and Premier Chou En-lai's letter of November 15 to leaders of Asian and African countries have both appealed to Asian and African countries to contribute to the promotion of a reconciliation between China and India. Following that, China on its own initiative took the measures for a unilateral ceasefire and withdrawal along the entire front, thus creating favourable conditions for the mediation efforts of Asian and African nations. The Chinese Government and people expressed their ardent support for Madame Bandaranaike's proposal to hold the Colombo Conference. When the Ceylonese Prime Minister and Dr. Subandrio, Deputy Chief Minister of Indonesia, visited China, the Chinese Government gave a positive response to the Colombo Conference proposals. We

highly appraised the efforts of Ceylon and other countries which took part in the Colombo Conference.

The Guiding Spirit

The Chinese Government acclaims the spirit guiding the actions of the six Asian and African countries at the Colombo Conference. The participating nations made it clear that they made their appeal in the role of mediator but that they refrained from meddling or arbitrating in the Sino-Indian dispute. This is helpful to the promotion of direct talks between China and India, which are the only way of solving the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. The participating countries are opposed to imperialism butting into the Sino-Indian boundary dispute and interfering in Asian and African affairs. This position reflects the general desire of all Asian and African peoples. It is worth noting that, in an attempt to extend the conflict, U.S. imperialism did all it could to fan the flames following the outbreak of armed clashes along the Sino-Indian border. The Tito group of Yugoslavia, which is in the service of imperialism, poses as a "non-aligned country" in an effort to interfere in the Sino-Indian boundary dispute and undermine Afro-Asian solidarity. Obviously, Afro-Asian peace and solidarity can be safeguarded only by firm opposition to the schemes of imperialism and its lackeys. The participating countries expressed opposition to the acquisition of any territory by the use of armed force and this is a principle of paramount importance. Failure on the part of either side to abide by this principle will certainly lead to endless armed conflicts. The participating countries advocate a stable ceasefire and disengagement to pave the way for negotiations for the solution of the boundary question. They held that such measures as a ceasefire, withdrawal and setting up of demilitarized areas will not prejudice the position of the Government of either side as regards the final alignment of the boundary. It is crystal clear that these principles affirmed by the participating countries are the embodiment of Afro-Asian amity and the spirit of the Bandung Conference.

The proposals of the Colombo Conference reflect the desire of its participating countries to promote direct negotiations between China and India. These proposals are of a positive nature but also contain ambiguities and inconsistencies.

Disputes Over All Sectors of the Boundary

History bears witness to the fact that the whole length of the Sino-Indian frontier has never been defined or delimited by the two sides. There are disputes over all the sectors of the boundary. Armed conflicts took place not only in the western sector but also in the eastern sector. As a matter of fact, the armed clashes in the eastern sector were fiercer. The view that there is dispute only over the western sector is entirely groundless. Therefore, any arrangement for stabilizing the ceasefire and for disengagement must consistently follow the principle of being equitable to China and India and the principle of equal application to all the sectors of the Sino-Indian boundary.

The proposals of the Colombo Conference contain no appeal for the withdrawal of Indian troops. They only express the hope that the Indian forces in the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary will keep their

existing military position. If this is so, they should at least also keep their existing military position in the middle and eastern sectors as well. The proposals of the conference only provide for disengagement in the western sector but fail to make similar stipulations for the eastern and middle sectors. Concerning disputed areas in ceasefire arrangements in the eastern sector, that is, the Che Dong area and Longju, the proposals stipulate that the question should be solved by the two sides through discussion. If this is so, at least the same principle should be applied to the disputed areas in the ceasefire arrangements in the western sector, that is, the areas where India set up 43 strongpoints after crossing the line of actual control of 1959 through the use of armed force. It should not be stipulated that the areas vacated by the Chinese military withdrawal in the western sector should be administered by civilian posts of both sides to be agreed upon. To allow India to set up civilian posts in this area is tantamount to recognizing as legitimate the Indian armed invasion of this area and its setting up of 43 strongpoints there between 1959 and 1962.

China Sets No Pre-Conditions

The Ceylonese Prime Minister and the nations participating in the Colombo Conference share the view that the Chinese Government has made a positive response to the Colombo Conference. The conference nations themselves do not regard the conference proposals as the final basis for Sino-Indian negotiations. On the contrary, as the Ceylonese Prime Minister pointed out in her communique of January 16 on the results of her visits to China and India, the conference proposals "themselves contain certain matters on which the Colombo Conference left decisions to be taken by mutual agreement between India and China." The Chinese Government, while setting forth its own interpretation of the conference proposals, does not make acceptance of its interpretation a pre-condition for the start of negotiations. It hopes that the difference in the interpretation of the proposals of the Colombo Conference by the Chinese and Indian sides will be satisfactorily solved in the course of negotiations. This attitude adopted by the Chinese Government is in conformity with its consistent stand against any pre-condition for Sino-Indian negotiations; it also accords with the hope of the Colombo Conference nations and with the spirit of the conference proposals.

India's Own Interpretation

Although the Indian Government has declared its acceptance in toto of the Colombo Conference proposals, actually it, too, has made its own interpretation of these proposals. Prime Minister Nehru's recent statement in the Indian parliament indicates that the Indian Government has tried its best to interpret the proposals as having satisfied India's original demand for the restoration of the situation on the border prior to September 8, 1962, stressing that the essence of the Colombo Conference proposals is to vacate the so-called "Chinese aggression" against India. According to a *Times of India* report of January 21, Prime Minister Nehru in his memorandum to Ceylonese Prime Minister Madame Bandaranaike has set forth the Indian Government's own interpretation of the Colombo Conference proposals. It is said that according to the Indian Government's interpretation, in

the western sector, on Chinese territory left vacant by the withdrawal of the Chinese frontier guards 20 kilometres from the line of actual control, India would even have the right to decide that in a certain area only India, not China, can set up civilian posts while in another area there must be civilian posts set up by both the Chinese and Indian sides. In the eastern sector, the Indian Government wants not only to move its armed forces up to the so-called McMahon Line but also to set up India's civilian posts in the Che Dong area north of the line. In the middle sector, the Indian Government is ready, as in the past, to continue intruding into Wuje on the Chinese side of the line of actual control. The question now is: the Indian Government not only insists on its interpretation of the Colombo Conference proposals but also insists that the Chinese Government must accept in toto the proposals as the Indian Government interprets them, as a pre-condition for the start of talks between Chinese and Indian officials; otherwise, "we [India] cannot have any kind of talks, even preliminary talks." The original intention of the Colombo Conference nations is to make their proposals serve as a bridge to facilitate direct talks between China and India, but the Indian Government has done everything it can to turn these proposals into obstacles to the holding of talks. This cannot but arouse one's deep regret.

China Will Respond by Deeds

In compliance with its consistent stand for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Chinese Government will continue to respond by

deeds to the call and proposals of the Colombo Conference. The Chinese frontier guards will, in accordance with the statement of the Chinese Government, soon complete their planned withdrawal along the entire border, and by that time their positions will be far behind those prior to September 8, 1962. The Chinese Government is also prepared to leave vacant all the above-mentioned places disputed by both sides in cease-fire arrangements and not to set up civilian check-posts there. Provided that the Indian Government refrains from making deliberate provocations, these measures of the Chinese Government will continue to ease the Sino-Indian border situation. To facilitate the speedy opening of direct talks between China and India, the Chinese Government maintains that the difference in interpretation between China and India concerning the Colombo Conference proposals should not become an obstacle to talks between their officials but should be resolved during the talks.

