

PEKING REVIEW

6

February 8, 1963

Breakdown of Brussels Conference Mirrors Western Conflicts

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A Hongqi Article

Chinese Press Opinion and Other Features

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报
(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

February 8, 1963 Vol. VI No. 6

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ROUND THE WEEK

Shanghai Conferences: Science — Technology — Agriculture

Three conferences were held last week in Shanghai. One was on science and technology, and the other two concerned agriculture. The presence of Premier Chou En-lai at them underscored their importance. Convened as the nation starts the first year of its Third Five-Year Plan, they will certainly have a great impact on the nation's socialist construction.

The conference on science and technology was held to chart a course of development in these fields. Over 600 scientists, professors and young research workers from 23 branches of the natural sciences, engineering, agricultural and medical sciences in Shanghai participated. In his address to them, Premier Chou spoke on the significance of the modernization of China's science and technology for her socialist construction. "This," said the Premier, "is the key to building up our country into a strong socialist state with a modern agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology." To bring about this modernization, the Premier stressed that work should be done in a practical and systematic way and that it should move ahead at the same time and at full tilt in all fields of endeavour so that China could catch up with the world's advanced levels in a relatively short time.

Premier Chou drew attention to many favourable conditions which we enjoy. These include dialectical materialism which serves as our ideological guide, our tremendous manpower and rich resources which are our foundation, and the superiority of the socialist system which is our guarantee of success. In addition, China today has many times more intellectuals and scientific and technical workers than in pre-liberation days, and has already laid the preliminary foundation for industrialization. With these and other favourable factors, the Premier said, "we shall surely come up from behind and make greater contributions than those who came before us."

Premier Chou expressed confidence that the scientists and technologists of Shanghai, the nation's largest indus-

trial city and an important scientific centre, would rise to the occasion and make their contribution to expediting the modernization of China's agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology.

Conscious of their responsibilities, Shanghai's scientists were deeply inspired by Premier Chou's speech and the confidence placed in them. In the discussions that followed, the scientists expressed their determination to do everything possible to transform the Premier's wish into reality at the earliest possible date.

Accent on Agriculture

A conference of advanced agricultural units from people's communes to production teams in east China and another on agricultural science and techniques opened simultaneously last Friday. More than 700 representatives of advanced units from Shantung, Anhwei, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Fukien and the municipality of Shanghai and some 140 agricultural scientists attended these conferences together with leading members of the East China Bureau of the Communist Party's Central Committee.

Premier Chou En-lai and Mayor Ko Ching-shih of Shanghai spoke at the joint opening meeting. The Premier extended warm greetings to the gathering on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the State Council. He expressed the confidence that the conferences would spark off in the east China rural areas a vigorous mass campaign to learn from, emulate and catch up with the advanced units, and spur both commune cadres and members on to strive for a rich harvest and a big increase in livestock this year.

Mayor Ko Ching-shih, who presided over the joint meeting, pointed out in his opening speech that the conferences were being held to review past achievements and to sum up and exchange experience. These conferences, he said, would surely lead to new successes on the agricultural front. With the collective economy of the people's communes better consolidated than ever before, the labour enthusiasm of the peasants rising



Farm Work in Winter

Woodcut in colour by Yin Kuo-kuang

steadily and the general situation in the countryside becoming better and better every year, Mayor Ko said that a new upsurge in agricultural production would soon emerge. "And the conferences we are holding now," he declared, "are part of the ideological preparation for this coming new upsurge."

Mayor Ko described some of the outstanding achievements scored by the advanced agricultural units and expounded the far-reaching significance of the Party's policies on agriculture. Ending to a burst of applause, he called on everyone to rally still closer round the Communist Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, take an active part in the great production campaign soon to be unfolded, and work vigorously for a rich harvest this year.

The Farms Report...

Mayor Ko's appraisal of the agricultural situation is well supported by the latest farm reports. The peasants everywhere have made good use of the slack winter farming season to make thorough preparations for the spring ploughing and sowing. Most of the farms have to date laid in adequate stores of quality seeds and in the main completed the overhaul of their farm machines. Many communes have extended water conservancy works to bring more land under irrigation; others have accumulated a good amount of manure and compost and done much else to ensure a good harvest. All of

them, of course, have lavished care on the winter crops, the wheat in particular. All in all, it adds up to a bright, promising picture for 1963.

Hainan Island in the southernmost part of the country reports that spring has already set in there and that the transplanting of rice seedlings from seed-beds to paddyfields is well under way. In the warmer eastern part of the island, transplanting has been completed on more than 70,000 *mu*. Thanks to the water conservancy works completed during the winter, the amount of irrigated land planted to early-rice has been greatly increased. This year, too, state reclamation departments have sent 500 tractors to help nearby communes plough their land. With this help, many communes on the island have got off to a flying start in spring-time work.

In the Yangtse River valley, wheat, rape, bean and other winter crops are all doing well. Reservoirs and ponds in this fertile region are well stocked with water ready for use on the cropland when the busy spring farming season begins. In most parts of China's northeast and northwest, the land is still snowbound, but the commune members are losing no time carting manure and compost to the fields.

With the exception of the northern parts of Hopei and Shansi and the southern parts of Inner Mongolia where little rain or snow fell in the past few months and commune members are making vigorous efforts to

offset the effects of this prolonged dry spell, most parts of the country report that an adequate amount of rain or snow has fallen during the winter. The south has a better store of water than in previous years, and the amount of moisture in the soil of the chief cotton and wheat areas in the north is just what it should be. Commune members in these regions are taking full advantage of the favourable conditions and making all necessary preparations to grow more paddy-rice and cotton this year.

Surveys made by agricultural departments show that the people's communes have more and better barnyard manure ready for use this year. Compared to the same span last year, people's communes in Kiangsu, Honan, Shansi and other provinces have accumulated 15 to 20 per cent more manure. This and the green manure grown on a larger area in the southern provinces are laying a good basis for a rich, all-round harvest in 1963.

Shenyang's New Machines

The engineering industry in Shenyang, one of northeast China's major machine-building centres, made its mark in 1962 by successfully producing over 200 types of machines never before made in this country, and another two score or so which are being made for the first time in Shenyang. Orders for these new machines are pouring in from factories in Hangchow, Nanking and other cities.

Shenyang's new products include heavy machinery for mines and rolling mills as well as 38 types of farm machinery. One item is a cultivator usable with all types of tractors. Well suited to conditions in the northern provinces, it can weed about 200 *mu* a day.

Special credit goes to the Shenyang No. 1 Machine Tool Plant for producing a new machine tool for making tractor camshafts that, as rigorous tests have shown, are better finished and more efficient than those made on ordinary lathes.

Machines for light industry also figure on Shenyang's list of new products. Manufacture of some of these—such as equipment for making artificial fibres, synthetic fibres or rubber—requires advanced engineering techniques. A new precision winding machine for making synthetic fibres has also been successfully trial-manufactured.

Western Conflicts in the Mirror Of Brussels

by CHANG CHEN-YA

THE breakdown of the negotiations in Brussels on British entry into the Common Market has caused great alarm in the capitalist world. In his television speech in London, Macmillan described what had happened in Brussels as bad. In Rome, it was regarded as a fearful "disaster." In a statement issued in Washington, the U.S. State Department considered it as "most unfortunate." The capitals of the Western countries are worried that the forthcoming, intensifying struggle among the imperialist countries in the fields of trade and currency may lead to the military and political disintegration of the imperialist camp.

Why has the failure of Britain to enter the Common Market created such a great commotion?

A Marked Change in the Balance of Forces

Whether the Common Market will be expanded is an important factor in the control of Western Europe and the future balance of forces in the capitalist world—a balance which has already undergone changes owing to the steady growth of economic co-operation among the six countries of the Common Market—France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg. Since France and West Germany are the two most powerful countries among the six, the further development of the Common Market would inevitably result in their control of Western Europe. The emergence of this great "third force" in Western Europe would not only seriously harm traditional, important British influences there, but would also end the postwar U.S. control of the Western world. Thus, it has become Washington's established policy to urge Britain to join the Common Market to make this economic bloc less "inward looking" and, at the same time, to incorporate the enlarged Common Market into Kennedy's "North Atlantic community" so that the growing centrifugal tendencies among his West European allies may be checked.

But it turns out that Britain is kept out of the Common Market because of de Gaulle's opposition. Such being the case, it is still more unreal for the United States to dream of "unifying Europe" and incorporating it into the U.S.-led "North Atlantic community." Furthermore, Kennedy's attempts to force the Common Market to reduce its tariffs through his "Trade Expansion Act" will collapse. The French rejection of British entry into the Common Market has thus both disrupted the "unity" of the North Atlantic bloc and foreshadowed the ever more acute conflicts within it. It has inevitably caused great confusion.

The expansion of the Common Market to include Britain and even Sweden, Norway and Denmark has long been opposed by France. But why is it that de Gaulle, instead of shutting the door to Britain two years ago, should strike a fatal blow when Britain had conducted difficult negotiations with the six countries for 15 months?

De Gaulle Perks Up

Two years ago, France was weak economically and unstable politically. The war in Algeria was still going on and co-operation between de Gaulle and Adenauer left much to be desired. U.S. influence in Western Europe could not be ignored. And de Gaulle, particularly because France had not established its own nuclear strength, was not politically strong enough to reject the British application or oppose U.S. pressure on the Common Market countries to accept Britain. But now France has the biggest surplus of international payments in the capitalist world, has relieved herself of the burden of the war in Algeria, and made atomic bombs. Moreover, there has been closer economic co-operation between France and the five other members of the Common Market and, especially, the formation of a Paris-Bonn axis. Apparently reassured that the situation has been changed completely in his favour, de Gaulle is no longer afraid of the U.S. and British threats.

But the reason why de Gaulle should choose just the present moment to slam the door of the Common Market on Britain is mainly that the United States and Britain have lately been intensifying their onslaught against France. To realize his own schemes, de Gaulle had to return blow for blow.

U.S. Scheme to Tighten Its Grip

Since the U.S.-British Nassau meeting last December, Kennedy has worked out a whole series of schemes to tighten U.S. control over Western Europe. This same president who has become increasingly arrogant since the Cuban events has decided that Britain should set an example for France to follow in accepting the U.S. Polaris missiles and relinquishing its own independent nuclear force. Kennedy knows well that to make the Common Market countries submit to U.S. orders, the first thing to do is to increase their military dependence on the United States. The trump card to be used for realizing this scheme is to set up the Atlantic "multilateral nuclear force." Since de Gaulle refused to be taken

in, the United States and Britain have tried hard to woo Italy, West Germany and Belgium, promising them the Polaris missiles with a view to isolating France completely.

While using the Polaris missiles to divide the Common Market countries, Kennedy has also reached a secret agreement with Macmillan on how Britain should act after its entry into the Common Market. The gist of this agreement is that the United States should exert influence on West Germany, Italy and Belgium to help Britain enter the Common Market at a comparatively low price and that in return for this, Britain should promise Washington to check the tendency of this bloc to exclude outsiders.

Having made this arrangement, the United States and Britain have greatly stepped up their diplomatic activities in Western Europe. The U.S. Under Secretary of State Ball's recent tour of West European capitals, Fanfani's trip to the United States, Macmillan's visit to Rome on February 1, and Kennedy's planned visits to West Germany and Italy next May and June—all these are designed to prevent the West European countries from following at the heels of France and becoming a "third force" independent of the United States. The spearhead is directed against France.

De Gaulle Takes the Bull by the Horns

If de Gaulle ignored all these acts of hostility, and if he took no counter action, France would be completely isolated when the West European countries, enticed by the U.S. nuclear weapons, allowed Britain to gate-crash the Common Market. By then, France would not only be unable to stand as an equal with the United States and Britain but would find it impossible to maintain her present status. If, in face of the U.S. and British onslaughts, France failed to take the bull by the horns, her position would become critical and she would be at the mercy of Washington and London. That is why de Gaulle

decided to act promptly, shut the door of the Common Market with a bang, and turn down the U.S. proposal for the establishment of a "multilateral nuclear force."

