

PEKING REVIEW

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April 5, 1963

China To Release All Captured Indian Military Personnel

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

April 5, 1963 Vol. VI No. 14

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Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW

Poi Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China

Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

April 5, 1963

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

● The Chinese Government has decided to release and repatriate all the 3,213 Indian military personnel captured while attacking Chinese frontier guards. This was announced in a statement issued on April 2 by the Chinese National Defence Ministry (see p. 14).

On the same day the Chinese Foreign Ministry notified the Indian Embassy in China of this decision.

Renmin Ribao hails the decision as another important step taken by the Chinese Government on its own initiative in seeking a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

● The Chinese Red Cross Society has been entrusted by the Chinese frontier guards to assist in repatriating all captured Indian military personnel. It has notified the Indian Red Cross Society of this fact and 144 captured personnel will be repatriated on April 10.

● In the past week the Chinese Foreign Ministry sent another three notes to the Indian Embassy in China:

The note of March 24 protested against India's recent intrusions into China's territory and air space. It demanded that India put an immediate stop to its aggressive activities on the China-Sikkim border, dismantle all fortifications it had built on Chinese soil and immediately withdraw its troops from Chinese territory.

In its note of March 25 the Chinese Foreign Ministry refuted New Delhi's slanders against China in connection with the boundary agreement between China and Pakistan. It pointed out that China and Pakistan had every right to sign an agreement on the boundary question.

On March 25 the Chinese Foreign Ministry protested against the use of the Tibetan rebels by the Indian Government for interfering in China's internal affairs.

● Two Chinese ships are on their way to India to bring back Chinese nationals persecuted by the Indian Government.

● Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. on April 2 received S.V. Chervonenko, Soviet Ambassador to China. Comrade Chervonenko handed over a letter to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated March 30.

● The press published the regulations governing the election of people's congresses at all levels in the Tibet Autonomous Region.

● Good news comes from both industrial enterprises and farms. The nation's industry reports that production targets for major industrial products in January and February have been either fulfilled or overfulfilled. The farmlands are bustling with activity—spring sowing has begun. Latest reports indicate that the situation in central-south China and east China is good.

Electoral Regulations for Tibet

Regulations governing the election of people's congresses at all levels in the Tibet Autonomous Region were promulgated on March 30. Ratified by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on March 30, the regulations were drawn up in accordance with the Constitution and the Electoral Law of the People's Re-

public of China, with due consideration for the specific conditions of the Tibet region.

The regulations provide that people's congresses at all levels will be elected by the people of all nationalities in the region on the basis of universal suffrage. All citizens of the People's Republic of China living in the region, who have reached the age

of 18, have the right to elect and to be elected, irrespective of their nationality, race, sex, occupation, social origin, religious belief, education, property status, or length of residence. Women have equal rights with men to elect and to be elected. Rebels, counter-revolutionaries and others who have been deprived of political rights according to law, and insane persons, do not have the right to elect or to be elected.

The regulations lay down the number of delegates to the people's congresses at all levels, and stipulate that election committees, dealing with all matters pertaining to the election of people's congresses, shall be set up under the people's governments at all levels in the autonomous region. The members of the election committees at various levels are to be appointed by the people's government at the next higher level. The election committee at the level of the autonomous region will consist of representatives of the Chinese Communist Party and the people's organizations and other patriots, and will include women. The members of election committees at the level of municipalities with districts, counties, municipalities without districts, municipal districts, townships and towns may be decided according to local conditions.

Electoral districts are divided in accordance with the population, the geographical conditions in which the people live and production organizations. Monasteries and convents with large numbers of monks and nuns may be classified as separate electoral districts.

The regulations also lay down provisions for the nomination of candidates, election procedure, and penalties for activities directed against the proper holding of elections.

Pardons to War Criminals

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress decided to grant pardons to a group of war criminals of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the puppet "Manchukuo" regime and the puppet "Inner-Mongolian Autonomous Government." The decision was made after discussing a proposal submitted by the State Council to grant pardons to those war criminals who, after a certain period of reform, have truly changed and turned over a new leaf. This is the

fourth group of war criminals pardoned since 1959.

On March 30, Chairman Liu Shaoyi of the People's Republic of China issued an order in accordance with the decision of the N.P.C.'s Standing Committee. It provides that:

(1) War criminals of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the puppet "Manchukuo" regime and the puppet "Inner-Mongolian Autonomous Government," who have been imprisoned for ten years and have truly changed and turned over a new leaf, are to be released;

(2) War criminals who were sentenced to death with two years' reprieve, of which one year has passed, and who show signs of having truly changed and turned over a new leaf, may have their sentences reduced to life imprisonment or imprisonment for 15 years or more;

(3) War criminals who were sentenced to life imprisonment and have served seven years, and who show signs of having truly changed and turned over a new leaf, may have their sentences reduced to imprisonment for ten years or more.

The order is to be carried out by the Supreme People's Court and high people's courts.

Industry Strides Forward

Industry reports an even, steady rise in production since the beginning of the year. January-February output of coal, power, crude oil, steel, copper, chemical fertilizer, tractors, motor cars, cotton yarn, machine-made paper and 30 other major industrial products outstripped production plans, with a higher average daily output than in the corresponding period of last year. A further rise in output has been registered for the first half of March.

Twenty-four major coal mining centres exceeded their production quotas for January-February. These mines account for about half of the nation's coal output. In January, they produced between them a daily average of 12,000 tons above quota; in February they raised this figure by another 19,000 tons. Compared with the same span of last year, the output of chemical fertilizer in the first two months showed a 62 per cent increase; chemical insecticides upped by 27 per cent, and tractor production by 67 per cent. These products are being shipped

immediately to the rural people's communes.

More sewing machines, bicycles, rubber-soled shoes and other goods were also produced in the last two months. The boost in production is coupled with a marked rise in quality for most light and heavy industrial goods. There has also been an increase in the range of goods produced and economies in the use of raw materials.

These tangible successes are to be attributed to the workers' warm response to the call of the Communist Party and People's Government to step up production and practise economy. They are also a direct result of the policy of "carrying out readjustments, consolidating, filling out and improving quality" in industrial production. Workers in all industrial enterprises are pressing ahead with their emulation drive for higher output, better quality and lower production costs. They are doing their best to tap potentialities to the full, outstrip output targets for the first quarter and lay a solid foundation for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of production plans this year—the first year of China's Third Five-Year Plan.

Spring Ploughing and Sowing

China is striding into the busy spring farming season.

In the warm southern and southwestern parts of the country, the rural people's communes have already planted large areas to early rice. Further north, in the fertile Yangtze River valley and on the north China plain, some communes have already put quite a large acreage under early-ripening crops while others are busy ploughing their land and completing preparations for sowing. The communes in various parts of Hopei Province, north China, have to date sown barley and other quick-ripening crops on half a million *mu* of land.

Up in the northeastern provinces, spring sowing will hit its stride in about two weeks. But in the Liaoho and Sungari basins, the communes lost no time in planting spring wheat when the weather gradually turned warm. In Taian County, which accounts for a good proportion of the spring wheat grown in Liaoning Province, some 11,000 *mu* have been sown to this crop. The bulk of the nation's spring wheat is grown in Heilungkiang Province. Here, the communes in some

parts have also started sowing their spring wheat.

Conditions are favourable for the spring ploughing and sowing this year. The weather, for one thing, has been fairly propitious. Though some parts of the country experienced a dry spell last winter, they have had a good amount of rain or snow in the last two months. In early March, rain or snow fell in practically all the grain and cotton producing areas, with the exception of northeast China. It continued for about ten days, and was the most extensive and heaviest recorded this year. This welcome fall has ended the drought in the northern parts of Honan, Kiangsu and Anhwei Provinces and considerably offset the effects of a long dry spell in others.