The Chinese Government sincerely hopes that direct talks between China and India can be opened at an early date. But any attempt to take advantage of this sincere desire of the Chinese Government to make extortions would definitely be in vain. The Chinese Government has exercised the utmost forbearance and magnanimity. Whether or not Chinese and Indian officials can meet immediately depends entirely on the Indian Government. We hope that the Indian Government will reconsider its attitude, live up to the expectations of the Colombo Conference nations and return to the conference table speedily.

Asian Survey

The Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism in Japan

by **TAN CHIEN**

THE Japanese people are waging a valiant struggle against U.S. imperialism, for independence, for democracy, peace and neutrality. That struggle not only shakes the U.S. imperialist rule in Japan but strikes hard at U.S. policies of aggression and war in the Far East. It is making an outstanding contribution to the upholding of Asian and world peace and setting a brilliant example for the people's struggle in Asia. It is one of the most significant indications today of the vigorous growth of the national and democratic movements among the Asian, African and Latin American peoples.

Difficult Conditions

The conditions under which the Japanese people waged their patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism in 1962 were more difficult and complex than before. Despite the mounting popular struggle against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," the U.S. imperialists have implemented that treaty with even greater vigour so as to turn Japan into a more pliant tool for aggression; at the same time they have intensified their attacks on the Japanese people according to the ideas summed up in the "Kennedy-Reischauer policy." In their efforts to weaken the Japa-

nese people's anti-U.S. struggle, the U.S. imperialists have done all they can to undermine the united front the Japanese people have formed in the course of their struggle against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." Besides employing deceptive propaganda to make itself look good to the Japanese people, U.S. imperialism has tried to buy over the leaders of Japanese trade unions, political parties and mass organizations by providing them with funds or inviting them to visit the United States. The Right-wing Japanese Social Democrats and revisionists who have succumbed to U.S. pressure have tried hard to sell their idea of "structural reform" in order to gloss over U.S. imperialism's domination of Japan and its aggressive nature. In calling for struggle solely against Japanese monopoly capital, they want to divert the people from the struggle against U.S. imperialism, and to end the fight for national independence. They oppose the Communist Party and are splitting the united front of the democratic forces in an attempt to drag the Japanese people's struggle onto the slippery path of pacifism and reformism.

It follows from this that during the Japanese people's struggle in 1962, the question of whether or not to oppose U.S. imperialism resolutely and persist in the struggle

for national independence became the touchstone for distinguishing between correct and erroneous lines of policy. Seventeen years of U.S. occupation of Japan and U.S. domination and oppression of the Japanese nation, the untold suffering brought to the Japanese nation by U.S. imperialism with its war preparations in Japan and aggressive activities in other parts of Asia, have told the Japanese Communist Party and the awakening Japanese people that U.S. imperialism is the deadly enemy of the Japanese nation and the main stumbling block to Japan's independence and peace. That is why they have been fighting against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys more resolutely than ever before.

Struggle Against U.S. Bases

The struggles waged by the Japanese people against U.S. imperialism in 1962 were many-sided. Most outstanding of all was the struggle against U.S. military bases in Japan. This struggle is the continuation and development of the struggle against the aggressive Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." Since that treaty was concluded, the aggressive nature of the more than 200 U.S. military bases in Japan has been revealed even more clearly to the Japanese people. Invoking the treaty, the United States introduced nuclear weapons into Japan. The United States has sent troops and arms from its bases in Japan to Laos and south Viet Nam for aggressive military operations there. Japan has become the biggest U.S. nuclear base in Asia, a base from which to suppress the national-liberation movements on the continent. This has daily increased the danger of Japan being engulfed in an aggressive war. It has provoked a fresh upsurge of the struggle of the Japanese people to get the U.S. bases removed.

To intensify this struggle against the U.S. bases, the Japan Peace Council led a nationwide movement aimed at exposing the threat these bases pose to the independence and peace of Japan and rousing the masses to action. Early in 1962, people in Hokkaido and Kyushu and many other areas launched the struggle with demonstrations and mass rallies. The Japan Peace Council devoted the entire month of March to intensifying the movement against the U.S. bases. During that month, the struggle was carried to a new height. Hundreds of thousands of people in 20 places took united action. The one that caused the greatest alarm to the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries was the demonstration in Fukuoka, Kyushu, on March 25 in which 100,000 people surrounded the U.S. base at Itazuke. This demonstration was jointly sponsored by the Japanese Communist Party, the Socialist Party and more than 1,000 mass organizations. It was a powerful demonstration of the firm resolve of the Japanese people to oppose U.S. imperialism and was a great encouragement to all those in the fight against the U.S. bases.

Shortly afterwards, delegates from various parts of the country gathered at a conference in Tokyo. They issued a declaration stating that these bases are obstacles to the realization of independence, peace and neutrality in Japan and that the organizations represented at the conference would henceforward increase the scale of the struggle, demanding the abolition of U.S. bases in Japan. The movement rapidly spread to such big administrative areas as Kansai, Chugoku, Hokuriku and Shikoku and grew into a powerful nationwide movement.

A nationwide united action against U.S. bases was carried out on October 21, under the leadership of the Japanese Communist Party. One million people from all walks of life held demonstrations around more than 20 major U.S. bases. A total of 120,000 people from Tokyo and the neighbouring counties surrounded the base at Yokota, the biggest U.S. base in Asia, thus writing a brilliant chapter in the history of the Japanese people's struggle against U.S. bases.

The movement last year affected all U.S. bases in Japan as against only a limited number in the past. Moreover, the struggle has gone beyond the original demand for monetary compensation for the losses involved and has been elevated into a political struggle for the removal of the bases altogether. As the resolution passed by the Fourth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party pointed out, "Integrated with the struggle for independence and peace, the current, mounting struggle against U.S. bases in various parts of the country is of great significance in that it will be developed into a united front of the Japanese people against the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries."

Against "Japanese-South Korean Talks"

Another important patriotic struggle waged by the Japanese people against U.S. imperialism last year was the struggle against the formation of a northeast Asian military alliance through the U.S.-instigated "Japanese-south Korean talks." Following the conclusion of the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance, the United States has found it all the more urgent to set up a northeast Asian treaty organization embracing the United States, Japan and south Korea so as to complete its network of military blocs designed to surround the socialist countries and suppress the national-liberation movement.

Because of this, the long-suspended "Japanese-south Korean talks" were resumed in January 1962. The two sides had hoped that they would be able to reach agreement in April and then establish diplomatic relations between them. To thwart this plot, the Japanese Communist Party, the Socialist Party and some 40 mass organizations launched a propaganda campaign against these talks from January to March. Moreover, a "Smash the Japanese-south Korean talks month" was observed between March and April. The curtain was raised for this movement on March 1 when the Japanese Communist Party mobilized more than 10,000 people for a gigantic mass rally in Tokyo. The various mass organizations sent a stream of protests to the Japanese Government, demanding an end to the talks. Mass rallies and demonstrations attended by tens of thousands of people were held in various parts of the country. Those organizations against the "Security Treaty" which in a number of counties had not been active for some time got on the move again. In late November, these organizations launched united struggles against the "Japanese-south Korean talks" in a wide area of the country.