The crucial issue lies in whether Western Europe will be under the thumb of a French-led Common Market or whether it will be dominated by the U.S.-led "Atlantic community." There can be no compromise between the two. This is why Kennedy has done all he can to bring Britain into the Common Market to thwart de Gaulle's plan for creating a Europe for Europeans (excluding Britain), and why de Gaulle, on his part, has tried by every possible means to prevent Britain's entry to frustrate Kennedy's plan for incorporating the Common Market into the "Atlantic community."

It is in this way that Kennedy's attacks against de Gaulle since the Nassau talks have led to a deeper rift within the imperialist camp. Washington has not only failed to gain anything from these attacks but has revealed itself to be unable to control events. Kennedy wrote to Adenauer asking him to persuade de Gaulle not to go to extremes, but in vain. This is eloquent proof that the United States' grip on Western Europe has greatly weakened.

Strange Bedfellows

The breakdown of the Brussels talks furnishes fresh evidence that there is no way to reconcile the conflict of interests between France on the one hand and the United States and Britain on the other in their struggle for hegemony in Western Europe. But what the failure of the Brussels talks shows is far more than French-Anglo-American contradictions. It also shows that the six Common Market countries, being unable to take co-ordinated steps in dealing with the United States and Britain and each pursuing its own aims, are simply strange bedfellows.

The Fanfani government of Italy is dissatisfied with the collusion between de Gaulle and Adenauer for domination of Western Europe, which leaves Italy out in the cold. It tries its best to curry favour with Washington and is prepared to accept Kennedy's Polaris missiles. The small Common Market countries like Belgium and the Netherlands do not want to be dominated by France and West Germany; nor do they want to see Britain excluded from Europe. When de Gaulle spoke on January 14 against British entry, spokesmen of these Governments indicated that France could not represent the opinion of the other Common Market countries. The Belgian and Dutch Foreign Ministers also threatened retaliation against France. Even the Bonn government which had just concluded a treaty of co-operation with France took a different attitude from that of Paris; it welcomed Britain as a full member of the Common Market.

In spite of these protests and professions of sympathy with Britain it is quite impossible for the rest of the Common Market countries to part company with de



De Gaulle's "New Frontier" Around the Common Market
Cartoon by Fang Cheng

Gaulle and allow the four-year-old Common Market to founder. This is because preservation of the common interests of this economic bloc is far more important than the British entry. What is more, de Gaulle is not alone in making sure that the Common Market will not be turned into a U.S.-controlled "Atlantic community" comprising more than a dozen countries or so. De Gaulle has the wholehearted support of Adenauer in this. Moreover, without French participation, any project for Western Europe, whatever its form or content, is simply a paper plan. That is why de Gaulle makes no bones about rebuffing Washington and London.

In face of this counter-attack from de Gaulle, Kennedy's plans for strengthening NATO, establishing a multilateral nuclear force and liberalizing trade will meet with mounting difficulties. It is clear that unconditional surrender on the part of de Gaulle is out of the question unless the United States is able to organize Britain, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and Luxemburg into a pro-U.S. united front against France. To do so,

the Common Market must be disbanded. This is, however, unlikely to happen.

A New Phase in the Imperialist Rift

The rift within the imperialist camp is thus further widened by the breakdown of the Brussels talks. But this is merely a beginning. Future development of events will give the Kennedy Administration more troubles. The bourgeois U.S. journalist J. Alsop has warned Kennedy that he must look seriously into this "wholly new situation" and make an urgent and careful study of the problems and the facts, because he is facing "a profoundly serious and dangerous prospect." De Gaulle "will move on to the next stage. From seeking to limit our influence in Europe, he will proceed to active retaliation. And he can do us very serious damage in this way, by ordering the Bank of France to use its power against the dollar on world markets for instance."

Imperialism is having an increasingly difficult time. More troubles lie ahead for it. This is just what the Brussels talks mirror.

Laos

U.S. Intervention Must Stop

by FANG MING

ON January 24, the Laotian Ministry of Information made public a letter dated January 15 addressed to Premier Phouma by Vice-Premier Prince Souphanouvong, who is also Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat. In that letter, Prince Souphanouvong condemned the activities of Air America in Laos as illegal and in violation of the Geneva Agreement. He declared: "(1) Air America is an organization whose operations, never approved by the National Union Government, are in contravention of Article II (c) of the Declaration of the Neutrality of Laos; (2) the company is a para-military organization which violates Article II of the Geneva Protocol and escapes the duty of withdrawing from Laos before October 7, 1962." He also suggested that the National Union Government ask the International Control Commission to supervise the withdrawal of Air America in the shortest possible time.

An American Trojan Horse

Since the signing of the Geneva Agreement last July, the United States has in fact never for a day discontinued its interference in the internal affairs of Laos; its activities to undermine that country's peace and neutrality have continued. American military supplies keep on pouring into Laos to arm the Savannakhet group, and have enabled it to expand its armed forces from 54,000 to 63,000. While employing its troops to nibble away at the territories controlled by the Laotian patriotic forces, the Savannakhet group has, at U.S. instigation, also sent many special detachments to sneak into the rear of the liberated areas to sabotage peace and engage in harassing activities there. To date, the United States still maintains over 900 of its own military personnel and several thousand foreign mercenaries in Laos. They include Thai, south Vietnamese and Philippine troops, and remnant bandits of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, who either serve in the armed forces of the Savannakhet group or act as military

advisers. Besides building secret military bases in the provinces of Sayaboury in northern Laos and Pakse and Attopeu in southern Laos, U.S. planes have been assigned regular missions to fly over the areas controlled by the patriotic forces to carry out reconnaissance and drop weapons and ammunition to local bandits. This shows that although the United States is a signatory to the Geneva Agreement and has therefore bound itself to abide by the provisions of that agreement, it is still determined to keep the Laotian situation unstable so that it may continue to fish in troubled waters.

It will be recalled that the 1962 Geneva Agreement set October 7, 1962, as the deadline for all foreign troops and military personnel to leave that country. But it was only on the insistent demand of the Laotian Government and people and amid world protests that the United States, on September 17, started to pull out some of the personnel of its "Military Assistance Advisory Group." Meanwhile, Washington has switched a considerable number of its military personnel into mufti to serve as "non-military personnel" in its embassy in Vientiane and other "non-military" agencies which are supposed to be connected with "economic and cultural affairs," such as the office of "civil aviation," "information" and what not. The new American missions, such as the U.S. Operations Mission, U.S. Information Service, U.S. Agency for International Development, the U.S. Organization of Medical Services and Air America are in fact American Trojan horses in Laos. The U.S. Operations Mission has taken over the U.S. military aircraft, painted them with civil aviation markings and continued to airlift troops and drop supplies for the Savannakhet group.

Washington's Dual Tactics

Since the founding of the Laotian Government of National Union, the Neo Lao Haksat and its armed forces,

the Pathet Lao Fighting Units, have made a point of abiding by the Geneva Agreement and the Plain of Jars Agreement as well as the other agreements reached by the three sides. They have also given active support to the coalition government headed by Prince Phouma and done their very best to help bring about national harmony and unity, peace and neutrality for their country. U.S. imperialism and its hangers-on, on the contrary, have continued to violate these agreements in an attempt to undermine the Laotian coalition government and peace in Laos. It is continuing its old tactics: while pretending to uphold Laos' peace and neutrality, it refuses to withdraw its own aggressive armed forces and those of its satellites and does everything it can to strengthen the Savannakhet group. Following the agreement reached by the three sides in Laos on November 27, 1962, to unify their troops and police forces, Washington has gone all out to help the Savannakhet group to preserve and consolidate its military strength, thus obstructing the implementation of the agreement on unifying that country's armed forces. One of its latest moves is to step up its airdropping operations to give further military assistance to the Savannakhet group.

With U.S. planes zooming overhead, the Laotian people were not able to enjoy peace even in the first days of the new year. Following the intrusion over Muong Sing in northwestern Laos by a U.S. plane on January 5, which was shot down by the Pathet Lao Fighting Units, six American planes intruded over Tay Pha, Nam Tha Province, on the same day and the following day, dropping ammunition and food supplies to the bandits there. And they did all this allegedly with the approval of the Provisional Laotian Government of National Union. After the U.S. aircraft was brought down in Muong Sing, the U.S. embassy spokesman in Vientiane asserted that "this plane was on a routine relief supplies flight in accordance with the agreement between the U.S. and the Laotian Government."

But the fact is that the Government of National Union has never permitted U.S. aircraft to fly over Laos, still

less to engage in airdropping operations. Premier Souvanna Phouma told an AP correspondent on January 10 that he was "totally unaware that an American plane was airdropping food supplies" in northwestern Laos on that Saturday (Jan. 5). An AP dispatch of that same day admitted that the United States sometimes made "relief supplies" flights on the basis of its own information received directly from "poverty-stricken refugees" in certain districts. This further shows that Washington shows no respect for the Laotian Government. It takes the liberty of airdropping any kind of supplies to anyone it likes without consulting first with the Laotian Government and it is also conducting flights over Laotian territory on the basis of its own information—and this is where Air America, the U.S.I.S. and other U.S. non-military agencies in Laos come in!

Why does the United States persist in its illegal encroachments on Laotian sovereignty in total disregard of the repeated protests of the Neo Lao Haksat and all Laotian patriotic public opinion? The only explanation is that it is doing this to undermine the prestige of the Provisional Laotian Government of National Union and of Premier Phouma, to drive a wedge between the patriotic forces in Laos and so to sabotage the Laotian cause of national harmony and unification. This is as plain as a pikestaff. What is more surprising is that after the U.S. aircraft was brought down in Muong Sing, the U.S. Ambassador to Laos even had the gall to lodge a protest about it with Prince Souphanouvong, Vice-Premier of the Laotian Government of National Union.

The truth about the Muong Sing incident has come out, and it is useless for the Kennedy Administration to deny it or to try to justify its dirty schemes in Laos. The United States must immediately stop violating Laotian sovereignty and stop intervening in Laos' internal affairs. It must put an end to all these underhand activities so as to facilitate the implementation of the Geneva Agreement. In Laos and at Geneva the American imperialists failed in their schemes in 1962. They will certainly not fare any better in 1963.

Central and East Africa Fight for National Independence

by HO CHI-CHIH

THE national-independence movement is developing vigorously in Central and East Africa. While Mozambique is still a Portuguese colony, and Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Central Africa, and Kenya and Zanzibar in East Africa are still under British rule, the former British colonies of Tanganyika and Uganda, and Rwanda and Burundi, the former Belgian trust territories, have already achieved independence.

A Major Colonialist Base

On the African continent, the importance of Central and East Africa as a sphere of investment for the impe-

rialist powers is second only to that of South Africa. Central Africa is rich in mineral deposits. It contains the world's most famous copper belt as well as various other kinds of important strategic raw materials. East Africa has for long served as an important strategic base of the imperialist powers. The imperialist countries have poured huge investments into these areas. Since World War II, more than £20 million of foreign capital have been invested on the average every year in Central Africa. When Britain rigged up the "Central African Federation," the influx of foreign capital increased. The total amount of foreign capital in the "Central African Federation" exceeds £370 million, most of it British capital. Britain's

investments in Central and East Africa are estimated at more than £500 million. This is one-fourth of its total investments in Africa. Foreign monopoly capital controls the area's entire mining industry and all other important branches of the national economy, including foreign trade. Central and East Africa are therefore an important source of the fortunes accumulated by the imperialist monopoly capitalists.