Better all-round preparations are reported everywhere in the countryside. Adequate amounts of quality seeds have been laid by and more improved farm implements are available for use. Large quantities of chemical fertilizers have been shipped in time to the villages for the spring ploughing and sowing, and the communes themselves have accumulated enough manure and compost. Communes in provinces along the Yangtze have, in addition, planted large areas to green manure which is particularly good for the growth of paddyrice. Hupeh Province, in central China, extended its area under green manure by 1.7 million *mu* this year. During the winter months a great deal of work was also done on water conservancy projects all over the countryside. In Hupeh alone, over 300,000 projects of varying sizes were completed in the past few months. This will put a larger area under irrigation than ever before.

On top of all this, the commune members are more enthusiastic than ever in their work and in developing their collective economy. This year, they plan to get in a good harvest not only of grain but of cotton, tobacco and other industrial crops as well. Communes in the cotton belts in the Yellow River basin and elsewhere have set aside their best land for cotton, and in mass discussions mapped out concrete plans for enlarging the cotton acreage.

Three national conferences were held recently on growing cotton, tobacco and mulberry trees for silkworms. Officials from provincial agri-

cultural organizations, commune leaders and model peasants are confident that they can increase the production of these and other industrial crops this year.

"Learn From Comrade Lei Feng"

In Peking thousands of people are flocking to see the exhibition on his life. All over the country people are crowding the theatres to see the play or the documentary film about him. Millions have read and loved his diaries widely published in the nation's press. Songs and poems written about him are on the lips of China's younger generation. Hand-written inscriptions by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other leaders reproduced in the press call on the nation to follow his example. Today, only a few months after his premature death, he is called "the great ordinary soldier"; everybody knows his name and learning from Lei Feng has become a nationwide movement.

Lei Feng was a young squad leader in a transport unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. A homeless orphan before the liberation, he lived the bitter life of the oppressed in the old society. After liberation, studying and working conscientiously under the guidance of the Communist Party, he grew into a fine man, imbued with the noble ideology of a communist and with the moral qualities befitting a proletarian revolutionary. As a civilian, he worked in a Party office, in a factory and on a farm. In each case he was elected a model worker. In the army he won special citations and became an outstanding soldier and a model member of the Communist Youth League.

His greatness lies in his communist qualities which found expression in the plain everyday work he did. His thinking and deeds clearly reflected his clearcut class stand, his revolutionary spirit of suiting his actions to his words, his wholehearted, staunch and selfless devotion to the cause of communism.

The exhibition now open in Peking is jointly sponsored by the General Political Department of the P.L.A. and the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League. In graphic detail it tells of his love for his country, his determination to safeguard it at all costs, his hopes for the future while not forgetting his sufferings in the old

society. It tells how he was content to be "a tiny screw" — which plays an ordinary but important role in the great cause of building socialism, how he loved whatever work he did, and did it well. It tells of Lei Feng helping a factory save cement from a sudden downpour, in his off-duty hours lending a hand in the fields to members of a rural people's commune, during a train trip helping the conductor look after fellow travellers, secretly contributing his savings to a people's commune, always ready to help his work-mates and fellow soldiers in their duties. What attracts most attention among the 300 exhibits are his diaries in which the young soldier recorded his thoughts and events in his daily life. Modestly written, these entries testify to his sterling character, his unselfish attitude in work and comradely consideration for others and, above all, his communist outlook expressed in the ideal he set himself to "live so that others may live better." It is precisely these qualities that have won him the admiration of the nation and that inspire the people to emulate him.

The movement to learn from Lei Feng has only just begun, but millions have already been stirred and inspired by his example to greater efforts in their work in every field of socialist construction, and to a greater awareness of the historic tasks which today confront "ordinary" men and women.

Sino-Indonesian Treaty Anniversary

In an exchange of greetings on the second anniversary of the Sino-Indonesian Treaty of Friendship and the Agreement on Cultural Co-operation, Chinese and Indonesian government leaders pledged themselves to strengthen further the friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

At a reception given in Peking on March 30 by the China-Indonesia Friendship Association in honour of the occasion, Burhan Shahidi, president of the association, was host to many distinguished guests. They included Vice-Premier Chen Yi, Indonesian Charge d'Affaires ad interim Suffri Jusuf and his wife, and diplomatic officials of the Indonesian Embassy.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi gave a toast to the growing friendship and co-

operation between China and Indonesia since the treaty was signed. Speaking with deep appreciation of Indonesia's positive role in international affairs, he paid special tribute to President Sukarno for holding aloft the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist banner at the Belgrade conference of the heads of state of non-aligned countries and for his great contribution to the success of the conference.

Referring to President Sukarno's proposal to hold a sports meet of newly emerging countries to break imperialist control of world sports, he said that the Chinese people fully supported this proposal which would put world sports on the road of sound development. The Vice-Premier expressed his sincere thanks to President Sukarno and the Indonesian people for their just action in opposing the Chiang Kai-shek clique's participation in the Asian Games held last year in Djakarta. He also thanked the Indonesian Government for its just stand in promoting a peaceful settlement by China and India of their boundary question.

Extolling Indonesia's liberation of West Irian, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: "Under the leadership of President Sukarno, the great Indonesian people planted their national flag on the soil of West Irian. The Chinese people warmly greet this victory which shows that, by waging resolute struggles, imperialism and colonialism can be defeated and the desire for national liberation can be realized."

Suffri Jusuf, Indonesian Charge d'Affaires ad interim, gave a reception the next evening. Among those present were Vice-Premier Chen Yi, Vice-Chairman Kuo Mo-jo of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C. and Burhan Shahidi.

In his address, the Indonesian Charge d'Affaires spoke of the daily growing friendship between Indonesia and China. "Despite the fact that the imperialists are trying by every possible means to undermine that friendship," he stressed, "the foundation of the great edifice of Indonesian-Chinese friendship cannot be shaken."

Like China, he went on to say, Indonesia gained its independence, not as a gift, but as a result of persevering revolution against imperialism; and, like China, Indonesia had no territorial ambitions nor harboured any

aggressive designs against any country. He emphasized that the Indonesian people were convinced that there could be no peace so long as colonialism existed. "The experience of the Indonesian revolution," he said, "shows that we cannot coexist with colonialism. If we want world peace, we must eliminate imperialism and colonialism."

Praising the achievements made by the Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, he declared: "A powerful China has brought great stability to Asia and the whole world. This has contributed to prosperity and peace for the world and raised the prestige of the newly independent countries which were once colonies." He reaffirmed Indonesia's opposition to attempts to create "two Chinas" and support for the Chinese Government's struggle to return Taiwan to the embrace of the People's Republic of China. He voiced Indonesia's opposition to the formation of the Malaysia federation and gave his support to the people of North Kalimantan in their struggle for independence.

Suffri Jusuf also spoke of the exclusion of Indonesia from the International Olympic Committee because it had rejected the participation of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the Asian Games last year. "This International Olympic Committee," he said, "is imperialist in character. If the reactionaries do not want to have progressive countries at the Olympic Games next year, it signifies nothing to us, because we progressive countries will have our own games whose participants will include all countries opposing imperialism."

Chinese Ambassador to Indonesia Yao Chung-ming gave a reception in Djakarta in honour of the occasion.

Solidarity With Cuba Congress

Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings to the American Continental Congress in Solidarity With Cuba, held in Brazil last week.