As a result of the joint efforts of the Japanese Communist Party, those members of the Socialist Party with a higher level of political understanding and many other organizations, the National Council for Struggle Against the Security Treaty and to Safeguard Peace, on October 25, last year, for the first time launched a united

action against the "Japanese-south Korean talks" and a massive "united action week" was held from November 19-25. The Japanese people have succeeded in blocking consummation of these plots of the Japanese-U.S. reactionaries. They are determined to carry their fight through to a successful conclusion.

For the Return of Okinawa

In their fight against U.S. imperialist aggression and oppression and for national independence, the Japanese people have also sharpened their struggle against the U.S. occupation of Okinawa, against its being turned into a nuclear base and to demand its return to Japan. Under the influence of the mass struggle, the legislature in Okinawa in February last year passed a resolution declaring that the U.S. occupation of Okinawa runs counter to the U.N. Charter and demanding that the administration of Okinawa be returned to Japan. The resolution pointed out that it was intolerable that 16 years after the end of World War II the U.S. should still be occupying Okinawa by force.

In an effort to take the edge off the people's struggle, the Kennedy Administration proclaimed a so-called new Okinawa policy, but it was clear that the real aim of this was to perpetuate the U.S. occupation and this phoney declaration merely had the effect of starting a new upsurge in the struggle for the return of the island. Some 90 organizations including the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the General Council of Trade Unions held a mass rally in Tokyo to demand the return of Okinawa. In Okinawa itself, 70,000 workers and peasants and people from other walks of life held protest meetings and demonstrations. There was a general strike on the island in protest against continued U.S. occupation. The People's Party of Okinawa, the Social Mass Party and other mass organizations are co-operating with each other more closely than ever in the interests of the common struggle.

Together with the peace forces of various other countries, the Japanese people, always in the van of the international anti-imperialist struggle, successfully held in Tokyo the Eighth World Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. At this conference the anti-imperialist banner was held high. The efforts of 10,000 Japanese delegates and delegates from foreign countries frustrated the schemes of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and the Right-wing Japanese Social Democrats to wreck the conference and drag the peace movement into the quagmire of pacifism. The Tokyo Declaration and Recommendations for Joint International Action declared that U.S. imperialism is the source of nuclear war and the biggest enemy of peace. It called on the people throughout the world to wage a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and in defence of world peace. This conference has given a powerful impetus to the Japanese people and the people of the world in their fight against U.S. imperialism and for national independence and world peace.

Bigger Role of the Japanese Communist Party

Three new features have appeared in the patriotic struggle of the Japanese people against U.S. imperialism.

First, and most important, is the greatly strengthened leading role of the Japanese Communist Party in the

people's struggle. In accordance with its new programme adopted at its Eighth Congress, the Japanese Communist Party has consistently held high the banner of a people's democratic revolution, opposition to rule by U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, and consistently followed a correct line in this struggle. Standing always in the forefront of the various patriotic struggles against U.S. imperialism, it has promptly exposed the enemy's schemes, charted the course along which to advance, safeguarded the unity of the democratic forces and steadily carried the fight forward.

In 1962, it led on its own more rallies and demonstrations than ever before to oppose U.S. military bases in Japan and the "Japanese-south Korean talks," to demand the recovery of Okinawa and to protest against U.S. aggression. It has also strengthened its organizational work among various sections of the people. With the steady growth of its influence among the people, the Japanese Communist Party is gaining the people's support more and more. It doubled its votes in last year's elections to the House of Councillors. Many activists who came to the fore in these various struggles have joined the Party. As the key to the success of the Japanese people's struggle lies in correct leadership, the strengthening of the Japanese Communist Party's leading role constitutes an important guarantee for the steady development and victory of the patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism in the future.

U.S. Imperialism — Enemy of the Japanese People

Another new characteristic of the Japanese people's struggle is that more and more people have come to recognize the truth that U.S. imperialism is the enemy of the Japanese people and that the line of "structural reform," which attempts to prevent the people from fighting against U.S. imperialism, is suffering setback after setback. This is effectively illustrated both by the sweeping development of the Japanese people's struggles against U.S. imperialism and by the failure of the advocates of "structural reform" to put their line for the peace movement across at the Eighth World Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. In the Socialist Party, those who insist on the necessity for struggling against U.S. imperialism are steadily gaining ground. The best proof of this has been provided by the fact that Eda Saburo, an active promoter of the theory of "structural reform" and Secretary-General of the Socialist Party, was forced to resign at a meeting of that party. No force on earth can block the Japanese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism. So long as U.S. imperialism continues to rule and oppress Japan, the contradictions between it and the Japanese people will remain and the struggle against it will develop. Those Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party who are continuing to sell their line of "structural reform" will only isolate themselves further from the people and earn their contempt.

Anti-U.S. United Front Develops

Finally, the schemes of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and the Right-wing Social Democrats to undermine and split the patriotic united struggle and united front against U.S. imperialism are beginning to suffer defeat. The National Council and the absolute majority of the joint struggle organizations at the county level have

resumed activities to wage united struggles. This shows that the united front against U.S. imperialism is in the process of consolidation and growth. Although future struggles will meet certain difficulties due to obstruction by the Right-wing Social Democrats, it is certain that the united struggle will be carried forward and the united front will be developed. This is an inevitable trend which is in keeping with the people's demands and the objective needs of the struggle. From their great struggle against the "Security Treaty," the Japanese people have learnt that the united struggle and the united front are the best method of uniting the broadest sections of the people and a powerful weapon for defeating the enemy. Facts have confirmed that although some Right-wing Social Democrats play a harmful role, they cannot prevent the awakened Japanese people from advancing in the correct direction—that of developing the patriotic united front against U.S. imperialism. The Japanese Communist Party, the progressive members of the Socialist Party and many

mass organizations are striving for the development of a more powerful united front.

A Bright Future

The Japanese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism has a bright future. The three characteristics mentioned above provide favourable conditions for the struggles ahead. Now, with the intensified U.S. imperialist aggression in Japan in the economic, political, military and cultural fields, the contradictions between the Japanese people and U.S. imperialism are deepening and a greater upsurge of the patriotic anti-U.S. struggle is in the making.

The great Japanese people will not tolerate for long U.S. imperialism's continued rule—a humiliation which is unprecedented in their history. Holding high the anti-U.S. banner in their heroic advance, they will certainly be able to drive the aggressive U.S. forces out of Japan and win final victory in their patriotic struggle.

Building a Collective Economy

Notes From a Rural People's Commune

by WEI CHUANG

An account of how the Luozigou People's Commune members are building up a diversified, collective economy, making a big success of their farms, choose activists to run their affairs and are improving their livelihood.

THE people of Wangching, a well-wooded county at the eastern end of Kirin Province in northeast China, have long engaged in lumbering. This was once their main source of livelihood as it was of many other neighbouring communities in the Changpai Mountains. Farming formerly merely supplemented their lumbering. Today they continue cutting and processing timber profitably, but they have made a big success of their farms too. These are now the major part of a well-rounded, diversified agricultural commune economy that includes farming, stock-raising, lumbering and a variety of related side-occupations. They have done so well at farming indeed that instead of importing grain from outside, as in the past, the county now regularly sells a considerable amount of grain to the state over and above its own needs.

What happened in Luozigou, a typical commune of the county, will help to illustrate how these momentous changes were brought about.