Central and East Africa have also attracted large numbers of white settlers. This white immigration was encouraged by the imperialists in order to strengthen their grip on the territory and plunder local resources more effectively. This is where Central and East Africa differ from West and Equatorial Africa. At the present time there are nearly 500,000 white settlers in this area. Most of them, 230,000, live in Southern Rhodesia. There are 80,000 in Northern Rhodesia; Kenya and Mozambique each have 70,000. The white settlers own the mines and the most fertile lands. They own the plantations where most of the cash crops are grown. They have appropriated 30 per cent of the best arable land in Kenya, 85 per cent of the cultivated land in Nyasaland and 33 per cent of the cultivated land in Tanganyika. While establishing a stranglehold on the local economies, they at the same time control the reactionary colonialist regimes in some of these countries. They are the mainstay of the imperialist powers in suppressing and obstructing the national-liberation movement in the region.

Central and East Africa occupy a vitally important strategic position. They play a key role in the strategic plans of the imperialist powers for their control of the vast territories in the Asian-African region. They are a main link connecting South Africa with West and South-east Asia. The imperialist bloc has accordingly established a large number of military bases in this area. Britain's largest military base in Africa is Kahawa near Nairobi, the capital of Kenya. Mombasa is one of Britain's largest naval ports on the Indian Ocean. Britain has also established an "East Africa Command" in Kenya to strengthen its military control of East Africa and the neighbouring areas. The United States has established a rocket base in Zanzibar and forced Portugal to give it a share in its strategically important airfields and harbours in Mozambique. The imperialist countries regard this area as a major life-line precisely because they have important strategic, colonialist and economic interests here. In the attempt to maintain their control, they are doing all they can—from armed suppression to political fraud—to undermine and obstruct the development of the national-independence movement there.

Invincible National-Liberation Movements

The national-liberation movement in Africa as a whole is advancing steadily but, in Central and East Africa it has advanced with unprecedented rapidity in recent years. Just over a year ago, there was not a single independent country in Central and East Africa but, with the growing awakening of the peoples there and the vigorous development of their anti-imperialist struggle, four countries there have now achieved their independence. Tanganyika, the largest country in this part of Africa, was the first to achieve an independent status on December 9, 1961. This was the first breach in the rigid regime of

Premier Chou En-lai Greet Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference

On February 2, Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings to the Third Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference which opened on February 4 in Moshi, Tanganyika.

The message reads:

On the occasion of the Third Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference held in the Republic of Tanganyika, I extend the warmest greetings to the conference on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people, and in my own name.

The Afro-Asian peoples are continuously winning brilliant victories in their struggle against imperialism and against old and new colonialism. Although suffering heavy blows, the forces of war and aggression headed by U.S. imperialism still resort to all possible means, including means more cunning and more vicious than those ever used before, to infringe upon the independence and sovereignty of the Afro-Asian countries, undermine the Afro-Asian people's solidarity and endanger world peace. Therefore, the Afro-Asian peoples must not entertain any illusions whatsoever about imperialism, but need to unite still more closely and strengthen their struggle.

In this struggle the Chinese people will for ever stand by the Afro-Asian peoples, strengthening our unity and supporting each other. I sincerely hope that the conference will uphold and develop still further the Bandung spirit and make positive contributions to the Afro-Asian people's great struggle against imperialism and against old and new colonialism, for winning and safeguarding national independence, and in defence of world peace, as well as to the development and consolidation of the Afro-Asian people's solidarity.

colonial rule in this area. It led to a chain reaction in other dependencies of Central and East Africa. Rwanda and Burundi, both situated at the heart of Africa, ended the trusteeship exercised by the Belgian colonialists and declared their independence on July 1, 1962. After defeating various British schemes to divide and rule them, the people of Uganda gained their independence on October 9, 1962.

The emergence in increasing numbers of independent countries, the fruit of the protracted and difficult struggles waged by the people, marks a new, more advanced stage in the national-liberation movement in Central and East Africa.

The struggle against imperialism and colonialism is growing stronger throughout this area today. The political consciousness of the people is steadily growing, the mass struggles are becoming more and more determined and the progressive forces in the nationalist movement are being strengthened. Mass struggles, large and small, have broken out in the countries which have not yet won independence. The people there are using various means, violent or non-violent, to break the shackles of colonialist rule. Especially in the regions where imperialism is trying its utmost to entrench itself more firmly, struggle is intensifying and the situation is becoming more explosive.

In the "Central African Federation," the "bulwark" of the white settlers, the British colonialists' tricky scheme

of "constitutional reform" has gone bankrupt. For a time the people of Northern Rhodesia took up arms in struggle, launching from the jungle surprise attacks against the colonial police and troops. The people of Southern Rhodesia under the leadership of the nationalist party launched in 1961 a nationwide campaign to boycott the "new constitution" by abstaining from voting. Two Northern Rhodesian African political parties formed a coalition government at the end of 1962. Kenneth Kaunda, a new government minister, has put forward a proposal for drawing up a new constitution in accordance with the aspirations of the Northern Rhodesian people and for dissolving the "Central African Federation." The Southern Rhodesian people and their nationalist party vigorously boycotted the elections to the "Legislative Council" at the end of 1962. The people of Nyasaland have recently forced Britain, as a result of a protracted struggle, to agree to Nyasaland self-government at the beginning of 1963 and to its withdrawal from the "Central African Federation."

The British colonialists in Kenya, their military stronghold in East Africa, have found it impossible to bring the Africans to their knees by armed suppression, so they are making greater use of political means to obstruct Kenya's advance to independence. But this has failed to block the growing mass struggle. In the period of just over six months following the "constitutional congress" of the spring of 1962, Kenya's workers staged more than 150 strikes. In addition, vast numbers of peasants have been resolutely demanding the restoration of their lands, while organized armed activities aimed at realizing national independence and opposing colonialism have been gathering strength.

Britain has rejected Zanzibar's demand for self-government and independence. In a desperate effort to widen the differences and quarrels between the main political parties there, it has constantly used its old tactics of sowing discord. But this can only intensify the anger and opposition of the people of Zanzibar. What merits particular attention is that the national-liberation movement has made great headway even in Mozambique, the Portuguese colony which is under the worst colonialist regime in all East Africa. Clashes have occurred in many parts of the country between the people and the colonial police and troops. The National-Democratic Union, a nationalist party of Mozambique, has publicly called upon the people to overthrow Portuguese colonial rule by force of arms.

Consolidating National Independence

Those countries which have already won their independence are making further advances in the struggle to uproot the influence of colonialism and to consolidate their national independence.

Soon after achieving independence, Tanganyika announced that the whole civil service would be staffed by Africans as soon as possible. This was followed by the appointment of Africans to replace British nationals as provincial governors, to take over the portfolio of minister of finance and the post of chief police commissioner. A number of British police officers were dismissed. The Government has decided to discharge its army's British commanding officer and has also taken positive measures to ensure the development of its national cul-

ture and economy. On assuming office, President Nyerere of Tanganyika formally announced that his country would clear away all the thousand and one evils of the colonial system. These steps will undoubtedly further consolidate Tanganyika's national independence.

Since gaining independence the Uganda Government and people too are waging a struggle to eliminate the political, economic and cultural influence of colonialism. They are making every effort to consolidate their achievements and make further progress. Both before and after gaining independence the people of Rwanda and Burundi were confronted with the heavy task of fighting both new and old colonialism. They had to intensify their struggle to win and preserve their national independence because the old Belgian colonialists refused to withdraw their troops though the two countries had proclaimed independence and because the new, U.S. colonialists were meanwhile scheming hard to penetrate these countries by means of the United Nations. In face of firm opposition, both the old and new colonialists failed in their schemes. The Belgian colonialists were forced to withdraw their troops within a month of the proclamation of independence by Rwanda and Burundi.

The fact that these countries have taken immediate steps to eliminate the influence of colonialism and further consolidate and develop their national independence indicates the African people's heightened political consciousness and their increasing skill in struggle and that the anti-imperialist struggle is steadily advancing.

Opposing U.S. Neo-Colonialism

In fighting resolutely against colonialism, both old and new, the national-liberation movement in Central and East Africa is confronted especially with the difficult task of fighting U.S. neo-colonialism. Taking advantage of the steadily weakening strength of the old colonialists and their forced retreat in Central and East Africa, the U.S. neo-colonialists are stepping up their penetration of these regions. To cover up their vicious features, the U.S. neo-colonialists are trying hard to disguise themselves as supporters of the national-independence movement, seeking out and training agents, getting them by bribery, cajolery, flattery and other means of deception. The U.S. neo-colonialists have already got their claws onto the African continent in the form of the "Peace Corps," the "Crossroads Africa Programme," and various forms of "aid" and new investments there. It is estimated that U.S. investments in Central Africa already exceed \$120 million. The U.S. is investing at a faster rate there than the old colonial countries. U.S. capital now controls about 25 to 30 per cent of the copper mining industry in Northern Rhodesia. It has also seized control of the exploitation of certain strategic materials in Central Africa while extending its control over communications and transport in Central and East Africa. At the same time, the United States Government is trying its best to penetrate into certain areas of strategic importance and set up military bases there.

The awakening African people, however, recognize the ugly reality of U.S. neo-colonialism and are fighting against it with increasing vigour. When the people of Rwanda and Burundi discerned that the U.S. had the same designs on them as it has on the Congo, they

raised the cry: "No U.S. protection in the name of the U.N." In a pamphlet released recently to expose U.S. aggressive tricks against Africa, the Kenya African National Union stressed the need to guard against the "real danger of U.S. expansionist designs on Africa." The people in Central and East Africa strongly condemn U.S. aggression engineered through the "Peace Corps." J.B. Mwakangale, Commissioner of the Southern Highland Region of Tanganyika, has openly demanded that the U.S. "Peace Corps" withdraw from his country. In Zanzibar, there has been a strong movement against the U.S. rocket base. Recently, Adelino Gwambe, a nationalist leader of Mozambique, also exposed and denounced the U.S. neo-colonialist political and economic infiltration of his country.

The African people have from their own experience gradually come to realize that the United States is the main bulwark of colonialism in our times and their most vicious enemy. To carry the national-liberation movement to victory and consolidate that victory, it is clear that a firm struggle must be waged against U.S. neo-colonialism.

Closer Unity for Greater Victories

To strengthen the struggle against their common enemies—old and new colonialism—the people in the Central and East African countries are now united more closely than ever before in joint activities to support each other and co-ordinate each other's efforts. The annual conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa held in Ethiopia in February 1962, adopted a series of resolutions supporting the African struggle for liberation and opposing foreign military bases.

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HONGQI

Revisionism in Art and Literature

by LI SHU-CHIH

The following is a translation of an article which appeared in "Hongqi," No. 21, 1962, under the title "In the Field of Art and Literature Modern Revisionists Follow in the Footsteps of the Declining Bourgeoisie." Sub-heads are ours. — Ed.

MODERN revisionists in the field of art and literature use a whole battery of arguments to support what they describe as the "central principle" in aesthetics—"writing honestly." Brandishing this "principle," they denounce as "dishonest" works of art and literature which describe the people's revolutionary struggles, faith in the revolution, and communist ideals. They use this "principle," too, to justify their approval of works which indiscriminately wax eloquent about bourgeois humanism, bourgeois pacifism and the bourgeois "ideal" of a life of creature comforts and indulgence in the trivialities of home life. Only such works, they say, are "honestly"

It appealed to the African peoples to strengthen their unity and oppose all colonialist schemes and tricks designed to divide the Africans. In May, another special conference of the Movement was held in Tanganyika to organize support for the struggle of the people in Central Africa. It demanded that the "Central African Federation" be dissolved and stressed the importance of strengthening unity among the nationalist movements in Central, East and South Africa in their struggle against imperialism.

With the common goal of winning and preserving national independence, the peoples of various countries in this area are supporting each other. The struggle of the people in Southern Rhodesia thus supports that in Northern Rhodesia; the struggle in the Central African countries gives support to the peoples in the East African countries. Countries which have won independence are giving active support to people still under colonial rule. The Government and people of Tanganyika firmly support the struggle of the people in Central, East and South Africa. After Uganda gained its independence, the party in power, the Uganda People's Congress, reaffirmed that its policy was to give every assistance to the African peoples who have not yet liberated themselves. The peoples of Africa are now more fully aware of the fact that the most reliable guarantee of winning victory in the anti-imperialist struggle is to strengthen unity and give support to each other.