"It is of great significance," says his message, "that the congress is held at a time when the Kennedy Administration is stepping up its scheme to strangle the Cuban revolution and suppress the national-liberation movement in the Latin American countries. The congress reflects the ardent aspiration and determination of the

Latin American people to support the Cuban revolution and demonstrates the ever growing strength and the development of the anti-imperialist forces of the people in Latin America. We are convinced that neither U.S. imperialism nor any other reactionary force will ever be able to arrest the victorious advance of the heroic people of Cuba and the rest of Latin America."

The message was read at the opening session of the congress on March 28.

Warm greetings to the congress were sent by various Chinese people's organizations and Wang Wei-chen, as a Chinese observer is attending the session.

Brazilian Communist Party Delegation

A delegation of the Brazilian Communist Party, led by Manuel Jover Teles, Member of its Executive Commission, and including Jaime Miranda, Member of its Central Committee, arrived in Peking on March 31.

Chinese Workers in Mongolia

Chinese workers and technicians helping socialist construction in the Mongolian People's Republic are doing a fine job. During the past eight years they have created wealth to a value of over 1,140 million tugriks and trained more than 5,000 local Mongolian workers in various techniques and skills.

These figures were made public when the representatives of these workers and technicians gathered at a conference held in Ulan Bator on March 20-23 to review their work.

Surmounting the difficulties which are normally attendant on working in a foreign land, these men have overfulfilled their production plans every year. In the past two years those working in the Mongolian building industry surpassed their production targets by 10 per cent.

A vegetable-growing team led by Tsui Chin-huan on a Mongolian state farm overfulfilled its last year's production plan by 130 per cent. Each member of his team produced 31,900 tugriks' worth of vegetables. Besides, since 1955 they have trained 107 Mongolian farmers in vegetable growing. Some of these Mongolian farmers have become well-known labour heroes.

The Development of Imperialist Contradictions

by FAN CHENG-HSIANG

This is the second and concluding instalment of a translation of an article carried in "Hongqi" (No. 5, 1963) entitled "Some Questions on the Development of Imperialist Contradictions at the Present Time." The first instalment appeared in our last number. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

3. State-Monopoly Capitalism Cannot Save Capitalism From Progressive Decay

SINCE the end of World War II, state-monopoly capitalism has developed as never before in the principal Western countries, where the big monopoly-capitalist groups have assumed more direct and comprehensive control of the state machine than formerly. Instead of acting through their agents as in the past, many big monopoly capitalists personally hold important posts in the government, and formulate and decide national economic policies. Through the state machine, they control the whole national economic life. Internally, they regulate the capitalist economy through state intervention; in their attempt to eliminate the domestic economic contradictions and thereby bring about an "upsurge without crisis," they advocate what they call "planned control of production and circulation in advance." Externally, they push forward so-called economic "integration" to break down the barrier of national boundaries and to enlarge commodity markets and outlets for capital. In doing so, they attempt to resolve the contradictions among the imperialist countries and thereby build a "fine" new imperialist world.

Can these measures prevent the decay of the capitalist economy and prove that the capitalist system still possesses a powerful vitality, as bourgeois economists and the Right-wing social democrats assert?

In our view, the main reasons why the principal Western capitalist countries have so actively developed state-monopoly capitalism since the end of World War II are: the formation of the powerful socialist camp in the postwar period, the increasing disintegration of the imperialist-colonial system, the ever greater frequency of the onslaughts of the capitalist economic crisis, the increasingly acute struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, and the ever intensifying struggle among the imperialist countries for political, economic and military supremacy. Owing to all these new conditions, various contradictions in the capital-

ist world have become more acute and more profound than ever before and the general crisis of capitalism has grown tremendously. To ease economic crisis temporarily by intensifying the exploitation of the working people at home and stepping up the militarization of the domestic economy, to carry out aggression and expansion abroad, to suppress and destroy the national-liberation movements and to increase their power to compete against other capitalist countries—to achieve all these aims, the big monopoly groups in the principal Western capitalist countries exercise more comprehensive control over the state machines than before to serve the interests of monopoly capital more effectively. Herein lies the objective cause of the postwar development of state-monopoly capitalism. And this reflects the death-bed struggle of monopoly capitalism.

Regulating the Economy Through State Organs

Among the main measures adopted through state organs by the monopoly-capitalist groups in the Western countries to control their economic life are the following: (1) implementation of the so-called regulatory measures, that is, the redistribution of national income by governments through state budgets and taxation or the readjustment of bank interest rates and credit requirements to meet economic needs; (2) establishment of state-owned enterprises either by nationalizing private enterprises through government purchase or by direct state investment; (3) state control of production through subsidies, orders, purchases and credits; (4) militarization of the national economy; and (5) encouraging concentration and mergers of enterprises in all possible ways to speed up capital accumulation, stimulate capital investment, promote technical reforms, raise labour productivity, reduce production costs and increase the competitive capacity of commodities. In adopting these methods, the monopoly-capitalist groups attempt to regulate the economy, overcome economic difficulties, maintain the capitalist economy at a certain level of prosperity, avert economic crisis and save capitalism from further decay. But all these methods have proved fruitless for the following reasons:

First, under specific conditions, these methods can be effective to a certain degree, delaying the outbreak of crisis for a short time or reducing slightly its impact and scale. (In Britain, for instance, during the past decade and more, the methods of alternately raising and lowering bank interest rates and expanding and tightening credits have been often employed to regulate economic

development and reduce the impact of economic crisis. Again, the United States in the postwar period has depended to a large measure on the arms drive and war preparations for sustaining its economic activities. In many West European countries, new industrial departments have been set up with government investments.) But these methods can only produce temporary results. They cannot ease the basic contradiction of the capitalist economy — that between private ownership and the social character of production; therefore it is also impossible for them to ease the contradiction between the shrinkage of purchasing power on the market and the expansion of productive forces. On the contrary, these contradictions are becoming deeper and deeper, thus preparing the ground for new and bigger crises.

Lop-Sided Economic Development

Secondly, under the capitalist system there can be no unified plan to guide the whole national economy. So-called capitalist planning turns out to be nothing but squeezing of profits by capitalists "in a planned way." State intervention and militarization of the economy can only intensify the lop-sided economic development of the imperialist countries; many unproductive industrial departments related to military affairs have been one-sidedly expanded while many important but non-military industries have stagnated or even declined. At the same time, the investment of large funds in military industries makes it impossible for this portion of the national wealth to be used for reproduction. This is tantamount to drinking poison to quench thirst. The development of state-monopoly capital has also led to keener and larger-scale competition among the different monopoly-capitalist groups. With their eyes on the spoils, they scramble with each other for the government posts invested with the power to allot state funds.

Thirdly, nationalization so far adopted by the capitalist countries is actually designed to swell the profits of the capitalists at the expense of the working people. As shown by nationalization in postwar Britain, France, West Germany and Italy, state funds which are taxes paid by the people are used only: (1) to purchase at high prices those enterprises which cannot bring monopoly capital adequate profits — the losses involved being shifted from the capitalists on to the state treasury; (2) to maintain various enterprises or industries such as power, transport and communications which are always run at a loss but are needed by the monopolies; and (3) to bear the major costs of setting up new industrial departments and all the risks involved. These measures are actually used as an effective instrument for redistributing the national income for the benefit of monopoly capital. The result is merely to deepen, not ease, the contradictions inherent in capitalism.