Pre-liberation Luozigou, lying on the northeastern border of Wangching, used only a small part of its large hilly area for farming. Its 4,000 households gave their main attention to timber felling, hunting and the collection of medicinal herbs and other mountain products. But in 1956, the first year the peasants worked in fully socialist farm co-ops, they boosted their grain output to 4,700 tons. Two years later they formed their people's commune, and in 1960 they were raising more than 50 per cent more grain, compared with 1956. Though nearly a fifth of the crop in 1961 was lost because of drought, they were able, organized as a commune, to sell a large amount

of grain to the state. Last year's harvest exceeded that of 1961 by a wide margin. Many commune members built new houses last autumn—a clear sign of rural prosperity.

Using the Land Better

The steady increase in grain output was achieved mainly by extending the area under cultivation. In Luozigou the population is sparsely settled, so the usual way to get more grain has been simply to open up new land. Since 1958 more than 10,000 *mu* of land have been opened up and planted to farm crops.

This clearing, contouring and ploughing of virgin soil was the result of a concerted effort on the part of the commune members. The co-ops, which generally comprised scores of households, had not been able to provide the large amount of manpower needed for the job. The communes had the manpower. Four years ago the state also dispatched two tractors to serve the commune in opening up new farmland and in farming. Then in 1961 four additional, Chinese-made tractors were assigned to help the commune.

With most of the more easily reclaimable land opened up, the Luozigou members began to put more thought and effort into methods of intensive farming.

Ever since 1952 when they started to organize mutual-aid teams, the first step to collective farming, they have worked consistently to build on the once interrupted traditional farming methods of the place. At one time the Luozigou farmers used to raise a number of crops such as millet, soya beans, maize and spring wheat. All these grow sturdily there although there is only a short frost-free period and the autumn frosts come early. But this well-tested system was destroyed in the late thirties by the Japanese invaders.

They forced the peasants to concentrate on paddyrice to the extent that it took up 60 per cent of the total cultivated area. If the autumn frost came late, the farmers might expect a harvest. Otherwise, they faced disaster. Whatever the result, the Japanese would requisition all the rice produced for their army, heedless of the needs of the farmers.

Liberation ended such brutal oppression of the people and irrational exploitation of the land, but it took more than ten years to reform the system of cultivation completely. Paddyrice is not an economical crop to grow in Luozigou. A relatively high elevation, cold water and a short frost-free period don't make it very suitable for rice. Furthermore, even if its yields are the same as, say millet, it demands twice or three times as much manpower. This is a factor that this sparsely populated area has to weigh seriously, so today the old paddyfields have been put under other crops, though a few brigades still plant a certain amount of early-ripening rice on sunny slopes.

The Luozigou farmers now concentrate in the first place on the high-yield crops that are better suited to their locality and since socialist farm co-ops were generally set up in 1956 they have introduced such proved methods of raising yields and economizing manpower as inter-cropping maize and beans, or switching from old-fashioned dibbling to mechanical drilling in sowing soya beans.

This is how Luozigou has been transformed from a grain-deficient into a grain-surplus area.

The grass flats and green hillsides of Luozigou provide good pasture. By last autumn, the members had increased the commune's livestock by 12 per cent compared with 1957. (The commune was set up in 1958.) They now have more than 2,700 horses and cattle. This is a respectable figure but plans are for an even bigger increase. The demand for draught animals is heavy there because they are used not only in farming with a steadily larger area being cultivated but for transport in lumbering operations in the mountains.

The animals are generally owned and bred by the production teams and brigades of the commune, but individual needs are not neglected. Some teams have been selling a limited number of colts or calves to members. The latter raise them and then use them to cart firewood, turn the family mills or cultivate their personal plots. In case they want to sell their animals, first refusal must be given to the teams.

Power Stations

Electric power stations are playing a leading role in transforming the life of Luozigou's mountain hamlets. Five small power stations have been installed since the farm co-op days. These stations, operated by the production brigades under the commune, are lighting the houses and powering the wireless sets. Electric lights have been installed in 13 of the 19 brigades. Power is doing more of the heavy manual work. Most of it is used for milling grain and processing other farm produce.

One hydro-electric station in the Xintunzi Brigade supplies power to two stone mills. Attended by two persons, they can handle 5 tons of grain a day. Before electricity was used, that amount of work took 50 men and 50 draught animals.

Cost conscious, manpower conscious, the Luozigou commune members are keen supporters of electrification. Financing these projects out of their own resources, they carefully considered which type of station was best suited to each locality and in building them made as much use of local materials as possible. All are giving their money's worth. In 1960 the Neihe Brigade built a thermal power station and installed milling equipment as well as electric lighting. The investment in this project was large, but average per-capita income that year still rose by 11 per cent compared with 1959. In the following year it rose another 6 per cent.

Simple water power is not neglected either. The Xintunzi Brigade has four threshers operated by water power. Last year they threshed the whole wheat crop from 750 *mu* in five days. The building cost was surprisingly low, and they have been running smoothly for more than a decade.

Role of Older Peasants

Chengzihou is one of the commune's brigades that has done pretty well in raising grain. Compared with the pre-commune year of 1957, in 1961 it reaped 12 per cent more grain. The past four years have witnessed in general a rapid progress in its collective economy. One of the major factors in this success is the way it has succeeded in giving scope to the enthusiasm and energy of its young members and making the best use of the mature experience and wisdom of its veteran members. Among these veterans, of course, the key and leading role belongs to the older men among the former poor peasants and lower middle peasants.

It was these men who suffered most in the old days of exploitation and oppression. Under the guidance of the Communist Party, it was the activists among them who were in the van of the struggles against the landlords during the land reform and against the rich peasants in the movement to set up farm co-ops. Today they are working hard to develop the commune's collective economy. They, more than others, realize the sharp contrast between the old and new societies, the prolonged nature of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads and the need to seek a better life through collective efforts. This places them among the staunchest supporters of collective farming.

They are highly respected for their grasp of farming technique. Practically all the deputy team leaders and group leaders of the teams, mostly youngsters, have been coached in farming by these older peasants. They have also learnt a lot from them politically. Wangching County was liberated in 1945 and land reform was completed by 1947. So the under-thirties were mostly teenagers at the time of the land reform and remember little of the old days before liberation. It is from their elders that they learn about the bad old days and how the peasants fought for emancipation right there in their villages.

It is for these reasons that the commune members set great store by its veteran activists. Three of the six team leaders in the Chengzihou Brigade are in the 40-60 age group, activists who came to the fore in the days of land reform. Two others are over 30 years old. They were once the brigade's accountant and cashier respectively and known for their excellent work. All were elected to their present posts by secret ballot. The

older peasants also comprise the majority on the brigade's management committee where all important issues are discussed and in many cases decided.

These elder peasants have a wealth of practical knowledge. Experience tells them which crops grew best in the locality in the past and how to cultivate them. They have given many valuable and well-founded proposals on crop arrangements.

Whenever the brigade decides to try out something new, it invariably asks the opinions of these "elders." Even if they favour it, if it is a major step, it will be tried out first in practice before being formally adopted. There have been not a few cases where their opinion has saved the brigade from having to learn anew from costly experience.

Long years of experience and, particularly the bitter life before liberation, have turned the older peasants into paragons of diligence and thrift. They have brought these qualities to the running of commune affairs too. When things go well, it is they who in the first place, back up suggestions to put something by for a rainy day. As a result of their advice, the brigade built up a considerable grain reserve in its fat years, so that when floods carried away part of the crop in 1960, it was able to solve its food problems out of its own resources.