An excellent situation confronts the people in East and Central Africa and other parts of that great continent. In this year of 1963, with the continued upsurge of the national-liberation movement throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America, the people in East and Central Africa will undoubtedly score still greater victories.

written, and any work that is "honestly" written must be a good work.

The Theory of "Writing Honestly"

It is well worth our while to make a close examination of what is at the bottom of this theory of "writing honestly."

Generally speaking, all works of art and literature should grow out of true feelings and real emotions. It is the duty of the writer to reflect life and the age faithfully, writing only what he honestly believes to be true according to his own observations, experience and analysis. He is not supposed to write with false feeling or anything in which he himself has no faith and by which he himself is not moved. As an old saying goes, he must be "genuinely moved within before giving expression to his emotion in words"; he must not "fake feeling for literary purposes." This is all common sense. As for the

revolutionary writer, he loathes and despises all the more literary works that ring false. It is said that "Indignation creates the poet." As a powerful sentiment, indignation, like passionate love, is indispensable to a writer if he wishes to produce works that are truly moving.

However, to ask for true feeling and real emotion in a writer is one thing; but what such true feelings and real emotions add up to and whether they are good or bad is quite another thing.

All writers make a distinction according to their class outlook between right and wrong, good and bad, the beautiful and the ugly, and decide what they like and what they oppose. All such issues involve questions of a class nature.

Gorky once said: "The writer is the eye, the ear and the voice of his class. He may not be conscious of this. . . . Nevertheless he is . . . the sense-organ of his class." All writers write in accordance with the stand, viewpoints, thoughts and feelings of their class, upholding them and fighting for them. Their honesty, too, has a class nature. Thus, viewing things from the proletarian stand and point of view, proletarian writers faithfully express the thoughts and feelings of the proletariat, whereas bourgeois writers propagate bourgeois ideas and sentiments from their bourgeois standpoint. In this sense, there is no common "honesty" in the abstract, but only a writer's own concrete honesty.

The claims insistently advanced by certain bourgeois political commentators that Leo Tolstoy was the "common conscience" and a "great conscience" were long ago exposed by Lenin as "empty phrases" and as "lies deliberately broadcast by the liberals." No less than can be said of the attempt to laud "honesty in writing" in the abstract and set it up as a criterion for evaluating literature. A counter-revolutionary work produced by a counter-revolutionary writer may well be the result of his "writing honestly." But why should the revolutionary people and revolutionary writers just for that reason consider it a good work? The argument that any honestly written work is automatically a good work will not bear questioning. In judging a literary work to determine whether it is good or bad, there must be a political, a class criterion.

Revisionists Cover Up Their Class Nature

Why have modern revisionist writers come to play around with this lie that anything honestly written is a good work? It should be noted that the "honesty" they advocate is in essence the "honesty" of the bourgeoisie. If we discard examination of the class content of this "honesty" and accept the thesis that as long as it is honest it is good, then there would of course be grounds for what they advocate. Modern revisionists always try to conceal the class nature of their ideology by trying to make out that it is of "the whole people," "of all mankind." They do this precisely because they know that their bourgeois ideas and standpoint are incompatible with the interests of the revolutionary people. In order to propagate bourgeois humanism and pacifism in literature, they claim that the misfortune of death, love between inseparable lovers, and even lovers who are class

enemies, and so on and so forth are the "eternal themes" of literature — themes that are close to the hearts of, and stir all readers. In order actually to publicize the ideas of bourgeois liberalism, they argue that "men are by nature inclined to freedom." In order to advocate "individual happiness" as the supreme goal in life to which all else must be sacrificed they make great play in literature with the melancholy, the exasperation, the loneliness and despair of men in the course of their pursuit of such "individual happiness," and present these feelings as "characteristically human" and supremely worthy of our sympathy, denouncing every "obstacle" to the attainment of this "individual happiness" as a bitter "cruelty." In order to negate the existence of classes and the class struggle, they urge that what is important in our social life is not the class struggle but the struggle between the "animal" in a man and his "human nature." From this they go on to demand that we should pay more attention to describing universal "human nature" and that we should not get "over-involved in the class struggle." They want to market their baggage of bourgeois decadence and degeneration in a big way so they argue volubly that to eschew in literary works bold descriptions of relations between the sexes and of the beauty of the human body is to neglect major questions of human nature. It is not difficult to see that what they are trying to do is to pass off their decadent bourgeois trash as something pertaining to "all mankind," that is, as something transcending classes. What is sure is that in the depths of their hearts, there are a host of bourgeois things striving to break loose from all restraints so that they can come out into the open and dominate the stage. That is why modern revisionist writers are so enthusiastic in publicizing "honesty in writing," which they wish to use to cover up the bourgeois nature of their ideology. This is undoubtedly one of the "high" aims of this theory of "writing honestly."

"By the Yardstick of a Knave"

By calling things bourgeois "honest" and then asserting that this bourgeois "honesty" is the honesty of "all mankind," modern revisionists claim that they themselves are "honest" and at the same time revile as dishonest those writers who firmly adhere to the proletarian standpoint. This, as the old Chinese saying has it, is "to measure the mind of an upright man by the yardstick of a knave." This is exactly the way modern revisionists treat writers who uphold the proletarian standpoint; they judge such writers' proletarian minds according to their own bourgeois hearts; they denounce as dishonest anything that does not suit their own ideas and standpoint. Thus, when a proletarian writer warmly praises some advanced phenomenon or revolutionary heroes of the new, proletarian age or sharply criticizes some decadent phenomenon, the protagonists of "honest writing," basing their judgment on their own negative and scabrous sentiments, assert that this writing is not honest, that the writer is not speaking from the heart but is pretending. According to them, only those writers are honest who, like themselves, depict and lavish their sympathy on fallen women, rogues, nihilists and all sorts of queer characters who stand outside the mainstream of social history. When a proletarian writer, drawing on the logic of the people's life and the logic of the characters

of his heroes and heroines, gives a vivid portrayal of lofty communist sentiments, the advocates of "honest writing" again proceeding from their empty, debased and degenerated outlook say: This is not honest because the writer has put on the "coloured spectacles" of the "doctrinaire," and so fails to write what is really in his heart. According to them, only people like themselves who unreservedly publicize individualism, liberalism, and what they call "liberty, equality and fraternity" are honest. It is clear that these means have been adopted by modern revisionists to strangle the development of proletarian literature and to drag proletarian writers onto the wrong path. They say to proletarian writers: Do you want to achieve "honesty in writing"? Then discard those Marxist "coloured spectacles" of yours! Marxist ideas are not the "words of your heart." If you don't forsake Marxist ideas and express "what is in your heart," you will inevitably fall into the abyss of "hypocritical writing." This is another of the "high" aims of the modern revisionists in advertising "writing honestly."

Proletarian Literature — The Most Honest Literature

The revolutionary literature of the proletariat is the most honest literature in the world today. Unlike the exploiting classes, the proletariat openly admits that its ideology (including its art and literature) has its class nature and Communist Party character, and expresses the fundamental interests of the proletariat. The proletariat is best able to reveal the truth and the true essence of life; because the interests of the proletariat accord with the trend of social development and with the fundamental interests of the broad masses of the labouring people, it has no need to cover up the class nature of its ideology. As an instrument for waging the class struggle, as a means for educating and rallying the people and for striking at and defeating the enemy, the revolutionary art and literature of the proletariat is very clearly tendentious. Revolutionary writers, in their works, are also clear-cut, strong and firm in their attitude — clearly showing what they like and what they hate, what they approve of and what they fight against. The honesty of the revolutionary writer lies in this firm and clear-cut Party character and tendentiousness that must never be obscured for a moment. This is precisely that principle of Party character in literature which Lenin instilled into us in his *Party Organization and Party Literature*. The modern revisionists are playing their little game with this talk about "honesty in writing" precisely because they want to attack this Party character of proletarian revolutionary art and literature; they want to transform proletarian art and literature into bourgeois art and literature.

Integrating Revolutionary Tendentiousness With Artistic Truth

The revolutionary art and literature of the proletariat calls for the integration of revolutionary tendentiousness with artistic truth. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, we oppose works with wrong political viewpoints but at the same time we also oppose the tendency to produce works that only have correct political views but lack artistic merit, that is, works written in the so-called "slogan-style." The revolutionary writer works hard to pen a true account of our social life, broadly and deeply

conceived, to create typical characters who are the embodiment of both common and individual characteristics and to expound his clear-cut social ideals from the proletarian standpoint describing what he loves and what he hates, what he approves of and what he censures; by these means he will be the better able to stir the hearts of his readers, set them thinking about life's problems, move them, raise their level of consciousness, and inspire them to action — to struggle against the reactionary classes and irrational social systems and to fight for the realization of the great revolutionary ideals, and evoke in them an ardent love for what is true, good and beautiful, and an intense hatred for what is false, evil and ugly. There is no doubt that the revolutionary writer, by persistent effort, can succeed in expressing powerful and clear-cut revolutionary ideas and feelings in ever more perfect artistic form. To achieve this, we must admit, necessitates a long process of arduous work and in this process the writer is bound to meet with many difficulties.

Quite possibly such a writer is confronted with the difficulty of not being sufficiently acquainted with the new things and the new people about which he wishes to write and as a result his work is not sufficiently true to life; his characterization is not sufficiently vivid, and he falls short of creating flesh-and-blood types. The modern revisionists, as we know, are quick to take advantage of this difficulty of the revolutionary writer and condemn his not so successful attempts to portray new heroes and advanced things as being dishonest. But this is not a question of honesty or dishonesty. That a work is not sufficiently true to life may be due to the writer's need for more experience in life, or lack of depth in observation and thought, or to the immaturity of his literary technique.

As to the creation of typical characters in literature, this is an even more difficult matter. The history of literature shows that quite often the successful creation of a typical character may involve the labour of several generations of writers. At the start, many writers may undertake to depict a certain typical social character, doing this from various angles, gradually improving their treatment, passing from the crude to the fine, from the shallow to the deep, and from the simple to the richly complex. This done, a basis is provided for a later writer who, giving full play to his literary talents, finally succeeds in producing the typical character that his predecessors sought to create.

Revolutionary Writers' Difficult Task

The task of the proletarian revolutionary writer is to produce in his works types of the new people of the new society, people who have not been known previously in history and in literature. To bring such an entirely new and pioneering task to fruition naturally requires a great deal of effort. It certainly cannot be said that if a writer fails to produce such types convincingly it is due to the fact that he is not honest. Nor, on the other hand, can it be said that as long as the writer is honest, he is automatically able to produce such typical characters. The reason is clear. If the difficulty lies in the fact that the writer in question is not sufficiently familiar with the new things, then what he should do is to go out into the thick of life and of the people. Lenin once said to Gorky that writers should go to the countryside and to

the factories "to directly observe the new in the life of workers and peasants, that is, nine-tenths of the population of Russia," and to understand how they "build life anew." But the modern revisionists are trying to lead writers in the contrary direction. They advertise "honesty in writing" so as to drag writers onto the path of seeking "honesty of the inner-most soul." If a writer acts in accordance with what modern revisionists tell him, he will become more and more divorced from reality, more and more withdrawn into his own individual inner world, and be headed for a dead end so far as creativity is concerned. The "honesty in writing" advocated by the modern revisionists is therefore extremely harmful to writers.