Fourthly, the development of state-monopoly capitalism has further sharpened class contradictions. Because of lop-sided economic development, bankruptcy of large numbers of small and medium-sized enterprises, forced departure of huge masses of peasants from their farmland, unprecedented gravity of market problems and increasing economic instability, the monopoly-capitalist groups naturally do their utmost to shift the economic

burden on to the working people by increasing taxation and raising commodity prices. At the same time, to increase their exploitation of the working people, they have stepped up their attacks against the people's democratic rights. All this inevitably arouses the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the people.

The Law of Crisis

Actual postwar economic development in the principal Western countries has conclusively proved that the measures adopted under state-monopoly capitalism have failed to enable the capitalist economy to escape the law of crisis. In the past decade and more, for instance, although the United States has all along employed government measures to regulate its economy and pressed ahead with militarization of the economy, it has failed to avert the outbreak of five crises. Moreover, the intervals between one crisis and the next have become shorter and shorter. U.S. enterprises constantly operate at about 80 per cent of their capacity. The rate of industrial growth has greatly slowed down. Unemployment constantly stands at 4-5 million; the economic situation always remains unstable and stock market crashes have occurred many times. Economists are predicting that the sixth postwar recession, that is, the sixth crisis, will come in the United States this year. Britain is one of the countries which, in the postwar period, has been notable for actively applying the Keynesian doctrine and regulating its economy through its state organs. But the British economy is basically in a permanent state of stagnation. Seven international payments crises have taken place in Britain in the postwar period, averaging one almost every two years. British industries are confronted with grave difficulties and unemployment has reached the record postwar figure of 930,000. In the West European continental countries where measures to develop state-monopoly capitalism have also been adopted, a series of partial crises of varying degrees has inevitably arisen under the impact of every U.S. crisis although no big crisis has hitherto appeared there. A rather bad economic situation cropped up last year in many of the principal West European capitalist countries. The rate of economic growth in the Common Market Six slowed down; there was no increase, but an absolute decrease, in the production of some enterprises. In the Seven of the little free trade area, the 1962 rate of economic growth remained at about one per cent on the average and this also indicates almost a state of stagnation. In 1962 the economies of West European countries showed several common characteristics. These are: (1) slowing down of the rate of industrial growth and worsening under-capacity operation of industrial enterprises; (2) growth of the unfavourable foreign trade balance; (3) decline of private investments; and (4) instability of money markets and drastic falls in share prices. All these show that the shadow of a crisis is looming large in Western Europe. This proves that state-monopoly capitalism cannot ward off economic crisis, nor can it arrest the tendency of capitalism to decay with each passing day.

The ruling groups and some economists in the principal West European capitalist countries pin their hopes on so-called economic "integration," maintaining that it will give great impetus to the constant growth of production

and trade. They allege that economic "integration" explains the economic development in the Common Market Six over the past several years. But such assertion is without any scientific ground.

In fact, the relatively rapid economic development in the Six is chiefly due to the following reasons: (1) the comparatively long time taken to heal war wounds; (2) reorganization of industry by monopoly capital on the basis of new production techniques; (3) large-scale reorganization of agriculture started after the war and not yet completed; (4) concentrated efforts to make investments in domestic industries by some West European capitalist countries other than the United States and Britain, where no large-scale armament expansion and war preparations were undertaken for a considerably long period after the war; (5) far greater investments made by the United States in Western Europe since the end of World War II than in the prewar period; and (6) specific causes found in various countries. These specific causes include the large exodus of low-paid workers from Italy into West Germany, which has helped economic development in the latter; the two devaluations of the franc, which have strengthened France's capacity to export; the discovery of large deposits of oil and natural gas in France and Algeria, which has provided French industries with relatively less expensive power; and the low wages and large amount of labour power in Italy, which have increased the competitive capacity of its commodities.

As to the claim that the formation of the Common Market has been followed by greatly accelerated economic development in the Six, it does not tally with the facts. According to the statistics issued in the Western world, industrial production in the Six increased by 40 per cent in 1953-57 before the formation of the Common Market as against 30 per cent in 1957-61 after its establishment. Export trade rose by 57.2 per cent in 1953-57 as against 43.8 per cent in 1957-61. Even in trade among the Six, which recorded a much larger increase than any other spheres, the 66.2 per cent increase made in 1957-61 by the Common Market also fell behind the 79.2 per cent increase registered in 1953-57. It must be noted here that in 1962 the pace of economic development in the Six declined still further.

A Temporary Stimulating Effect

We do not deny that the existence of the Common Market and the introduction of economic "integration" have played a certain role in stimulating economic development in the Six. But they have not played a principal role; they have produced only a temporary stimulating effect. National barriers among the Six have been removed to a certain extent; the tariff wall within the Common Market has been pulled down while a common tariff wall against outsiders is being built. Naturally, this has expanded somewhat the trade among the Six and boosted their production to a limited degree for a certain period of time. Moreover, to strengthen their competitive power, it is necessary to merge enterprises, eliminate the less efficient factories, expand the more efficient and increase capital investment, especially in Department I so as to improve equipment and raise labour productivity. As a result, there is a temporary increase in the output of Department II, a rise in employment and in social pur-

chasing power and therefore a temporary expansion of the market.

But the stimulating effect of "integration" can only be transient and limited. It cannot resolve the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system, nor can it nullify the supreme law of seeking maximum profit under the capitalist system. It can neither break through the limitation of private ownership of the means of production nor overcome the contradiction between the tendency of productive forces to expand endlessly and the relative shrinkage of effective consumption. With the elapse of a certain period of time, this contradiction will make its influence felt in a more acute way. This is because the productive forces will be more expanded by that time and the market will find it more difficult to absorb the increased amount of products. A grave crisis of overproduction will again set in. When this happens, the need to ensure maximum profit will force members of the "integrated" Common Market to further intensify the rivalry among themselves, the super-exploitation of their own people, their scramble with other imperialist countries for markets, and their plundering and exploitation of colonies and semi-colonies. Even the possibility cannot be ruled out that this round of frenzied cut-throat competition may lead to military conflict.

In fact, overproduction has begun to take place in the Six. Under-capacity operation of industrial enterprises has occurred. In West Germany, there has existed excess capacity of its productive equipment. Production in many West German enterprises has begun to decline. Steel production in the Six has dropped. The rate of utilization of equipment in the French and West German motor-car industries is falling. In the meantime, workers have been sacked in large numbers. R. Marjolin, one of the leaders of the Common Market, has openly admitted that the economy of the Six "has reached the last period of 'prosperity.'"

Death-Bed Struggle

In short, state-monopoly capitalism and so-called economic "integration" are not a life-saving injection for the capitalist system, but a manifestation of its death-bed struggle. Historical development has proved and will continue to prove the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's brilliant proposition that imperialism is getting rotten with each passing day.

4. Economic "Integration" Aggravates Instead of Easing Class Contradictions

Many bourgeois economists have openly peddled the idea that the formation of the Common Market and the economic "integration" of the Six have helped to improve the living conditions of the working class in Western Europe and so have benefited not only the capitalists but the working class as well. They have also unabashedly asserted that class contradictions in Western Europe can be eased through "integration." Obviously, these claims do not accord with the facts.

On the face of it, when compared with the past, the conditions of the working class in the West European

countries (including the Common Market Six and Britain) appear to have improved somewhat in certain aspects. This superficial impression is due mainly to the following factors: (1) Full employment more or less existed in these countries in the postwar period. (The reasons for this have been given above in Section 3 of this article.) A great number of women and children participate in work, and workers more often than not work overtime. (2) Hire purchase has been widely introduced and the workers freely spend their purchasing power in advance. (3) Monopoly-capitalist groups, utilizing the state apparatus, have adopted a number of social welfare measures to soften up and buy over the working class and so ease the situation of class struggle.