Individuals and the Collective

Members of the Luozigou People's Commune are in high spirits and proud of what they have achieved collectively. Their prosperous collective economy has fully shown its value in benefits to the individual member. However, there are still a few families which have difficulties supporting themselves entirely on their earnings. These the commune helps in various ways. Among them are some families of revolutionary martyrs and army-men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, which have a relatively large number of children in the absence of able-bodied adults. The commune, following the long established tradition of revolutionary China, helps the needful with appropriate grants.

The Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Army, led by the Communist Party, was once active in Luozigou when it

was fighting guerrilla warfare against the invading Japanese troops. Large numbers of peasants joined this armed struggle. After Japan's surrender in 1945, these brave men took an active part in the War of Liberation (1945-49) and the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea (1950-53). Many gave their lives in battle; there are a number of monuments in Louzigou commemorating their memory.

The veterans of these campaigns and their dependents, family members of the revolutionary martyrs and of the men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army—practically all of them working peasants—are staunch supporters of collective farming. A typical one is 59-year-old Hsueh Chang-hai of the First Brigade of the commune. His second son is serving in the army, so he is an army-man's dependent. His elder son has a family of his own now and lives independently. His third son works in a tractor station and the two youngest sons are at school.

A cowherd at 11, a farmhand at 18 and a tenant farmer at 30, Hsueh never even had a tiny plot of his own before liberation. The back-breaking toil which he was forced to do in the prime of his life has left him unable to do any heavy work now. However, he insists on helping the commune and supporting his large family by working. He refuses to take the grant which the commune has offered him.

Since he is a good breeder of animals, his production team lets him take care of its six deer. For this work he earns his work-points like any other member of the team. His team also sold the Hsueh family on credit one sow. The Hsuehs tended the animal well and soon the sow grew fat and gave birth to a litter of 12 piglets. Old man Hsueh sold these, and cleared his account with the team.

Hsueh Chang-hai is a conscientious worker as well as guardian of the collective interests. He was absent from his deer-tending post only 17 days in the whole of 1961. He never hesitates to make any proposal or criticism that will benefit the collective. He knows well that unless collective production goes up there can be no general improvement in its members' standards of living.

High-Altitude Power Station

"Never Setting Sun" in Lhasa

by SA TIEN-WEN

Not so many years ago the wick burning in oil was the only light used in the working-people's homes in Tibet. Now thousands of them can "switch on the light," thanks to the power stations built since the liberation. The Nachhe Hydro-Electric Station in Lhasa, the largest one in Tibet, has spurred the growth of industry, farming and culture. Lhasans call it the "Never Setting Sun."

TIBET under its feudal serf-owning rulers had little modern lighting, and it depended for most of its power on human or animal muscle and brawn. Lhasa, the capital city, had a small 60-kw. hydro-electric power station built

by the British imperialists; this operated only in the summer when the thawing mountains poured their freshets into the Lhasa River. But anyway it had never been used for industrial purposes but simply to light the palaces and add to the comfort of the feudal rulers. By the time of the peaceful liberation of the region in 1951, it had ceased to function. This station and a very small mint made up the entire industry of Tibet at that time. Stubbornly determined to keep the clock standing still, it never occurred to the slave-owners to build a power station to ease the lot of their slaves and serfs and bring progress to the land.

The question of power became an urgent one when the People's Government began to help the region set up a number of factories in the early years immediately after liberation. One of the first power units installed was a 100-kw. thermal plant built in the summer of 1956 in Shigatse, second largest Tibetan town, to the southwest of Lhasa.

By the end of the same year a second station had been built, the 600-kw. Dodephu Hydro-Electric Power Station on the Lhasa River. This 400-km.-long river has great possibilities for development as a source of power and irrigation but hitherto it had brought few benefits to the people. Its unkempt banks were frequently breached by destructive floods during the high-water season. With the building of the power station and its dam, it began a new useful modern life.

Small though these two stations were, they met Tibet's still modest power demands. They also provided useful experience in the building of stations on the high plateau.

Despite all the difficulties created by the local reactionary authorities, modern ways continued to advance and with plans going ahead for the building of an iron and steel plant, a motor repair shop and a farm tool factory, it became essential to increase the supply of power. The Nachhe Hydro-Electric Power Station was therefore planned on the outskirts of Lhasa. Also, like the Dodephu station, using the water power of the Lhasa River, it will have a capacity of 7,500 kw. when all the generators are installed.

Help From All Sides

When construction of the station started in 1958, help poured in from all sides. Engineers and technicians were recruited from many provinces. The generators and equipment came from Lanchow in the northwest, Chungking in the southwest, Shanghai and Tientsin on the east coast and even from the northeast. The whole project included the building of a 3,300-metre-long dam, a 500-metre-long spillway and other works. One big job was to blast away a shoulder of Mount Gampa to make a channel leading the waters of the Lhasa River to the station turbines.

Five thousand Tibetans made up the bulk of the work force — peasants from the plains along the Yalu Tsangpo River, herdsmen from northern Tibet and Lhasa citizens. A large number of men and officers of the local People's Liberation Army units helped the work with bulldozers, pneumatic tools and lorries.

The Tibetan builders of the project worked with unsurpassed enthusiasm. They knew that they were building the means of prosperity and happiness for Tibet, for themselves and all China. When the work started in



Hydro-Electric Station in Tibet

Woodcut by Mo Tse

October 1958 most of them came to the site without the slightest knowledge of modern industrial construction methods, but they learnt fast from their Han fellow workers and technicians. By the time the station was commissioned in April 1960, over 700 of them had become skilled electricians, concrete mixers, masons and handy men at other crafts.

In the spring of 1959 when the reactionary upper class clique in Tibet launched their abortive rebellion, the work was interrupted. The P.L.A. builders went off to battle stations and their civilian Tibetan comrades were advised to return home for the time being. But the latter, sure that the rebels would soon be suppressed, preferred to stay on the site. They organized themselves into a detachment to protect the unfinished station from sabotage by the rebels and many volunteered to go into action with the regular troops. The rebellion was rapidly put down and work on the project resumed.

The first generator went into operation in April 1960. Last autumn, another generator was commissioned in the station increasing Lhasa's supply of electricity by one-fourth.

Tibetan Skilled Workers

A number of the many Tibetans who picked up technical know-how on the job and became skilled workers were enrolled on the station staff. One may see Drolma, a Tibetan girl looking after the turbines. She was born into a family of serfs and endured all the horrors and hardships of such a life in her childhood. On the Nachhe project she showed her aptitude and public spirit and received training. Now this wide-awake Tibetan girl is a shift foreman of the operational section. Nyima and Phurpu are both sons of blacksmiths. The first has be-

(Continued on p. 23.)

DRAMA

"The Red Propagandist"

A Korean girl propagandist who has won high praise in Korea is proving a no less effective propagandist for communism in socialist China.

From Life to Stage in Korea

In Korea in 1961, Li Sin Ja, a girl member of the Li Heun Ri Agricultural Co-op near Pyongyang, suddenly became a centre of national attention when Premier Kim Il Sung, speaking to Party members there, said of her: "This comrade can truly be called a communist educator." That was high praise indeed. Three days later, after reading of this, Korean playwright Jo Paik Lin was down in Li Heun Ri getting her story.