The Honesty of Revolutionary Writers

Revolutionary writers should realize that real honesty for them means to extol the new people with wholehearted enthusiasm and describe their struggles, to write on revolutionary themes, to depict the main current of real life under socialism, and to portray the progressive forces of our time. They should never lose their bearings because of difficulties arising in their creative work due to the fact that they do not have a rich enough experience of life or for the time being lack literary skill. The proletariat's revolutionary literature has invariably grown and gradually gained strength because the writers of the proletariat have steadfastly taken a revolutionary stand while learning and practising constantly and diligently, engaging in creative work to the best of their ability, actively and eagerly enriching their experience of life, and improving their literary skill. When proletarian literature made its debut, the bourgeoisie heaped abuse on it, and called it "puerile," "hypocritical," and so on. Proletarian literature could never have built up the powerful tradition it has today if our forerunners, in face of this abuse, had abandoned their efforts to portray proletarian heroes and express proletarian ideas and feelings, and, in order to "write honestly," had surrendered to bourgeois literature which with its far longer history had achieved more artistic refinement as the result of a long period of cultivation, and followed the beaten path of portraying bourgeois heroes and bourgeois ideas and sentiments. Today, we should stride forward steadfast in the struggle just as did our great precursors in the history of proletarian literature.

Revolutionary writers do not rest satisfied with a superficial portrayal of life. Starting out from real life, by means of artistic imagery and artistic synthesis, they depict the truth of life in a concentrated and more forceful manner so that the life projected in their works is on a more exalted plane and more deeply packed with meaning than ordinary everyday life. And this again is attacked as being "dishonest"! This attack obviously comes from those who have fallen back on the stand of bourgeois objectivism and naturalism. As a matter of fact, to distil from life what is universally significant and typify this so as to reflect the essence of life in literary works is not to depart from real life but to depict it in a more profound way. But it is precisely the approach advocated by modern revisionists that is calculated to deceive the masses. They are zealously pushing the sort of literature that records the trivial details of daily life and lacks a clear theme or key figure or plot, the kind of literature which, with its philistine descriptions of superficial

trivialities, obscure the main currents and distorts the truth of life.

Revisionists Seek to Negate Ideological Remoulding

In the ranks of revolutionary writers there are still some people who are going through the process of ideological remoulding, of changing their class stand. They have reached a certain level of revolutionary consciousness and feeling, but at the same time their innermost soul is still petty bourgeois. On many occasions, proletarian and bourgeois ideas still fight a sharp seesaw battle in their minds. They have not yet completely proletarianized their ideas and sentiments. That is to say, the conflict between old and new ideas is still going on in their minds. In writing about new things, therefore, they are all the more likely to encounter difficulties. And modern revisionists take advantage of these very difficulties to check their progress. At a time when these writers are energetically studying Marxism, trying to discard their old, non-proletarian ideas and acquire new, proletarian ones, modern revisionists tell them: "You can't give answers to problems by going according to the old class categories!" You must free yourself from "dogmas" and project "your own philosophy of life!" Modern revisionists tell them that the new ideas are "false" and it is not worth one's while to write about them or expend energy in chasing after them; while, on the contrary, the old ideas are "honest," so it would be better to follow the old ways and write about these old ideas "honestly." Obviously, this theory of "writing honestly" is motivated by the vicious aim of negating ideological remoulding and pulling these writers back.

Modern revisionists publicize the need to free oneself from the "fetters" of dogmas even more frenziedly in the field of art and literature than they do in politics. Having freed themselves from these "fetters" what do they then describe as being in tune with their "own philosophy of life"? As we indicated earlier in this article, some of them declare that their only ideal and faith is that everyone should live and have a good time, increase and multiply and concentrate on creature comforts. They have indeed freed themselves from the "fetters" of Marxist "dogma" and "courageously" stated their "own philosophy of life," which, in fact, is nothing but the philosophy of bourgeois philistinism. For them, "honesty" in literature can only be achieved by shaking off Marxism which, they think, necessarily entails formalism and abstract generalization in writing.

Revolutionary Literature Rejects Formalism

The revolutionary literature of the proletariat is firmly opposed to formalism and abstract generalizations. Marx and Engels long ago advocated writing like Shakespeare did in his time and letting the writer's tendentiousness emerge from the scenes, plot and characterization in his work. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always taught us that revolutionary writers must study Marxism—living Marxism that has a practical bearing on the life and struggle of the people—and not Marxist catchwords. He has taught us that revolutionary writers must study Marxism to remould their ideology and sentiments, to make Marxism a part of their own flesh and blood, to perceive the world, society and art and literature from

the Marxist stand and viewpoint and by using the Marxist method, and that they must not turn their literary works into Marxist discourses. He has said that revolutionary writers must temper themselves in the flames of the people's struggle and go to the only source, the broadest and richest source to observe, study and analyse various persons, various classes and various communities, and all the vivid patterns of life and struggle. Guided by the Marxist world outlook, revolutionary writers must gradually form their own opinions, sentiments and view of truth on the basis of their own observations, analyses and experience. Only then can they undertake creative work. They must never get out of touch with social life or with the people or approach creative work in a mechanical way by using preconceived formulas.

By its brilliant achievements proletarian literature has long ago proved irrefutably that it is the most honest of all literatures and is faithful to reality. The honesty advocated by revolutionary proletarian writers lies in mirroring reality, the objective truth and the struggle of the people in making history, in praising socialism and communism, and in expressing the revolutionary will and ideals of the people. Taking a proletarian stand and observing life with the Marxist world outlook as his guide can only help a writer to reveal life's truths courageously, to portray vividly the greatest and noblest revolutionary sentiments of the proletariat in art, to depict the will and aspirations of the people, and to reflect the struggle of the people as they make history. The allegation that the Marxist world outlook is incompatible with honesty in art is an absurdity fabricated by the enemies of Marxism.

Where Revisionist Literary Theory Leads to

Finally, it may be worthwhile to discuss whether the literary theory of modern revisionists can serve writers as a guide to writing honestly. Modern revisionists don't, in actual fact, want socialism; they want capitalism, but they pretend to side with socialism. They are bent on imitating the decadent and declining culture of imperialism, but they want to give the impression that they have not departed from the proletarian stand. They have in fact discarded as "dogma" the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, but they still want people to believe that their "theory" represents a development of Marxism-Leninism. For this reason, they cannot help but stammer, stutter and talk falteringly. In most cases they cannot and dare not speak their mind out fully. They describe their imitation of reactionary and decadent imperialist literature as the pursuit of a "modern international style"; they describe as a "reform" and a "quest" their abandonment of the fine traditions of revolutionary literature; they dig up out of the dog-eared literary theories of the bourgeoisie the view that "a book bares its writer's soul, it is his means of self-expression" and, proclaiming this view as their own invention, use it to defend their decadence. We are justified, therefore, in saying that modern revisionist literary theory is a theory of the most dishonest kind. It can only create confusion among writers. Writers who have been caught by it are reduced to ravings which they cannot even understand themselves. If they are really honest, the modern revisionist literary theorists should discard their disguise and

frankly admit that their theory is just an echo of modern bourgeois theories, that the "honesty" they advocate is exactly what is advocated by modern bourgeois literary theorists—simply self-expression, a baring of the soul, an escape from reality, a distortion of the truth, vilification of socialism, the lauding of capitalism and a portrayal of individualistic, liberalistic and nihilistic "complex souls," "melancholy states of mind" and "frenzied passions." The literary theory of modern revisionism is in essence the subjective-idealist literary theory of the declining bourgeoisie.

The Mire of Reactionary Subjective-Idealist Literary Theory

It would be well for those who have been befuddled by modern revisionist ideas in art and literature to take a look at the reactionary literary thought of the imperialist bourgeoisie. There they will find the "pinnacle" reached by those who have endeavoured to shake off the fetters of all "dogmas" and to glorify in every way the "honesty" of the soul. Some literary "theorists" of the Freudian school, for example, have developed the following argument according to their own logic: an honest literary work is determined by the honesty of the writer's soul; honesty of soul, in its turn, is determined by a welling forth of the subconscious; all reasoning is a fetter on the subconscious and an honest depiction of the world is possible only when the subconscious is not directly affected by conscious thinking. They therefore claim that in order to write honestly, one must describe the world as one feels it as it were, in one's dreams. But even then, to carry the logic further, the dream is still affected by reason, so that the mental state best fitted for artistic creation should be that of a sick man in a coma. But even so, limited consciousness is still present in a state of coma, so in order to shake off the fetters of thought and consciousness completely, the artist should really describe the world as perceived by the mentally deranged. When the artist reaches such a state, his "honesty" is complete, he is free from all fetters of "dogma" and is thus in a position to create miracles of "beauty" at will! The theory of "writing honestly" advertised by modern revisionists is imbued with the same spirit as the literary theories of the reactionary bourgeoisie. If subjective-idealist literary theory is carried to its logical conclusion, one must inevitably land in the mire of complete reaction such as we have just described. This is well worth pondering over.

It is now quite clear what it is modern revisionists are peddling with this idea of "writing honestly." It is obvious that they raise this cry about "writing honestly" and oppose "hypocrisy" not because they want to solve the common sense problem that genuine feeling is necessary for vivid and effective writing. What they want to do is to prepare the way to discard Marxism and to publicize revisionism. At the same time they try to brand revolutionary Marxist writers as "hypocritical" in the hope that this will force these writers, for fear of being branded "hypocritical," to discard the great ideological weapon of Marxism and join them in "honestly" extolling revisionism. But this is sheer wishful thinking. The broad masses of the people and proletarian writers will never be misled by this.

How an Agro-Technical Station Works

by LI CHIN

China's countryside is now covered by a network of state-run stations whose chief function is to spread improved techniques in farming and animal husbandry among the rural people's communes.

In the province of Shensi, northwest China, an agro-technical station, a seed-breeding station and a veterinary station are found in nearly every county. Changan County here has one of the outstanding agro-technical stations in the province.

IN Changan County to the south of Sian, capital of Shensi Province, anyone enquiring after things agricultural will hear the farmers sing the praises of the local agro-technical station. The peasants have the highest regard for it and call it their "Chief of Operations." Established in 1951 and one of the first of its kind in the country, it now has a well-qualified staff of more than 40 technicians.

Boosting Farm Output

Shensi is a wheat- and cotton-growing province and though industry has developed considerably in recent years, farming is the basis of its prosperity. Very conscious of this, Shensi has trained more than 10,000 agricultural technicians since liberation and 80 per cent of them are working in its county agro-technical, seed-breeding and veterinary stations. This has paid off handsomely. The main credit for popularization of good new strains of wheat in Shensi must go to its agro-technical stations and this measure alone has led to a big increase in its wheat output. In Changan County itself at the time of liberation only barley was raised as a second crop in its paddy rice districts. Now they raise high-yield wheat and it makes a big difference to local well-being and diet.

One of the difficulties holding back the advance to higher yields in Changan was the prevalence of insect pests. Before the founding of the agro-technical station, many farms sometimes lost as much as 50 per cent of a crop to pests. At that time only a tiny part of the cultivated land was sown with good pest-resistant strains of seed. Now, thanks to the efforts of the station, improved strains are being sown on all the wheat and cotton fields and on 90 per cent of the land under other crops. These and other more direct methods (such as spraying with proper insecticides) have drastically decreased infestation. The number of wheat midges per square metre of soil on the county's farms has dropped by 90 per cent compared with 1953 and there has been a large consequent growth in yields of food and industrial crops.

Experiments jointly undertaken with the communes' production teams make up a good part of the Changan agro-technical station's work. Usually a group made up of veteran farmers, cadres from a production team and one or two station technicians will do the experimental work on a test plot set aside by the team. At each cru-

cial point of the experiment, other commune members are invited to see how things are going. This method of work has the advantage that the new technique is tested out in practice and, if successful, is certain to be readily accepted by the commune members because they themselves have taken part in and followed the experiments. Furthermore, for this same reason, it is easy to spread the new technique swiftly through the commune. Members can learn about it on the spot.

The popularization of the "612" strain of wheat is a typical example of how the Changan agro-technical station does its work. When first introducing this new strain in 1957, the station began experiments with it in six villages. It was planted in small plots alongside fields growing a number of commonly used strains. That year, all the villages reported favourably on the new strain, which yielded 13-18 per cent more grain than ordinary strains.