Increasing Impoverishment

In fact, the impoverishment of the working class in Western Europe is being aggravated day by day. This is shown by the following:

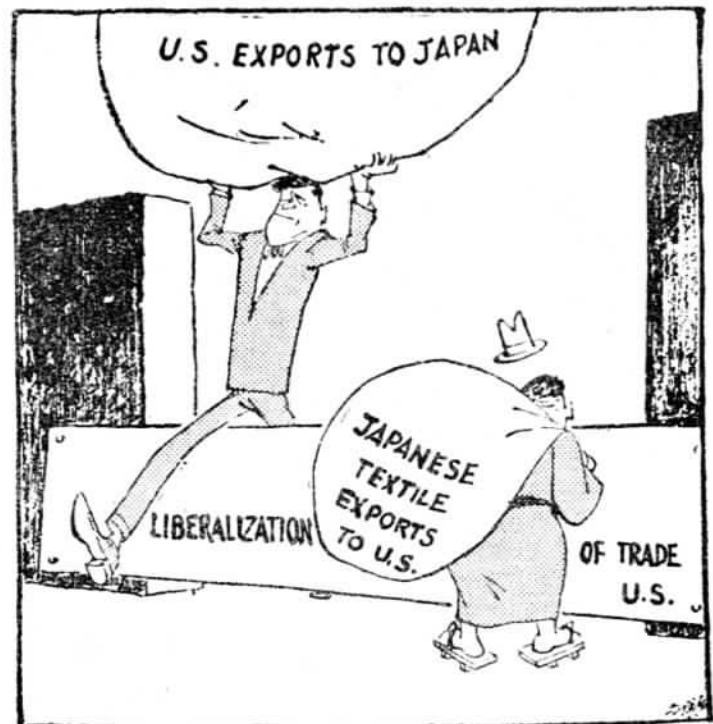
First, the cost of living has gone up steadily. According to preliminary calculation, since the Common Market was established, prices have risen 14 per cent in West Germany, 38 per cent in France, 18 per cent in Italy and 23 per cent in the Netherlands.

Secondly, the tax burden is extraordinarily heavy. According to British data, in the Common Market countries, the taxes paid by manufacturing workers per annum account for 15.2 per cent of their wages in West Germany, 10.4 per cent in the Netherlands and 6.9 per cent in Belgium. They have to pay even heavier indirect taxes.

Thirdly, since the Common Market was founded, the workers in the six member nations have received very small increases in their real wages; these in fact lag far behind the growth of the productivity of labour. In some countries, (France, for instance) the real wages of the workers, instead of going up, have gone down. West Germany, Britain and France, on the pretext of sharp competition in foreign trade, have all introduced a wage freeze and cost reduction. Attacks on the working class have not stopped; on the contrary, they are being intensified. As provided for by the Treaty of Rome, the Common Market countries have undertaken to unify their wage scales and social welfare benefits. The natural result of this will be that the higher standards are pulled down to meet the lower ones. The tendency, therefore, will be for the wage scales and social welfare benefits in the Common Market countries to decline still further in the future.

Fourthly, in order to reduce costs and strengthen their competitive ability, monopoly-capitalist groups have also used rationalization of production and automation and other devices to intensify greatly their super-exploitation of the working class. Latest data show that in 1961, the annual indices of productivity per worker in the industries of the six Common Market countries rose to 115 (1958=100) in West Germany, 122 in France and 128 in Italy. The "speed-up" employed by the monopoly-capitalist groups has greatly increased the intensity of labour for the workers. They also have to work long hours.

Fifthly, as a result of the sharp increase in the intensity of labour, cases of occupational disease and early



"Equal" Opportunity

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

breakdown in health have become quite numerous among the West European workers. Now it is very difficult for a worker over 50 to find a job in a capitalist country. The number of accidents at work has never been higher. In France, there were more than two million cases in 1959. In West Germany, there were three million in 1961 and on the average 16 workers were killed on the job every day. In Italy, there were 580,000 cases of accidents in the first half of 1961 alone.

Sixthly, unemployment in the Common Market countries has worsened in the past two years. Because of overproduction some industrial departments have dismissed large numbers of workers. Thousands of medium-sized and small enterprises have closed down. According to the estimates of S. L. Mansholt, Vice-President of the Common Market Commission, agricultural reorganization will bankrupt eight million medium and small farmers in the Six in the next few years.

Seventhly, the governments of the Six have stepped up their attacks on the democratic rights of the working class and the other labouring people in order to exploit them even more vigorously and to tighten their political control over them. For instance, soon after de Gaulle came to power in 1958, he promulgated hundreds of laws and decrees under various names to restrict the people's rights. The Adenauer government is making preparations to pass a so-called "emergency law" to further deprive the labouring people of their political rights.

What has been stated above makes it clear that the "integration" of the West European economies has intensified the exploitation of the working class and has not improved its living conditions in any way. So-called economic "integration" has not overthrown the Marxist-Leninist theory on the impoverishment of the proletariat; on the contrary, it has further confirmed its vitality. Those who spare no efforts to attack this Marxist-Leninist

theory as "philistine" and "fatalistic" have no valid reasons whatsoever.

Sharpening Class Struggle

Precisely because of this, the class struggles in the six Common Market nations and other West European countries have been aggravated. They are characterized by the following:

First, workers' strikes are more extensive and more frequent than before. In 1959, the number of participants in strikes in the six Common Market countries was eight million; it rose to 20.8 million in 1960 and to 35.6 million in 1961. Strikes have begun to take place even in West Germany where they were few and far between in the past. It is worth noting that, apart from the six Common Market countries, strikes have also spread to Franco's Spain.

Secondly, the peasant struggle has made marked progress. In 1961, peasant demonstrations occurred in France and Italy on a fairly large scale.

Thirdly, the political character of mass struggles has become more marked than ever before. Some are directed against fascist menace and the regimes of monopoly capital and some are in support of the anti-hydrogen bomb campaign. Quite a number of non-proletarian professional people, intellectuals and government employees have taken part in the strikes. All this fully demonstrates that so-called economic "integration" in Western Europe hits broader sections of the people and creates conditions for rallying all the anti-monopolist forces in joint struggle. The class struggle in Western Europe has not declined on account of so-called "integration"; on the contrary it has become increasingly bitter.

The Importance of Alliance With Peasants

To win victory in the struggle, the working class should take advantage of the favourable situation to support resolutely the just demands of the peasants and the other working people as well as the middle and petty urban bourgeoisie, rally them and form the broadest united front for joint political and economic struggles, and constantly expose and hit at monopoly capital and create conditions for its overthrow. In the struggle, the working class should, in particular, give energetic support to the peasant movement and form a solid worker-peasant alliance. Marxist-Leninists have always regarded the peasant struggle in the capitalist countries as a great and direct ally of the proletarian revolution there. In 1856, dealing with the importance of alliance with the peasants for the liberation of the German proletariat, Marx stated: "The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the peasants' war."* Lenin also time and again stressed the importance of alliance with the peasants for the liberation of the proletariat. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has concretely and successfully solved the peasant question in the practice of the Chinese revolution, thus ensuring victory of the great Chinese revolution. There are those who hold the peasant movement in contempt and

regard the peasants as backward, as being "easily exploited by the petty-bourgeois and fascist parties" and so fail to do any work among the peasant masses. They assert that the proletarian party should not actively support and give leadership to the peasant struggle. These views and actions are a contravention of Marxism-Leninism.