He found Li Sin Ja, then just turned 20, in one of the work-teams of the co-op. Hers was a poor area. Its skimpy soil suffered frequent droughts. Even the "birds there wept trying to find a drop of water." After the liberation in 1945, the new irrigation works built there increased farm yields and things got better; then everything was destroyed in the U.S. invasion. The villagers staunchly cleared away the ruins left by the war and rebuilt their homes, but output was low; it was a tough, uphill fight and some, disheartened by what seemed pretty dim prospects, left the village for more favoured spots. Li Sin Ja, a middle-school graduate and a member of the Party of Labour, like the majority of the co-op members, had faith in the future of her village. What distinguished her was her spirit of dedication in building socialism and her ability to communicate that spirit to others. Inspired by the Party of Labour's 1960 directives on the importance of communist education in getting rid of the selfish, individualist ideas inherited from the past and creating a new collective spirit, she asked to be given the job of propagandist in her team. Conscientious and selfless in her farm work, she devoted herself to helping out the lagging members of her team. The team spirit she helped to build and socialist initiative and enthusiasm in their work so completely transformed their farm that it was soon one of the most productive in the

land—that year's harvest gave each family an average of 6,000 *jin* of grain. On the eve of May Day, 1961, her team was awarded the title of "Advanced Flying Horse Work-Team."

This is the simple but significant story that the Korean playwright brought to the Pyongyang stage not long after his visit. It took Korea by storm. After 180 performances, it is still playing to full houses. Some members of the Li Heun Ri Co-op have seen it several times. Like them, audiences from other places recognize in it a living picture of their own countryside and its simple, heroic people surging forward in the Flying Horse Movement. Critics have hailed it as a "fine play of our times." It has received two high dramatic awards.

Success in China

Just before the New Year, Peking audiences got their chance to see the play whose fame had long reached their ears from the other side of the Yalu. Put on by the Peking People's Art Theatre in Chinese, it has been attracting full houses for more than a month since its premiere. Audiences come away eagerly discussing Li Sin Ja (Li Seun Ja in the play) and her work of propagandist. As the play shows her, like any good propagandist she can talk with persuasive passion, but more important, she is a propagandist with deeds, a girl with rare insight and tact in dealing with her fellow team members, helping them where it counts. She divines how to approach an "unapproachable," cantankerous widow, embittered towards life by the loss of her family during the U.S. bombings—she becomes a new daughter to her; she finds the way to the heart and head of the old peasant with 50 years of working experience and a formidable belief that he knows better than any young person what's good for his own interests; she knows too when a good, sisterly dressing down is needed by the youngster who considers the village too small a world for "one with talent." These three inter-related episodes reveal the mettle of this gentle and resolute young girl-Communist who looks on the future with shining eyes and brings that shine, too, into the eyes of her fellows. Chinese audiences cried and laughed through the play not only because of

its own intrinsic power to move with its humour and humanity but also because they too recognize people like Li Sin Ja and her team-mates in their own lives, and they too in socialist China have seen their communities changing under their eyes just as in the drama that unfolds on the stage. . . .

Korean Artists' Help

When news of Peking's plan to stage the play reached Pyongyang last year, the Korean State Drama Theatre lost no time in sending China the script and relevant material, including a complete set of costumes for the leading characters. That autumn a group of Chinese directors, actors and playwrights were invited to spend three weeks in Korea, seeing the play as performed there, soaking up background and learning from their Korean colleagues.

The highlight of that stay was three days at the Li Heun Ri Co-op itself. Here the Chinese artists met the real Li Sin Ja in person and many of the people the play was modelled after. They worked side by side with the Koreans and were welcomed by them as their own kith and kin.

Back in Peking, members of the Korean Embassy attended the very first complete rehearsal to give their help. A Korean art and culture delegation arrived in Peking on the eve of the Chinese premiere. Among its members were the vice-director of the Korean State Drama Theatre, the playwright and the main actors and actresses of the Korean cast. They attended one of the last dress rehearsals and gave valuable last-minute tips.

It is this Korean help and imaginative, conscientious staging that have brought Li Heun Ri and its people to the Peking stage so faithfully. The Chinese producers and actors are full of praise for that help. As the Chinese director puts it: the huge success of the Chinese production was made possible because of the truly fraternal feelings that exist between two peoples who are as close as brothers and their unity of artistic thought. The *Red Propagandist* breathes the spirit of the times of socialist construction; that is why it carries its message so effectively both on the Korean stage and on the stage of socialist China.

PHOTOGRAPHY

Record of Cuban Revolution

The striking collection of photographs of the Cuban revolution is now on show at the Peking Exhibition Centre. Jointly sponsored by the All-China Journalists' Association, the China Photographic Society and the China-Cuba Friendship Association, the opening ceremony on January 21 was attended by Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Wu Leng-hsi, President of the All-China Journalists' Association; Oscar Pino-Santos, Cuban Ambassador to China; leading cultural figures, journalists and photographers. *Renmin Ribao* took the lead in devoting a whole page to pictures from the show and several other papers followed suit. The crowds of daily visitors are fully appreciating what one reviewer describes as "a splendid poem filled with heroic images."

The 500 photographs on display cover the ten-year period from March 1952 when the U.S.-backed Batista set up his dictatorship, to the victory of the Cuban revolution led by Fidel Castro and events up to early 1962.



"Fidel, Let Us Hit the Yankees Real Hard!"



Premier Fidel Castro speaking at the mass meeting on Sept. 2, 1960, at which the famous "Havana Declaration" was adopted

Thanks to Cuba's revolutionary photographers who, as evidenced by their works, were and are always in the thick of the people's struggle, we see the authentic record of the armed uprising against the Batista dictatorship on July 26, 1953, the landing in Cuba of the 82 patriots on November 25, 1956, and the now world-famous Maestra Mountains where they set up their first guerrilla base. There are also photographic records of underground activities in various cities, such as the attack made on the Presidential Palace in Havana on March 13, 1957. A huge enlargement shows us the citizens of Havana pouring into the streets to hail the victory of the revolution and cheer the entry of the guerrillas into the capital in January 1959. Then come pictures of Cuba's land reform, the taking over of the big plantations by the peasants and her achievements in socialist construction.

Here too is damning photographic evidence of the crimes of U.S. imperialism against the newly liberated country—the burning of sugar plantations and other acts of sabotage.

Photographs of the ignominious defeat of the U.S. mercenaries at the Giron Beach draw especially large

crowds—crowds filled with admiration for the great revolutionary courage of the Cuban people. These are historic pictures—they record the worst military defeat ever suffered by U.S. imperialism in Latin America.

After the opening ceremony, Kuo Mo-jo paid tribute to the exhibition in an inscription: "Cuba is sure to win. The U.S. is sure to be defeated. The great liberation of the people all over the world will surely come!" In this, he perfectly expresses the feelings of all those who have seen the exhibition.



Hard-Working Fishermen

From the Photographic Exhibition on Cuban Revolution

SIDELIGHTS

A Song Rewritten. A Shansi folk song that became very popular through the modern Chinese opera *Liu Hu-lan* runs:

*Chiaocheng is no place to marry
your daughters;
Up on the hills food is scarce;
You joggle up on the grey donkey
and joggle on it down,
And you'll never see a carriage all
your life.*

This song has been rewritten by liberation. Early this year, in one of the deepest valleys in the Chiaocheng hills, Grandma Chang boarded a bus for a hospital in the county town. She came back cured of her many-year-old stomach ailment. Where only footpaths existed before, four highways along which buses and other vehicles run now link the eight communes scattered in this mountainous region in Shansi. The amount of timber brought down from the forest-rich areas in the region has increased in a decade from 300 cubic metres to 16,000 cubic metres annually. The export of wild medicinal herbs, of which 600 kinds are known to grow here, has also increased manyfold.