The next year the experiments were repeated, but this time on a large scale in the same six villages. Stripe rust affected the ordinary strains, but the new strain proved rust-resistant, thanks to which five villages managed to maintain the same output as in the previous year. Only in one, a dry upland village, did output decline. The value of the new strain and its characteristics were fully established for the area in experiments continued in the third year. Thus established, many production teams began to sow it in large tracts on their flat low land. By the winter of 1961, it was being sown on 40,000 *mu* or 15.5 per cent of all the county's wheat land. Though Changan suffered serious spring frosts last year, yields of the "612" strain still averaged some 300 *jin* per *mu*.

Seeing Is Believing

The Changan station's cadres have fully learnt the virtues of patience in their work of spreading new methods. In 1959 one of its technicians, Tuan Ta-yu, was sent to Peijen Village to help the peasants there deal with cotton insect pests. Some supported his recommended method of mixing chemicals with the cotton seed before sowing, some were sceptical and a few others raised strong objections. Old man Chen, an experienced cotton grower, refused to believe in this novelty, something he had never heard of in his life.

Tuan therefore proposed that a few plots be planted side by side, some using the new method and some the old. Chen readily agreed to this. The seed treated with chemicals sprouted well, better than the untreated seed, and grew sturdily. Faced with this fact, Chen blamed nature for his weak cotton shoots. Tuan then asked him to examine the soil in the two different plots. Tuan's plots contained very few insects, but there were plenty on the plots tended by Chen, and when the cotton was picked Chen's plots yielded nearly 40 per cent less cotton than Tuan's. Since this convincing demonstration, Chen has become an ardent supporter of the new method and it has spread far and wide throughout Changan with excellent results.

Though lying in the nation's main wheat belt this crop was not grown in Changan's paddyrice districts. Farmers in this part of the county for as long as they could remember followed a barley-rice rotation system reaping two crops a year. Today, however, they are all eating their own home-grown wheat and thank the agro-technical station for this welcome change. If it had not recommended a new wheat-rice rotation system, they would probably still be eating low-yield barley as part of their staple diet.

The station had for a long time remarked the need to substitute wheat for barley and was looking for effective means to solve the problem. Then, they learnt in 1955 that Pu Chung-chih, the national model farmer of Changan County, was making excellent progress in his experiments with a wheat-rice rotation. Apart from sowing and reaping a crop of winter wheat he was getting a second grain crop of paddyrice from the same field each year. While maintaining his rice yields, Pu was managing to reap 250 *jin* of wheat per *mu*, or twice as much as barley. Two of the station's staff members were sent to work with Pu. They studied his methods of cultivation closely for three years in a row and not only thoroughly mastered the skills he had developed but also helped perfect the techniques of cultivation.

The improved wheat-rice rotation method evolved has now been extensively popularized in the paddyrice districts of Changan. Except the paddyfields which are not suited for wheat or have to lie fallow, all the rest are giving two crops a year. In the spring of 1962, the 25,000 *mu* sown to wheat suffered from severe frosts, but their yield still exceeded that of barley by about 100 *jin* per *mu*. This meant an extra grain output of 1,250 tons for the county.

This is only one of the many successful new methods the Changan agro-technical station has studied, improved upon and popularized not only by its own demonstrations, lectures and training classes for commune members, but



Seedling Nursery

By Tzu Hsu

in other less formal ways as well, such as informal house to house chats.

The systematic help given by its agro-technical station has helped Changan advance its farming techniques with rapid strides. Encouraged by the station, for instance, the peasants now set great store by the use of good strains of seed. Most of the production teams now have their own good strains, stocks of which they are increasing steadily.

Boon to the Peasants

The Changan agro-technical station has become a fully accepted and indispensable adjunct to the county's farming practice. Whenever its farmers come up against a new technical problem which they cannot solve or if natural calamities hit their farms, they know they can count on the station for good advice. When important production problems are being discussed, many commune management committees invite the station's technicians to attend.

A deputy chairman of the Huangliang People's Commune was speaking for all the peasants in the county when he said: "It's true enough that we know quite a bit about farming, but we urgently need systematic scientific knowledge. That's where the county agro-technical station comes in. It's just the sort of body we need to help us boost yields."

CHINESE WEIGHTS and MEASURES at a GLANCE

1 *mu* = 0.06 hectare or 0.1647 acre

1 *dan* (picul) = 0.05 ton or 0.984 hundredweight

1 *jin* = 0.5 kilogramme or 1.1023 pounds

Chinese Porcelain Treasures

Peking's Wenwu (Cultural Relics) Press puts on sale this month a new, de luxe volume entitled *Selected Porcelains from the Collections of the Palace Museum*. This large-format (12" × 15") volume brings together in chronological order plates in colour of 100 ceramic masterpieces with an introduction and descriptions written by Chen Wan-li, one of the leading experts on the subject.

Most of the porcelain collection of the Palace Museum comes from the former Ching imperial palaces. Since liberation, however, many new additions have been made to it, donated or acquired from private collections or selected from among the many fine examples of ceramic art unearthed in recent years by China's archaeologists. These have greatly enriched the collection, making it more comprehensive both geographically and historically. The present volume gives a selection from this enlarged collection that provides a general outline of the historical development of Chinese porcelain. Care has clearly been taken to present examples of a wide variety of porcelains from various periods and from all the most famous kilns. For the scholar, porcelain lover, or general reader this is an enticing book.*

Origins of Porcelain

The question of when porcelain began to be made in China has been much discussed. In recent years various new opinions have been put forward based on the latest finds of porcelain discovered in post-liberation years. Some scholars are of the opinion that the material used to make the glazed earthenware found at the early Shang Dynasty (c. 1600-1100 B.C.) site at Chengchow, Honan, approaches that used in the porcellanous wares made at ancient Yuehchou (present-day eastern Chekiang). Others hold that the earliest approach to true porcelain—as far as mineral compositions are concerned—can be found only in certain green-glazed potsherds dating back to the Western Chou Dynasty (c. 1100-771 B.C.), unearthed at Changchiapo in Shensi Province. An examination of these show that, like porcelain, they were fired at a temperature of about 1,200° C. Few

*It has a precis of the introduction and list of plates in English.

others maintain that genuine porcelain began with the green-glazed marbles found at a tomb of the Eastern Han (25-220) in Changsha, Hunan Province. Scholars generally refer to the green-glazed wares of the Three Kingdoms (220-280) and the Western and Eastern Tsin (265-420) as celadon, but some regard these as being intermediate in nature between pottery and porcelain, that is, are "protoporcelain."

Evidently further research is needed to settle this question of the origin of porcelain in China and the introduction to this volume does not attempt a final verdict. It therefore begins with the reproduction of a vase made in the third year of the Yungan period of the Wu Kingdom (260). The blue-green glaze which covers this whole vessel indicates that Chinese potters at that time had further improved the technique of obtaining a very high temperature for firing. The vase has a sculptural decoration representing a turtle supporting on its back a tablet with 24 characters bearing the date of the object. The discovery of this precisely dated early porcelain will greatly facilitate the dating and classification of similar pieces.

Three beautiful specimens have been chosen to represent the two Tsin Dynasties namely, a Western Tsin (265-316) celadon vase in the shape of a man riding on the back of a crouch-

ing beast, a celadon ewer with a ram-head spout and a black-glazed ewer with a chicken-head spout, of the Eastern Tsin Dynasty (317-420), the earliest example of Chinese black glaze yet found. These are characteristic forms of porcelain vases of that time.

N. Dynasty Celadon Ware

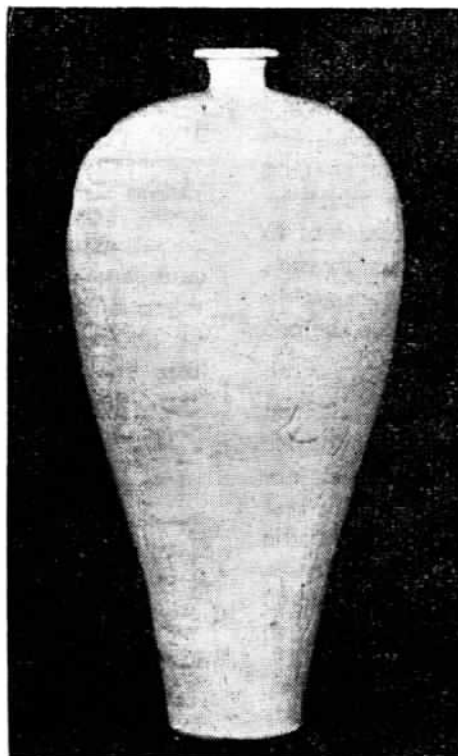
As a result of the influence of Buddhist art, the lotus petal became a popular decorative motif during the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420-589). Two examples of this period are given: a celadon ware with carved decoration of the Southern Dynasties and celadon lotus *tsun* (wine vessel coming in a wide variety of shapes) excavated at the cemetery of the Feng family in Chinghsien, Hopei, and dating from the Northern Dynasties.

In the past some doubted that celadon was made in the north in this period but in 1957, Palace Museum researchers found the sites of three kilns in Chuyang and Tzuhsien of Hopei Province and in Kunghsien, Honan Province. All three made celadon vessels. Everything indicates that these kilns belong to the period between the end of the Northern Dynasties and the beginning of the Sui Dynasty (581-618). The exquisite Feng family celadon *tsun* mentioned above is a valuable reference point for studies of early celadon ware in the north.

Chinese porcelain manufacture developed greatly during the Sui, Tang (618-907) and Five Dynasties (907-960). This is well shown in this volume by six Tang pieces, and two of the Five Dynasties—a covered celadon vase found in Punyu, Kwangtung, and a ewer, (a good example of Yueh ware).

Of the six Tang pieces, special mention must be made of a head rest made at the Tungkuan kiln near Changsha. This kiln, which was excavated in 1956, is not mentioned in any known historical document but finds here show that the firing of under-glaze painted vessels began there as early as the Tang Dynasty. Quite a number of specimens of this type of porcelain had been found near Changsha, but since the existence of the Tungkuan kiln was unknown these were previously wrongly ascribed to the Yochow kiln in Yoyang, Hunan.

Further improvements were made in celadon wares in the Sung Dynasty



A Ting ware with incised patterns, Northern Sung Dynasty. H. 37.5 cm.



Blue-and-white, of the Hsuanteh period of the Ming Dynasty. H.9.8 cm. Diameter of rim 51.2 cm. Diameter of base 34.5 cm. (Viewed from above)

(960-1279). The Sung craftsmen achieved a delicate celadon colour of great beauty, they excelled too in their forms and decorative designs. This volume gives examples of the fine porcelain products made by nearly all the famous Sung kilns — the Ting, Ju, Kuan, Ko, Lungchuan, Chun, Yaochow and Chingtehchen. Specimens from kilns in Hopei and Honan producing wares for the common people are also included.

Reassessment of Yuan Wares

Six examples of the porcelain of the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) illustrate the ample grounds which now exist for a reassessment of the ware of this dynasty which was previously regarded pretty generally as being crude and therefore of little account. Scholars in recent years have found that the making of the lovely under-glaze blue and under-glaze red of Ming times was actually begun towards the end of the Yuan Dynasty.

Among the Ming (1368-1644) specimens reproduced here, the most representative are the blue-and-white, and the monochrome red of the Yunglo period (1403-1424), the blue-and-white of the Hsuanteh period (1426-1435), the peacock-green of the Chengteh period (1506-1521) and the multi-coloured ware of the Wanli period (1573-1619). Also included are the white-glazed ware made in the Tehhua kiln in Fukien Province and the ware

in three colours produced in the southern part of Shansi Province.

A selection of Ching (1644-1911) porcelain of various types reflects the flourishing state of ceramics in this period, especially during the three reigns of Kanghsi, Yungcheng and Chienlung (from 1662 to 1795).