At the present moment when the class struggle is getting ever more bitter, it is necessary to stand guard against and expose the so-called policy of "class collaboration" and all sorts of schemes to benumb the ideology of the working class. Today, international monopoly capitalists are bragging about "people's capitalism," "joint management by labour and capital," "peaceful conversion to socialism," etc., in an attempt to force reformism down the throat of the working class in the various countries. At the same time, there has appeared a trend of opinion in the international working-class movement, claiming that in the imperialist countries there is no need to smash the bourgeois state machine or to change from its very foundation the nature of state power. It is also claimed that so long as the working class and its organizations (trade unions) take part in the formulation of the "economic planning" of monopoly capital, it is possible to so change the direction of this "planning" that it can be made to benefit the working class, restrict the rights of monopolies and realize profound social and economic reforms. Obviously these views which spread illusions of class collaboration are erroneous and harmful and suit the needs of the monopoly bourgeoisie. All those who really take a working-class stand and resolutely defend its interests must oppose and resolutely fight against these views which are detrimental to revolutionary interests.

5. The Struggle of the Oppressed Nations And Peoples Against Old and New Colonialism Is Heading for A New Upsurge

One cock-and-bull story of bourgeois spokesmen tells of a new phenomenon of modern imperialism, namely, that there is not much colonialism left in the world to fight against today because most of the colonies have become independent. What imperialism hopes for now, they twaddle, is a big market in industrially developed countries capable of absorbing large quantities of manufactured goods; it has no need of colonies as it had before and so the imperialist countries don't have to scramble for them and for "underdeveloped areas." This is sheer nonsense, in total disregard of facts. The reality is that since World War II, imperialist exploitation of the colonies and "underdeveloped areas" has been more ruthless than before and the scramble among the imperialist countries for spheres of influence in these areas has been of the fiercest in all the postwar years. As facts show, imperialism wants to grab not only the market in industrially developed countries but also the market in the colonies — and both are indispensable to it.

Neo-Colonialism — The Greatest Danger

The first phenomenon of postwar colonialism worthy of our attention is that owing to the upsurge of the national-liberation struggle of the people in the colonies,

*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Marx to Engels," *Selected Works in Two Volumes*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1955, Vol. II, p.454.

imperialism, while still employing the old-colonialist methods of direct political and economic control and brutal military suppression to maintain its rule, has been forced to resort more often to neo-colonialist methods in order to build up or preserve its old spheres of influence in the "underdeveloped areas."

By neo-colonialist methods we mean that imperialism gives the colonies political independence in form but actually strengthens its economic, political and military control over them. Although most of the "underdeveloped" countries and areas in the world have gained political independence since World War II, their economies are still subject to the control of foreign monopoly capital and imperialism is using every means to tighten its grip over these countries and areas. The United States now maintains its traditional spheres of influence, in Latin America and the Philippines, for instance, and seeks new spheres of influence mainly by organizing military blocs, building military bases, sending out "peace corps," and buying over the local upper social strata, through its "food for peace" programme and by the export of huge amounts of capital. Britain consolidates its commonwealth and colonial system mainly by training large numbers of indigenous civil servants, through the imperial preferential tariff system, the institutions of the sterling area and the export of large amounts of capital. France maintains the so-called stability of the franc area mainly through the establishment of the "French community," its close collaboration with the upper social strata of the national bourgeoisie in the locality and through the export of large amounts of capital. France hopes to tighten up its "French community" further through so-called associate membership of the Common Market, thus separating the countries joining the "community" from the other "underdeveloped countries" and applying pressure on some of the latter in Asia, Africa and Latin America into which France also seeks to infiltrate.

On the surface, the U.S. tariff act, Britain's imperial preference system, and France's device of Common Market associate membership all seem to guarantee the sales of the products of the "underdeveloped countries" in the imperialists' respective spheres of influence. But actually it is again the European or U.S. colonialists controlling the plantations, mines and oil wells in the former colonies, who get the benefit. Besides, these methods are carefully designed to make the "underdeveloped countries" retain and develop their existing mono-crop economy, so that they will remain for ever sources of raw materials and markets for the European and U.S. colonialists and will continue to depend on the former metropolitan countries. All this shows that imperialism continues to have a dire need for colonies. That is why the imperialist countries, when having no alternatives, may make some concessions to their colonies in political form, such as giving them independence or self-government while in essence maintaining their control over them.

Precisely for this reason, more and more "underdeveloped countries" have come to see the essence of neo-colonialism — indirect and crafty rule through political, economic, social, military or technical means — and regard it as the greatest danger now menacing them.

Lenin long ago warned that colonial rule may exist under the deceptive form of political independence, so "it

is necessary steadily to explain to and expose among the broadest masses of the toilers of all countries, and particularly of backward countries, the deception which the imperialist powers systematically practise by creating, in the guise of politically independent states, states which are absolutely dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily.* This is still entirely valid today.

Intensified Exploitation of the "Underdeveloped Countries"

The second phenomenon of postwar colonialism worthy of our attention is that exploitation of the "underdeveloped countries" by the imperialist powers has been increasingly intensified. According to some estimates, the loss sustained by the "underdeveloped countries" as a result of imperialist plunder and exploitation in recent years amounts to more than U.S.\$20,000 million annually. Between 1958 and 1961, returns for private investment remitted back to the United States from the "underdeveloped countries" amounted to around U.S.\$1,500 million annually while direct private U.S. investments (including reinvestment from profits) in these areas during the corresponding period amounted to U.S.\$770 million only. For economic and financial exploitation, this is certainly an amazingly large figure. Besides, the imperialist countries headed by the United States have for a long time forced down the price of primary products and industrial raw materials and raised the price of industrial goods, with the result that the "underdeveloped countries" are further heavily exploited by unequal terms of trade. According to the price indices calculated by the London *Financial Times*, the price for raw materials at the end of 1961 was 23 per cent lower than in 1952; the world market price for finished industrial goods exported by the principal capitalist countries, in contrast, went up by 10 per cent. This disparity between prices of industrial goods and those of raw materials is, moreover, tending to widen. Further, the "underdeveloped countries" every year have to pay more and more interest and profit and repay principal to the imperialist countries for private investments, government economic "aid" and loans. These heavy exploitations have greatly weakened the capacity of the "underdeveloped countries" to import and steadily impoverished the broad masses in these areas.

Growing Conflicts Between Old and New Colonialists

The third phenomenon of postwar colonialism worthy of our attention is the fierce contention between the old and new colonialists for spheres of influence in the colonies and "underdeveloped countries." A struggle is brewing among the imperialist powers to redivide the colonies and "underdeveloped countries."

Since the war, U.S. monopoly capital has been infiltrating into the British and French spheres of influence in Asia, Australasia and Africa by means of its economic superiority and under the signboard of "anti-colonialism." It has already edged out British and French influences to a considerable degree. U.S. investments in the sterling

* Lenin, "Preliminary Draft of Theses in National-Colonial Questions," *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart, 1938, Vol. X, p.237.

area in 1950 made up 13.5 per cent of British investments there; in 1960 they had increased to 28.8 per cent. With U.S. imperialism trying to edge them out, the exports of the major West European capitalist countries to the "underdeveloped countries" have slowed down since 1959 and even today there is little improvement in the situation. One of the aims of the Atlantic community proposal advanced by the United States recently is to draw both the British Commonwealth and the Common Market into the U.S.-dominated economic system and so make it easier for U.S. monopoly capital to carry out its expansionist activities in the British and French colonies and spheres of influence on a still larger scale. One of the reasons why Washington wants Britain to join the Common Market also is to break up the British Commonwealth so that the United States can take over the British legacy.