In the old days, local people said: "The waters of Chiaocheng leave the fields of Chiaocheng high and dry but flow into the fields of Wenshui." Spiralling down the hills of Chiaocheng the Wenyu River is able to irrigate very little of its fields due to lack of dams and water-detention projects. Most of its waters flow from the foot hills into another county, Wenshui. Since 1957 the two counties have jointly built irrigation works which have increased the irrigated area in Chiaocheng from 1,200 *mu* to over 20,000 *mu* and in Wenshui brought another 12,000 *mu* under irrigation.

Increased production and better transport have brought better living standards to the mountain people. Morning, noon and night potatoes and oatmeal were the daily fare here, and that without the salt and vinegar people liked but mostly couldn't afford. Now a Chiaocheng dinner table is also laid out with bread made of wheat or cornflour, vegetables, oc-

casional meat, and a variety of fruits such as peaches and pears from their own gardens. The local supply and marketing co-op supplies all the condiments needed as well as sweetmeats and cakes.

As for horse carriages, people naturally prefer the buses now. But it is not unusual for commune members to drive in to the fair on carts drawn by splendid horses bred on the new horse ranch of the Hengchien Commune.

Green Happiness. Six and a half million *mu* of new forests have been planted in western Kwangtung Province since liberation. Among the many benefits brought by this big afforestation effort is a warmer climate and bigger crops.

Annual average temperature in the coastal areas here has risen half a degree centigrade since 1957. Rainfall throughout the area is now more evenly distributed. Large tracts of wasteland formerly left uncultivated because of over rapid evaporation and unchecked windstorms have been brought under the plough; rice, sweet potatoes and other crops are now being grown on them. In Tienpai County 90,000 *mu* of paddyfields have been freed by afforestation from spot floods. Yields here have been doubled.

A 700-km.-long windbreak on the southern coast has lessened the impact of typhoons and tidal waves coming in from the sea. Afforestation too has checked soil erosion and sandstorms on the hinterland plain. Large-scale timber-cutting will start next year in the new-grown forests of



Off to Plant Trees
Coloured woodcut by Yen Han

formerly bleak Leichow Peninsula. Fifty-eight new plantations have also been established here growing citronella, coffee and other tropical crops.

Home Is the Orphan. Few drama troupes anywhere have so astonishing a history as the Shanghai Children's Art Theatre—one of the best-liked troupes on the Shanghai stage. Twelve years ago many among the troupe from directors to actors were Shanghai beggars and homeless street urchins. Typical among them is Wang Ping-sheng, now in charge of the troupe's stage lighting. Early one morning after liberation, the Children's Drama Troupe—predecessor of the theatre—sponsored by the China Welfare Institute, found a boy shivering at its door. He was admitted, cared for, given an education, and taught this branch of stage art on which he was keen. So had come many others with a similar past: orphaned, whipped and kicked around or sold from hand to hand, and finally turned out into the streets. In the troupe they felt for the first time the touch of a new padded coat, the warmth of a blanket carefully tucked around them, and the magic of art. Wang Hsin-min was fond of drawing. He was sent to study stage decor at the Shanghai Opera School, and is now the leading artist of the troupe. Liu An-ku could hardly stammer his four lines the first time he got on the stage. Now he is a mature actor with many fans looking forward to his coming appearance in *Huckleberry Finn*. Others have become scenario writers, directors, composers, and many of them, members of the Youth League and the Communist Party.

To the Countryside. Busfuls of Shanghai's top sports teams are going out to surrounding people's communes with footballs, basketballs, pingpong bats or fencing staffs tucked under their arms. Sports-conscious peasant-spectators crowding four-deep around village sports fields to see the games and demonstrations leave no doubt of their welcome. There are mutual exchanges of experience on these trips too with the sportsmen giving tips on play and training to the commune teams and the production brigades describing the latest on the agricultural front to them. Both are finding this one fine way of spending a Sunday.

(Continued from p. 19.)

come a dexterous wireman and the other a skilled lineman. Every Tibetan worker on the staff has a story worth telling.

The Nachhe station is the largest hydro-electric power plant so far built on the Tibetan plateau. It rises on a site that was a picture of desolation before the liberation. Now it is Lhasa's main source of power. It provides power not only for the industrial enterprises but also for the city's suburban districts which use its electricity to run pumps, to irrigate the farmlands and to process farm produce. It also provides power for domestic use. Most of Lhasa's homes and farms near the station have replaced

their dim oil lamps with electric lights, an undreamt of boon before liberation. The Jokhan, Sera and Daipung Monasteries in Lhasa have all installed electric lighting systems.

The Nachhe station is a pioneer for industrial power in Tibet. The region averages 5,000 metres above sea level and the rarefied air here creates no small difficulties for the safe and efficient operation of power stations. The Chinese power industry had little experience or data in this field before, but the Nachhe station now has maintained an excellent record of safe and efficient operation and accumulated a wealth of experience in this line. This will be invaluable in the future development of Tibet's rich water resources and power industry.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

The following programme scheduled for the coming week is subject to change.

KUNQU OPERA

▲ **A KINGDOM AS THE STAKE** A story of the Warring States Period. King Wei of Chu plots to annex the State of Chi by defeating its king and queen in a game of chess with the state of Chi as the stake. But when the clever Queen of Chi wins the game, King Wei becomes enraged and starts a real fight. The queen, aware of his treachery, is well prepared and defeats him. North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

SZECHUAN OPERA

▲ **STORY OF A SCHOLAR** A traditional satire. A scholar, falsely accused of robbery, appeals to the local courts and officials for justice. But the corrupt officials demand a bribe. Incensed, he appeals to the emperor, who, he believes, will give him justice. But the emperor sentences him to death, and he realizes that there is no hope of getting justice from a corrupt society. Produced by the visiting Szechuan Opera Theatre from Chengtu.

MODERN DRAMA

▲ **THE LOWER DEPTHS** Maxim Gorky's famous play. Performed by the visiting Anta Modern Drama Troupe.

▲ **RED PROPAGANDIST** A modern Korean play depicting the Flying Horse Movement of socialist construction in Korea. An enthusiastic young Korean girl by her tact and perseverance brings great changes to her home village. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **RED CRAG** A play adapted from the popular novel by Lo Kuang-pin and Yang Yi-yen. It shows the bitter struggle inside the notorious SACO prison between the political prisoners and the U.S.-Chiang agents and gaolers on the eve of Chungking's liberation. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **TUCHUAN MOUNTAIN** A drama of a spontaneous peasant uprising. Under the

guidance of the Communist Party, the peasants become a strong and organized revolutionary force. New production of the China Youth Art Theatre.

FILMS

▲ **PEOPLE OF THE NORTHERN WASTELAND** A feature film in colour. How the courageous P.L.A. men overcome many obstacles and finally turn the Northern Wasteland into fertile farms. Produced by Peking Studio.

▲ **THE TRAP** A Hongkong film. A gang of swindlers employ a beautiful girl to entice and get money out of a young man. The plot falls when there is an unexpected twist to events and the girl exposes the swindlers.