Since liberation the Palace Museum has surveyed some 40 ancient kiln sites. Studies of the newly discovered material from these sites have helped to correct some erroneous ideas and

to settle some hitherto unsettled questions, and has also given rise to new questions that are leading to fresh research. These developments in the study of Chinese ceramics are reflected to a certain extent in the volume reviewed. The plates are excellent. They give an authentic feel not only of the shapes but of the textures and colours of the vessels illustrated.

— CHAO CHIN

SHORT NOTES

A New Album of a 17th-Century Artist. An album of reproductions of the calligraphy and paintings of the 17th-century Chinese artist and patriot Fu Shan has just come off the press of the People's Art Publishing House.

Fu Shan, an outstanding writer, philosopher, historian and physician of his times, was especially famous for his calligraphy. His forceful style exerted a powerful influence on the development of calligraphy in Japan. This new album contains a selection of 16 of the best examples of his writing in *tsao shu* (the "grass," or free, cursive style), one in *chuan shu* (the antique seal style) and nine paintings of landscapes and flower-and-bird, subjects in which he specialized.

Loyal to the Ming Dynasty, Fu travelled extensively in the guise of a Taoist and secretly organized resistance to the Ching invaders. For this he was thrown into jail. He never surrendered to the enemy; neither the

threat of death nor the temptation of money and official advancement could make him yield.

By the reign of Kanghsi (1662-1722) of the Ching Dynasty general recognition was given to the excellence of his calligraphy and paintings. Several albums of collotype and photostat reproductions of his calligraphy were published in 1935 and 1936. But none of these can compare with the present collection so far as the quality of the reproductions and the excellence of the printing are concerned.

Four New Novels. Peking's Writers' Publishing House has recently brought out four new novels:

Ouyang Shan's *Bitter Struggle* is the sequel to the *Three Families Lane* (Peking's Foreign Languages Press has published an English translation of this). His second volume of the planned 5-volume *Guiding Spirits of This Age*, it reflects with deep insight the struggle between the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary forces after the defeat of the Great Revolution of 1925-27. In this volume Chou Ping, hero of the first volume, is shown maturing in battle; and he finally becomes a leader of the Communist-led peasant struggle in Kwangtung and its neighbourhood. The present volume maintains and, indeed, develops the artistic excellence of its predecessor.

Morning in Shanghai, Vol. II by Chou Erh-fu (English translation of the first volume published by F.L.P.) deals with the remoulding of New China's capitalist businessmen and industrialists during the "Five Anti's" Campaign. The author gives a revealing account of the ideas which were prevalent among capitalists in the course of this deep-going working-class struggle against the capitalist class. He shows how they learnt to see that their only way forward is to accept socialist transformation.

Wild Geese Fly North of the Great Wall gives a heroic picture of the Chinese people in building socialism — in this case, the opening up of the vast northern wasteland. It is a fresh subject warmly and incisively handled by the young writer Lin Yu.

Wind and Clouds Over the Taihang Mountains is written by Liu Chiang dealing with the peasants' struggles during the long war years beginning with the resistance to the Japanese invaders and their puppets to the fight against the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries.

SIDELIGHTS

Rounding Up the Enemy. The 172 armed Kuomintang agents who made sneak landings on the mainland between Oct.-Dec. last year, were quickly rounded up chiefly because they found every man, woman and child against them. (See *Peking Review*, Vol. VI, No. 1). Among over 2,000 who received awards and citations before New Year's Day for their part in capturing these enemy agents were two little boys, workers, barbers, rural commune members and three generations of one family. Below are some of their stories.

The Real Thing. Lo Chien, 11 and Chen Hui, 10 were playing the old, old game which, in China, has become "P.L.A. men versus counter-revolutionaries" near where the grown-ups were digging sweet potatoes. Tumbling and chasing each other they suddenly stumbled upon some cartridges, explosives and a military compass. These were there for no good purpose — enemy agents must be around! They raised the alarm and another gang of armed enemy agents were soon rounded up.

Within 45 Minutes. On December 6 another group of 10 well-armed agents were captured without a shot fired.

The agents landed during the night. A fierce storm was raging but militia-sentinel Chen Ping was at his post. He had manned this post every night after the day's work for the past two months despite his age, the weather and the pleas of his comrades. Former poor peasant Chen Ping wasn't

resting while there was a chance of meeting his old enemies. . . .

They were soaking wet in their uniforms and, when challenged by the militia patrol, said they were members of the People's Liberation Army. They were not people's soldiers, Chen Ping saw at a glance.

Chen Ping and the militiamen weren't fooled one bit. They instantly fell in with the enemy's act and pretended to escort them to their village to get warm and dry their uniforms. They even helped the dripping enemy agents to carry some equipment. One quietly accepted a crisp banknote thrust surreptitiously into his hand by the agents' leader. This helped convince the enemy that they had fooled the militiamen; but they still held on to their weapons.

On their way the militiamen quietly separated the enemy into four groups sandwiched between several militiamen and just before reaching the village swiftly disarmed them.

The Early Bird. Cho Chin-huo, up and out collecting dung before the village roosters were awake, saw by the beam of his flashlight the shape of a man sleeping in the shadows of the dung heap. Before liberation it would have aroused no one's attention but no one today in his right senses sleeps on dung heaps. The fellow said he was waiting for dawn before calling on his "uncle."

Daybreak found the enemy agent at the police station trying to convince the people's policemen about a non-existent uncle.

Train of Progress. Before December 1 the expresses used to hurtle straight through Tayaochai in Kwangsi where a community of Yao people live.

The developing economy of the district calls for faster, and more trains, wrote a group of Yao to the local railway bureau. Could these twice-daily expresses stop at one of their stations?

A few days later the reply came. It said that the local bureau could not act independently. The expresses were keeping to a national

timetable. Their request, however, had been passed on to the Ministry of Railways.

They were a little disappointed and thought the matter would end there. For the moment, they could not see adjustments being made for one particular locality. But to their surprise they received a letter from Peking 20 days later saying that their request had been okayed. Preparations were already underway for the expresses running through four provinces between Kweiyang and Hangkow to make three-minute stops at each of the three local stations from Dec. 1, the letter said, to make travelling easier for the Yao national minority and help give the local economy another boost forward.

Before the Withdrawal. While helping local peasants in a field a few days prior to pulling back from a place near Walong, Chinese frontier guards saw clouds of heavy smoke rising high into the sky not far from where they were working. The dense smoke could mean anything. Nine men were dispatched to investigate and, if need be, render assistance.

The soldiers quickly reached the scene of the fire. They saw no houses burning. They found a lone hunter whom they had helped only recently after he had been man-handled by retreating Indian soldiery.

Now he was greeting them like an old friend. He had just bagged a wild sheep and the smoking fire was the traditional signal to come and share his luck. He cut up the sheep into ten equal portions and pressed the soldiers to take their share. But it was politely refused. No member of the Chinese people's armed forces may take anything from the people — not even so much as a needle. It was their proud and inviolable tradition.

"But you can't refuse a hunter's hospitality! That's against our custom!" protested the hunter, as if he knew he was appealing to another inviolable rule of the Chinese people's armed forces: Respect the people's customs.

The frontier guards soon solved what for a moment seemed a tricky problem. They each took a morsel of mutton and taking out from their rations a generous quantity of salt — a much-prized condiment in these parts — handed it to the hunter.



Men of the people's armed forces helping farmers in the fields

Sketch by Ho Hung-chang

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Ceylonese Independence Anniversary

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent messages of greetings to the Ceylonese leaders on the 15th anniversary of the independence of Ceylon.

Premier Chou in his message to the Ceylonese Prime Minister, Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike, paid tribute to the Ceylonese people for their remarkable achievements during the past 15 years in safeguarding their national independence and developing their national economy.

He added that under the guidance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference, friendly relations between Ceylon and China had also developed satisfactorily. The recent visit to China of Madame Bandaranaike had further strengthened these friendly relations.

Premier Chou En-lai attended the Independence Day reception given by the Ceylonese Embassy in Peking on February 4.

Support for Angolan People's Struggle

February 4 was the second anniversary of the armed uprising of the people of Angola. The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity issued a statement reaffirming the Chinese people's full support for the heroic Angolan people in their struggle against Portuguese colonialist rule and for national independence. The Chinese people, the statement added, vigorously condemned the brutalities perpetrated by the Portuguese colonialists in Angola.

To win their national independence, the statement stated, the people of Angola had waged a protracted struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. Two years ago, they had taken up arms, followed the example of the heroic Algerian people, and embarked on the road of armed struggle. This advanced the national-independence movement of Angola to a new histor-

ical stage of great significance. The armed forces of the Angolan people were growing stronger in the battle each passing day. Their fight, extending over large sections of Angola, had dealt heavy blows at the Portuguese colonialists and was inspiring the people of other colonies in Africa in their struggles.

The Chinese people knew well from their own experience that the Angolan people would encounter temporary difficulties on their path of struggle. The Portuguese colonialists were intensifying their suppression and hatching all kinds of political schemes to weaken the fighting will of the Angolan people. At the same time, U.S. imperialism, which had swallowed up the Congo through the United Nations, supported Portuguese colonialism while aiming to replace it.

But, the statement concluded, so long as the Angolan people persisted in struggle, maintained unity, and guard against the schemes of old and new colonialism, they would win final victory. Colonial rule in Angola was bound to be smashed completely. A new Angola, independent and free, was sure to emerge.

Strengthening Solidarity

The Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions held its 26th session in Prague on January 29-31.

Addressing the session, Liu Chang-sheng, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U. and Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, emphasized that world peace could not be ensured unless reliance was placed on the strength and struggle of the working class and people of the world. It was necessary to strengthen solidarity, expose imperialism, and wage resolute struggles against the policies of war and aggression adopted by imperialism led by the U.S. Only by so doing could the evil force of war be rebuffed and world peace preserved.

In the struggle in defence of world peace, Liu Chang-sheng continued, it was necessary that negotiations on this or that question be held with the governments of the imperialist countries including the U.S. to ease international tensions and reach certain compromises and agreements. But such negotiations must be based on the struggles of the masses of the people and must in no way impair the sovereignty

and fundamental interests of the people of any country.

Liu Chang-sheng emphatically pointed out that imperialism and its agents were intensifying their sabotage at a time when the international working class urgently needed to strengthen its unity to oppose the common enemy — imperialism and monopoly capital. As the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions became more and more isolated, imperialism attempted to use other methods to save itself. The leaders of the Yugoslav trade unions played a role which could not be played by the I.C.F.T.U. They were engaging despicably in sabotaging the unity of the international working class.

"We hope," said Liu Chang-sheng, "the W.F.T.U. and its member organizations will be very vigilant about the undermining activities of the leading group of the Yugoslav trade unions against the unity of the international working class, and will expose and condemn the group in due time. At the same time, attention should be paid to this: do not let that group have a chance to use the rostrum of the W.F.T.U. for its undermining activities."

Japanese Fishery Delegation

The Japan-China Fishery Association Delegation, headed by Tsunejiro Hiratsuka, paid a friendly visit to China last month at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi, and other state leaders had cordial talks with the delegation.

Talks were also held between the delegation, the China Fishery Association, and the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries on fishing in the Yellow Sea and East China Sea. A memorandum was exchanged.

Mr. Hiratsuka, who is aged 83, came to China despite the severe cold. Through his visit to Peking and other Chinese cities, the understanding between the Chinese and Japanese peoples has been deepened. The signing of the memorandum will play a positive role in advancing the friendship between the people engaged in the fishing industry of the two countries, and it will also help the further development of friendly trade between the Chinese and Japanese peoples.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

First Anniversary of the Second Havana Declaration

February 4 is the first anniversary of the publication of the Second Havana Declaration. The China-Latin America Friendship Association and the China-Cuba Friendship Association, in a message of greetings to the Cuba-China Friendship Association, pointed out that the Declaration is a militant message condemning U.S. imperialism and also a programme for struggle to defend the Cuban revolution and uphold the national independence, democracy and freedom of the Latin American peoples.