In these circumstances, contradictions between the old colonialists—Britain and France—and U.S. imperialism are bound to be aggravated. An extremely acute struggle between them is now going on in Southeast Asia, West Asia and Africa. The struggle in the Congo has developed into open armed clashes. In the last two years, Katanga's dictator Tshombe, backed by such old colonialists as Britain, France and Belgium, has engaged the "United Nations forces" which are a tool of U.S. aggression, in three consecutive armed clashes. This gives some idea of how fierce is the struggle.

In addition to the United States, West Germany is also taking every opportunity to infiltrate into Latin America and the Asian and African regions. According to its recent two-year plan, its export of capital through so-called aid to the colonies and dependencies is distributed as follows: three-fifths for Asia, one-fifth for Africa, one-seventh to one-sixth for Latin America. This is the best illustration of the point. Acute contradictions are developing between West German monopoly capital and U.S. monopoly capital in Latin America. Although France and West Germany use each other within the Common Market to exploit the former French colonies in Africa, Paris has taken extreme care that Bonn will not infiltrate into its former colonies to any great degree. In recent years, West Germany's exports to the African associate members of the Common Market account for only 0.5 per cent of its total volume of exports, while its imports from these countries constitute only one per cent of its total imports. In view of this situation, West Germany has indicated that it has no wish to bear a large share of the "Common Market African Development Fund" but to go it alone. It has set out to sign agreements of economic co-operation and technical "assistance" with a number of the former French colonies, which are now associate members of the Common Market. This has caused French monopoly capital great anxiety and dissatisfaction.

Rival Economic Blocs

To counter the activities of the Common Market in the colonies and "underdeveloped countries and areas," other imperialist powers have all set out to organize their own economic blocs comprising their respective colonies and dependencies to counter the Common Market associate members' bloc. With the United States behind the scenes, there have already appeared in Latin America two regional economic blocs. One is the Central American

Customs Union comprising Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala. The other is the Latin American Free Trade Association composed of nine countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Uruguay, Paraguay, Peru, Colombia and Ecuador. With the tacit approval of Britain and France, the member states of the African Monrovia conference (including Nigeria, Liberia, Senegal and 17 other countries) decided in July 1961 to establish a customs union with a common customs tariff and a unified policy to promote trade and develop their economies. In Asia, Japan, wildly ambitious, also plans to set up a Pacific and Asian economic bloc. All these moves show that the question of redividing the colonies and dependencies among the imperialist countries has again become the order of the day. This will further sharpen the contradictions among the imperialist countries.

The "underdeveloped countries," subjected to unprecedentedly brutal exploitation by imperialism, are at the same time a prey to the imperialist countries in their bitter struggle to redivide the "underdeveloped countries and areas." But they will not remain silent and allow the imperialists to dismember them freely; they have already risen in firm revolt to defend their own rights. This is why these countries have felt so strongly about the blocs of states organized by the imperialist countries. This is also why some among them have declared that they do not want any imperialist support but want unity and co-operation among the "underdeveloped countries" themselves and the organization of their own economic bloc to resist the imperialist economic bloc.

Anti-Imperialist Struggle on the Rise

In short, whether they are nationalist countries that have already achieved independence to a certain extent, or colonial countries whose independence is still to be won, their contradiction with imperialism remains the principal contradiction. Their contradiction with the imperialist bloc headed by the United States is irreconcilable. Their task of national revolution is far from being fulfilled. Their main task in the days to come is still the same—they must continue to wage struggles against the enslavement and domination by the old and new colonialists, for complete emancipation and to develop an independent national economy.

The fact is that the oppressed nations and people in Asia, Africa and Latin America have become more and more politically conscious with each passing day. They have continued to regard the fight against imperialist expansion and aggression, against old and new colonialism, their primary and most urgent task. In the last few years, the national-liberation struggle in these areas has continued to surge forward with great vigour. In Asia, the flames against U.S. imperialist aggression are burning in south Korea, Japan, south Viet Nam and Laos; the people in Brunei have risen in armed revolt against British imperialism. The peoples of Asia demand that all imperialist forces of aggression get out of Asia. Everywhere in Africa, the struggle is on against old and new colonialism and for national independence. Since 1960, twenty-three countries have achieved independence; the people in Algeria in particular have won their great victory of national liberation after more than seven years of armed struggle. Today, the African countries and

people who have already obtained an independent status are carrying on their struggle to defend their sovereignty and consolidate their independence; those who haven't are fighting resolutely for their independence. In Latin America, the Cuban people have in their armed struggle overthrown the rule of U.S. imperialism and its running dog Batista and have embarked on the socialist path. The broad masses in the whole of Latin America have become more and more revolutionary minded; the people of every social stratum, in their patriotic and democratic struggle against enslavement by U.S. imperialism and exploitation and oppression by the reactionary ruling class at home, have organized into a united front and engaged themselves in united action. These united fronts and united actions are constantly expanding and the struggle has never been waged on so large a scale. All these are indications that intensified aggression, oppression, exploitation and plundering of most of the countries in these regions by imperialism headed by the United States can only make contradictions between imperialism and these peoples sharper and sharper and arouse the peoples to fight back still

more resolutely. Asia, Africa and Latin America are the main focus of the revolutionary storm of the world at the present time; no reactionary force on earth can stand in the way of the development of the revolutionary struggles on these continents.

The five questions discussed in this article involve the fundamental question of modern imperialism; they are at once theoretical questions and practical questions of struggle, questions of great significance. It is necessary to study and understand these questions, analyse these latest phenomena in the development of imperialist contradictions and see clearly the nature of imperialism by correctly and creatively applying the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism on class struggle and revolution. This is something of tremendous significance in determining strategy and tactics in the struggle against imperialism, in bringing about the further development of the world people's struggle against imperialism, for world peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Document

Statement by the Chinese National Defence Ministry Spokesman

April 2, 1963

The Chinese Government has decided to release and repatriate all the captured Indian military personnel. There are now 3,213 of them in total.

The Chinese Red Cross Society will assist in the repatriation which will commence on April 10.

All captured personnel have been well treated by the Chinese frontier guards faithfully carrying out the policy of lenient treatment of captured persons. The captured Indian military personnel have praised this revolutionary humanitarianism.

Since the ceasefire, a measure taken by her frontier guards on her own initiative, China has made a series of major efforts to create a suitable atmosphere and conditions for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question. It is a matter for regret that India on its part has never responded positively, but has, in fact, been stepping up its war mobilization and anti-Chinese activities.

It is hoped that the Indian Government will correctly understand China's efforts, stop its harassment of and intrusions into Chinese territory and return to the conference table at an early date.

The Chinese Government has decided to release and repatriate all the captured Indian military personnel. There are now 3,213 of them in total, among whom there are one brigadier, 26 field-grade officers and 29 company-grade officers. Starting on April 10, 1963, the Chinese frontier guards of the Tibet and Sinkiang regions will release and repatriate the captured personnel at different places and in batches according to weather and transportation conditions. They will entrust the Chinese Red Cross Society with the work of assisting in the repatriation.

Besides, back in December 1962, the Chinese frontier guards of the Tibet region already on their own initiative released 716 sick and wounded captured Indian military personnel successively at Bomdila, Mechukha, Dirang Dzong, Walong and Jang. In addition, 15 captured Indian military personnel, who had been sent to assist in looking after the military supplies returned to India by China,

were handed over to the Indian side together with those supplies. In the meantime, a list of all the captured Indian military personnel was furnished to the Indian Red Cross Society by the Chinese Red Cross Society.