▲ **LIU YI AND THE PRINCESS** A colour film version of a Shaohsing opera. The scholar Liu Yi helps the ill-fated Dragon Princess of Lake Tunging escape from her overbearing husband, the Dragon Prince of Chinghu River. It ends happily with the marriage of the Dragon Princess and her benefactor. Changchun Studio.

▲ **A RED DETACHMENT OF WOMEN** A colour film about the women guerrilla fighters of Hainan Island in the 1930s. Shanghai Tienma Studio.

▲ **TIGERS ABOARD** A Soviet colour film. A comedy of a Soviet merchant ship and a strange cargo—ten tigers, two lions and a monkey.

▲ **THE BEAUTIFUL LURETTE** A G.D.R. Defa production. A widescreen colour film version of an opera. A French duke abducts a beautiful laundress but her fiancé and friends thwart his plots.

▲ **GUERRILLAS SWEEP THE PLAIN** A feature film set in 1943. It tells how the people's guerrillas wipe out the Japanese invaders who attack an anti-Japanese base area in north China. Changchun Studio.

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **"EAST WIND" CARTOON EXHIBITION** On current international events. Daily, 9:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. At the Working People's Palace of Culture.

▲ **PHOTOS OF CUBAN REVOLUTION** Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. At Peking Exhibition Centre.

▲ **"WELCOME SPRING" TRADITIONAL CHINESE PAINTINGS EXHIBITION** Daily, 9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon, 2:00 p.m.-5:00 p.m. Till Feb. 10. At Artists' Union Gallery.

▲ **POLISH CARTOON EXHIBITION** Daily, (except Feb. 4.) 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. Till Feb. 8. At Peking Exhibition Centre.

▲ **1963 NEW YEAR PICTURES EXHIBITION** Daily, 9:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. Till Feb. 10. At the Working People's Palace of Culture.

▲ **FOOCHOW INDUSTRIAL ARTS EXHIBITION** Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. Till Feb. 5. At the Round City, Beihai Park.

SKATING

The Season's On!

The skating rinks in Peking are open:

▲ **SHI CHA HAI:**
Mon.-Fri. 5:00 p.m.-8:30 p.m.
Sat. 5:00 p.m.-9:00 p.m.
Sun. 9:00 a.m.-11:00 a.m.
5:00 p.m.-8:30 p.m.

▲ **WORKERS' STADIUM:**
Mon.-Fri. 5:00 p.m.-8:00 p.m.
Sat. 5:00 p.m.-8:30 p.m.
Sun. 9:00 a.m.-11:00 a.m.
5:00 p.m.-8:00 p.m.

▲ **WORKING PEOPLE'S PALACE OF CULTURE:**
Mon.-Sat. 5:00 p.m.-9:00 p.m.
Sun. 9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon
5:00 p.m. 9:00 p.m.

▲ **BEIHAI PARK:**
Mon.-Fri. 5:00 p.m.-8:30 p.m.
Sat. 5:00 p.m.-9:00 p.m.
Sun. 9:00 a.m.-11:30 a.m.
1:00 p.m.-3:30 p.m.
5:00 p.m.-8:30 p.m.

▲ **ZHONGSAN PARK:**
Mon.-Fri. 9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon
5:30 p.m.-9:30 p.m.
Sat. 9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon
5:30 p.m.-9:30 p.m.
Sun. 8:00 a.m.-10:30 a.m.
11:30 a.m.-2:30 p.m.
5:30 p.m.-8:30 p.m.

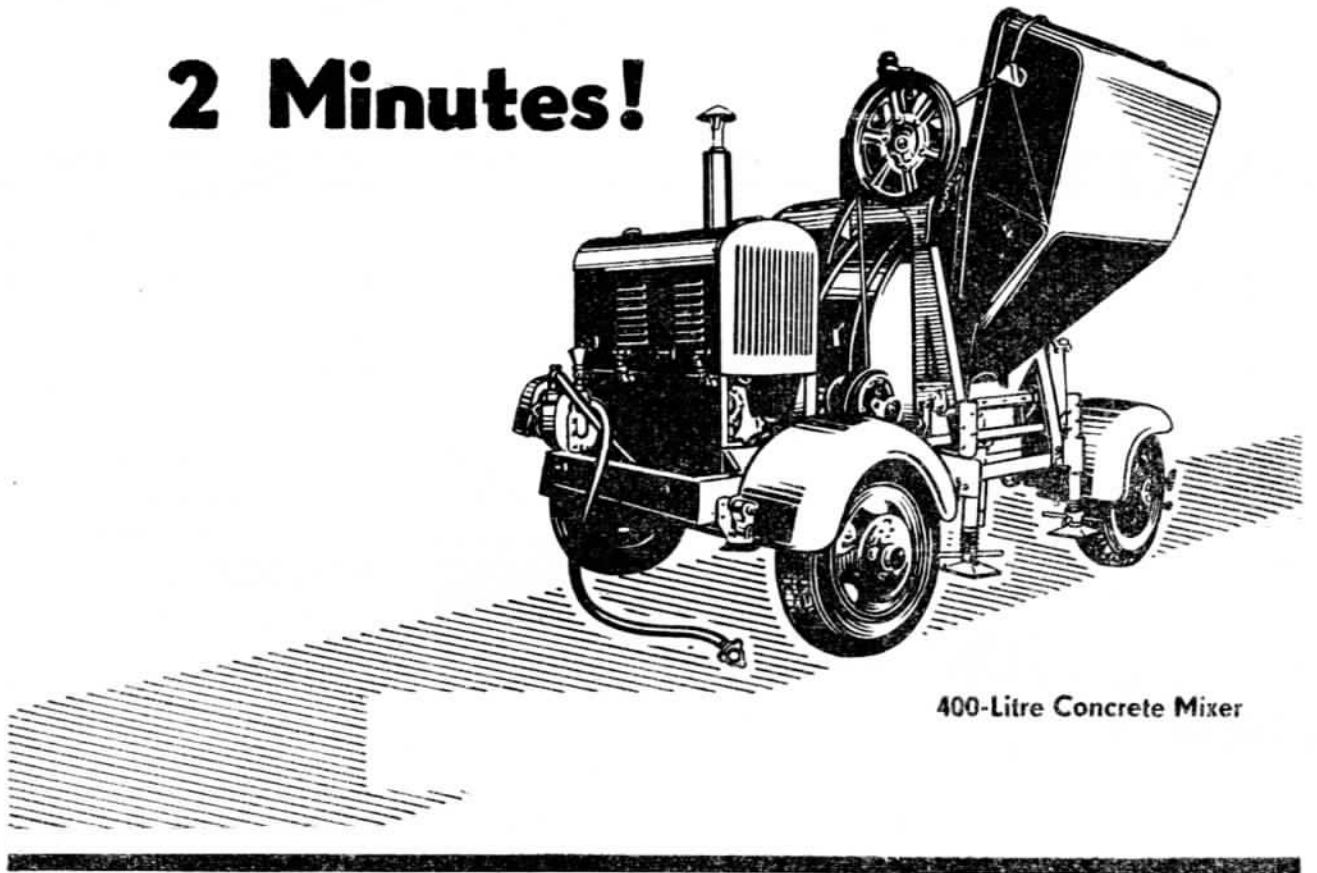
▲ **TAO RAN TING:**
Mon.-Sun. 5:00 p.m.-8:30 p.m.
Tues., Thurs.
Sat. & Sun. 8:30 a.m. 11:00 a.m.



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