An article in *Renmin Ribao* (February 4) says that in the past year, this great Declaration has become a banner for uniting the Latin American peoples in their fight against imperialism and for liberation. The clarion call of the Declaration has spread to every part of Latin America and won the hearts of more and more people. It is widely read and keenly discussed by peasants in mountain areas, by intellectuals, in Mexican villages, Brazilian factories and Chilean mines. It inspires guerrillas active in the villages and mountain areas of Venezuela, Colombia and Guatemala.

Uplifted by this great declaration, the Latin American people's struggle for independence, for land and for the right to live surged forward in the past year like the angry waves of the Caribbean Sea. This is witnessed by the growing working-class movement, peasants' fight for land and the powerful armed struggle being waged by the people in many countries. All this shows that the Latin American peoples are marching bravely forward under the glorious banner of the Second Havana Declaration.

As the Declaration has demonstrated its great vitality, U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries in many countries are trying their best to prevent it from being reprinted and distributed. But this cannot stop the dissemination of revolutionary truth. In many Latin American countries, the broadest sections of the people warmly support the way charted by the Declaration — the way to fight against

enslavement by U.S. imperialism and to strive for independence and liberation.

U.S.-Commonwealth Mission To India

At a time when there is a de facto ceasefire on the Sino-Indian border and favourable conditions have been created for direct Sino-Indian negotiations, the visit of the joint U.S.-British-Commonwealth military mission to India cannot but arouse serious attention, says *Da Gong Bao's* Commentator (February 3).

The imperialist bloc headed by the United States is doing all it can to impede a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border question. Since October last year, the United States and other Western powers have granted India about U.S. \$120 million in military aid. This military aid has not been reduced because of the easing of the Sino-Indian border situation. On the contrary, the United States in recent weeks has supported India's war preparations on an even larger scale. This joint military mission evidently has been assigned an important role in helping India to prepare again for realizing her territorial designs by means of war.

According to Western news agencies and the Indian press, the mission was to consider "the lengthening of the Indian runways, and the establishment of a radar network so that the Western interceptor squadrons, complete with pilots and ground personnel, can move into India to provide a protective air umbrella over its cities." This means that the U.S. plans to take this opportunity to build air bases in India and incorporate that country into its war system. The purpose is to tighten its military control over India. Another U.S. imperialist scheme is that once armed clashes are provoked again by the Indian reactionaries on the Sino-Indian border, the imperialist powers and India will jointly launch air attacks on China.

Ever since the Chinese Government, on its own initiative, unilaterally ceased fire, withdrew its frontier guards, and made great efforts for a

peaceful settlement of the border question, Nehru has time and again cried about an all-out mobilization against China and called for a protracted struggle. He declared that the truce is "of short duration" and that "it is for us [India] to determine" how long the ceasefire would last. The visit of the joint military mission shows that the Nehru government, in order to step up its anti-China campaign, will further throw itself into the embrace of U.S. imperialism at the expense of India's sovereignty and national interests.

The so-called neutrality and non-alignment of the Nehru government has long been cast to the winds. Its present plan to provide U.S. imperialism with military bases for operations against China has further exposed its military alliance with the Western imperialist bloc.

By following this line, Commentator concludes, the Indian Government will simply become a tool of the U.S. war plan of "using Asians to fight Asians," and will itself gain nothing.

A War Budget in Peace Time

The Kennedy Administration's new budget with higher military expenditures shows again that Kennedy is more bellicose than any of his predecessors, says a recent article in *Renmin Ribao*.

The proposed expenditures in the new budget total \$98,800 million, an increase of \$4,500 million over the \$94,300 million for the current fiscal year. Of the increase, \$2,400 million is to be spent on military programmes and the rest on the space programme. The total expenditure for non-military purposes is even lower than the 1963 level.

The huge sum of \$56,000 million proposed for military expenditures — including \$5,000 million for overseas military "aid" and development of atomic energy — is the highest figure ever recorded in the United States since the end of World War II. But it is not difficult to understand why a wartime military budget should appear in the United States in peace time. The reason is that it is geared to the Kennedy Administration's intensified preparations for "special warfare" and global nuclear war.

The budget message and the economic report, however, indicate that

the Kennedy Administration is facing greater difficulties than its predecessors and its weaknesses stand out more strikingly.

Where do the difficulties lie? Kennedy began his budget message by admitting that the budget can never be balanced because of the excess of expenditure over revenue. The choice, in the words of Kennedy himself, was not between a deficit or a surplus, but "between two kinds of deficits" — a chronic deficit caused by a sluggish economy or a temporary budgetary deficit resulting from a tax and expenditure programme designed to boost the economy.

The increasing stagnation of the U.S. economy has adversely affected revenue and therefore the Kennedy Administration's ability to push forward its policies of aggression and war abroad. Since Kennedy insisted that "there is no discount price on

defence," there has appeared the "first kind of deficit" which he described as "a sign of waste and weaknesses." To remedy this, the Kennedy Administration has decided on a tax reduction to stimulate the U.S. economy. But this leads to the "second kind of deficit," the so-called "investment in the future," which is clearly even more dangerous than the first. For the second kind of deficit involves the big gamble of an estimated loss of \$13,500 million from the proposed tax reductions.

The article recalls that the budget for the 1962 fiscal year, the first budget since Kennedy came to power, ran a deficit of \$6,300 million. The budget for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, will have a deficit of \$8,800 million. And apparently there will be a deficit of \$11,900 million for the 1964 fiscal year. These swelling budget deficits

lead to depreciation of the dollar and to rising prices. There will be great increases in public and private expenditures, the people's living conditions will worsen, and there will be the vicious spiral of uncontrolled inflation. Confidence in the dollar abroad will also suffer.

It is significant that even Kennedy himself finds it impossible to conceal his concern about the danger presented by the huge budgetary deficit. He has decided to carry out in three years his plan to cut taxes by \$13,500 million. He has to limit severely his 1964 expenditure proposals by streamlining government staff and stopping certain installation and engineering projects. He does not scruple to reduce expenditures for important civil departments. All these reflect his desperate efforts to hold in check the catastrophic effects of the budgetary deficits.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

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

PEKING OPERA

▲ **HUNG NIANG** An episode from *The Western Chamber*. Hung Niang is the vivacious serving-maid who helps to arrange the rendezvous between the lovers of the *Western Chamber*. By Hsun Hui-sheng Peking Opera Troupe.

PINGJU OPERA

▲ **BATTLE OF WITS** An ancient Chou Dynasty story. Sun Pin and Pang Chuan, two knights, have received their military training from the same teacher. Pang Chuan becomes a general, but is jealous of Sun Pin's superior skill in military strategy. When they meet in a battle of wits, he plots against him. Sun Pin escapes and his enemy gets his deserts. China Pingju Opera Theatre's new production.

HONAN OPERA

▲ **MU KUEI-YING TAKES COMMAND** Mu Kuei-ying, brave woman-warrior of Sung times, inspired by her high sense of duty and love of her country, takes the field again after 20 years' retirement. The visiting Loyang Honan Opera Troupe.

▲ **YEH HAN-YEN** The story of Yeh Han-yen, daughter of a noble family in the latter part of the Yuan Dynasty, who falls in love with a young hunter and rejects the rich suitor proposed by her wicked step-mother. Loyang Honan Opera Troupe.

CONCERT

Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre presents: Vocal and instrumental solos. On Feb. 8, 9. At Peking Concert Hall.

MODERN DRAMA

▲ **RED PROPAGANDIST** A modern Korean play about the Flying Horse Movement of socialist construction in Korea. A young girl helps bring great changes to her home village. First performances in China, by 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.

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

▲ **TUCHUAN MOUNTAIN** A drama of a spontaneous peasant uprising. Its participants, under the guidance of the Communist Party, become a strong and organized revolutionary force. New production of the China Youth Art Theatre.

▲ **WU TSE TIEN** A historical play by Kuo Mo-jo. A dramatic chronicle of how Empress Wu Tse Tien, China's woman ruler of the early Tang Dynasty, brought peace and progress to the country by her wise statesmanship. Peking People's Art Theatre.

FILMS

▲ **THE HURRICANE** A Peking Studio production. Adapted from Chou Li-po's famous novel about agrarian reform in China's northeast.

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

▲ **ST. PETER'S UMBRELLA** A Hungarian film of pre-liberation days. How a young lawyer fights for his love and for his rightful inheritance.

▲ **RESURRECTION** A Soviet film in two parts adapted from Tolstoy's novel of the same title.

▲ **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 Tungting 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.

▲ **STORY OF THE HUNTING DOGS** A Hungarian feature for children. Two dogs and a hawk go off on their own. After many adventures they return safely to their master.

▲ **RED CORAL** Colour film version of a modern opera. Aided by a P.L.A. scout, fishermen in a coastal village battle their

oppressors and the KMT forces on the eve of liberation. "August 1" Studio.

▲ **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.

▲ **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 fails when there is an unexpected twist to events and the girl exposes the swindlers.

EXHIBITIONS

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

▲ **"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.

SKATING

The Season's On!

The skating rinks at Shi Cha Hai, Workers' Stadium, Working People's Palace of Culture, Beihai Park, Zhongshan Park and Tao Ran Ting are now open. For time schedules see *Peking Review*, No. 5, 1963.

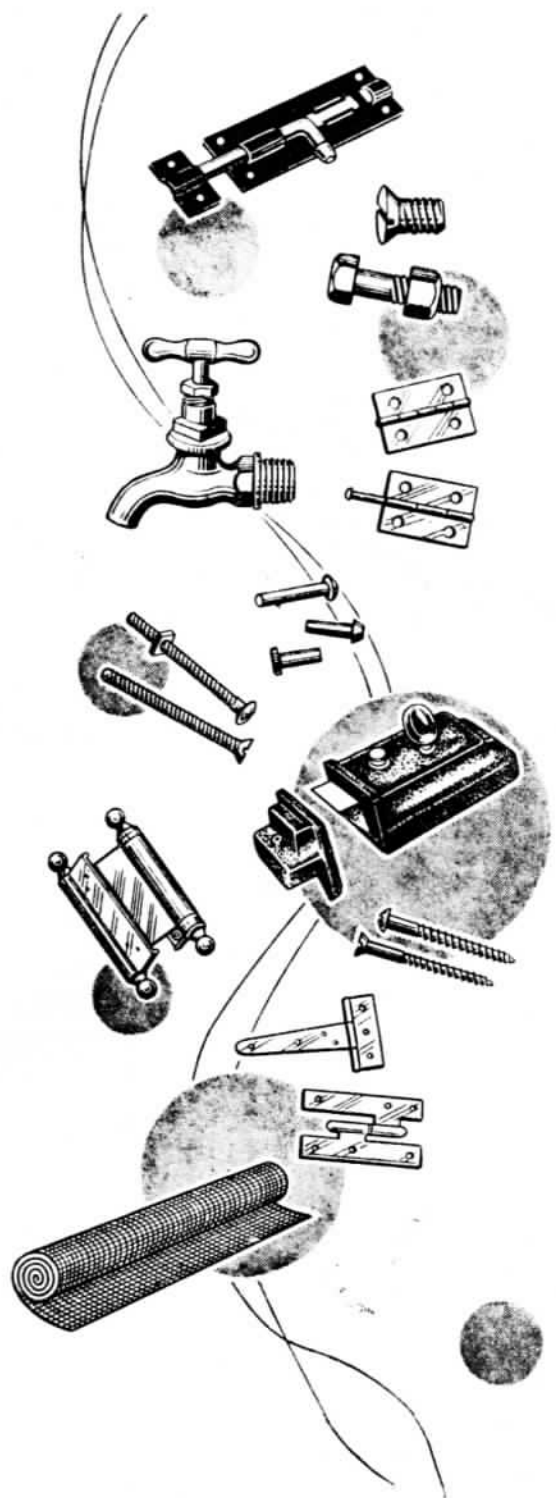


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