All the captured Indian military personnel have been given good treatment by the Chinese frontier guards of the Tibet and Sinkiang regions, who have been faithfully carrying out the policy of lenient treatment of captured persons. Their livelihood has been properly arranged and cared for. Their religious beliefs and national customs have been respected, and they have enjoyed freedom in their religious life. They have been given every facility to correspond with their families. Those among them who were sick or wounded were given first aid and medical care in good time. And they have praised the revolutionary humanitarianism of the Chinese frontier guards and their actual deeds of friendship towards the Indian people.

In its statement of November 21, 1962, the Chinese Government already proposed that the question of disposal of captured Indian military personnel should be discussed by officials designated by the two Governments meeting in the border areas. However, the Indian Government has so far not given any response. Having regard for the desire of the captured Indian military personnel to rejoin their families at an early date and wishing to further promote a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Chinese Government has decided to release and repatriate all the captured Indian military personnel without waiting for a meeting of the Chinese and Indian officials.

The release and repatriation of all the captured Indian military personnel by the Chinese frontier guards is another major effort made by the Chinese Government for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. More than four months have passed since the unfortunate armed conflict on the Sino-Indian border stopped as a result of the measure of ceasefire taken by the Chinese frontier guards on China's own initiative. During this period, China has made a series of major efforts to ease the border situation and create the atmosphere and conditions for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question. Following the ceasefire effected on China's own initiative, the Chinese frontier guards carried out their plan of withdrawal on their own initiative and by February 28, 1963, had completely withdrawn to positions 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959, on the Chinese side. In response to the call of the Colombo Conference, the Chinese Government further decided to refrain from establishing civilian checkpoints in the four areas where there is a dispute about the ceasefire arrangement. Furthermore, the Chi-

nese frontier guards on their own initiative returned to India the large quantities of arms, ammunition and other military supplies of the Indian troops which they had captured. And now, again on its own initiative, the Chinese side is going to release and repatriate all the captured Indian military personnel.

It is a matter for regret that India on its part has never responded positively to the series of major efforts made by China. On the contrary, India has been stepping up its war mobilization and anti-China activities and redoubling its efforts to seek military "aid" from the imperialist powers headed by the United States. Leaders of the Indian Government are still announcing preparations for a long-term war with China. Such clamours for war against China have been made practically every day. It should be pointed out that Indian troops and military aircraft have taken advantage of the withdrawal of the Chinese frontier guards to harass and intrude into Chinese territory continually. Prime Minister Nehru himself recently stated in the Indian parliament that the Indian troops had moved up along the Sino-Indian border. This situation cannot but arouse the attention of all those who are concerned about the Sino-Indian border situation.

The Sino-Indian boundary question can only be settled through peaceful negotiations. It will definitely not bring India any good to reject negotiations and rely on the force of arms. We hope that the Indian Government will correctly understand China's efforts, stop its harassment of and intrusion into Chinese territory and that, taking to heart the interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples and of the solidarity of the Asian and African peoples, it will return to the conference table at an early date.

Sino-Indian Relations

What Lies Behind New Delhi's Ballyhoo

by CHOU PAO-JU

BEATING their drums in a crescendo, Indian politicians since early this month have been shouting loud and long about a fairy tale that "Chinese forces are massed across the border." Hiding behind this hullabaloo, the Nehru government is busy working to obtain more military aid from the United States. Indian troops are moving towards the Sino-Indian border, and the Indian parliament is discussing the enormous military budget for next year in the face of intense popular dissatisfaction.

It was Nehru who first took up the drumsticks and gave the signal. He said at Rohtak in the Punjab on March 9: "Even today Chinese forces are massed across the border in Tibet. . . . War can break out any time. We have therefore to be always on our guard." On at least eight occasions in the next two weeks, he told the Indian public: the danger of war "is always there," "people should remain on the alert," "expenditure has increased considerably . . . people have to bear the burden," "India cannot agree to start any negotiations with China without first establishing certain basic principles," "there is no question of lifting the emergency," and what not.

When on March 20 the Press Trust of India published the lie attributed to "authoritative" and "informed" sources in New Delhi that "there has been heavy concentration of Chinese forces all along the Sino-Indian border," the official Indian Information Service immediately relayed the fabrication, which was accordingly played up by all New Delhi newspapers on the following day. The *Times of India* splashed the "news" over five columns headed "New Units Move Up From Interior."

On March 23, Nehru staged a farce in the Lower House with a statement to "confirm" the lie. And the *Hindustan Times* reported on March 25 that the Indian Government had informed the Western governments of the "situation." The next day the Indian Information Service pumped out another story, saying that "Chinese forces in Tibet are making extensive land and air preparations."

Why all the haste on the part of India to invent and spread this lie after Chinese frontier guards had completed, on February 28, their withdrawal all along the

line as announced by the Chinese Government on November 21 last year?

Isn't it self-contradictory that China should on the one hand "mass" its "forces across the border" and on the other hand withdraw its forces all along the line? What does Nehru say on that score? So far, nothing.

A Western news agency reported that "authoritative sources" in New Delhi, referring on March 20 to "Chinese troop concentrations" and the possibility of renewed fighting before the rainy weather, had admitted that they were making a "guess."

Currying Washington's Favour

But facts have given the answers the "authoritative sources" are too shy to provide. Nehru has made this din first of all for Washington to hear so that more military aid may come speedily. He started the rumour campaign about "Chinese troop concentrations" just two days before his special envoy B. Patnaik left for Washington to seek more military aid. This, to quote a *Hindustan Times* dispatch of March 25, "is likely to lead to the revision of Western aid estimates to India and also expedite supplies." Western plans so far to re-equip Indian fighting forces had been "based on previous Chinese strength in Tibet," the dispatch said. The *Hindustan Times* pointed out that "the Indian Government's warning to the West comes at a time when Britain and the United States are considering further military and air aid in the light of the recommendations of a recent Commonwealth-U.S. air mission to India."

The British *Sunday Telegraph* said on March 24 that Nehru's "warning" to the West was given when the "American-Commonwealth study group are preparing their response to India's request for substantial military aid." It seemed clear, the paper noted, that what "lay behind his warning" was the building up of several divisions.

The *New York Times* also gave the lie to Nehru when it said on March 25 that "the alarmist rumours were designed for foreign consumption to stimulate economic and military aid appropriations for India." The paper added, "these rumours and unattributable statements had been largely discounted."

As a matter of fact, during this period, public attention has been focused not on these tales of Chinese troop concentrations invented by India but on the deal now being negotiated between Washington and New Delhi over massive military aid to India.

According to press reports, to conclude this bargain at the expense of India's national interests, a stream of delegations of senior Indian officials is scheduled to visit the United States following Patnaik's trip. These include the delegation headed by Krishnamachari, Indian Minister for Economic and Defence Co-ordination; Foreign Affairs Secretary Desai; and the delegation headed by Indian President Radhakrishnan and including Defence Minister Chavan and Chief of Army Staff Chaudhury which will visit the United States in June this year. The U.S. Secre-

tary of State Rusk is also scheduled to visit India in May. Here indeed we have a picture of bustling activity.

Bleeding the Indian People White

Another objective of Nehru's drum beating is to maintain tension in India in order to swamp the strong resistance to a budget in which military expenditure (excluding investments in armament production) takes up more than 46 per cent of the total outlay and which imposes heavy taxes on the people. The presentation of this budget to parliament by Minister of Finance Desai on February 28 evoked explosive reactions in India on that very day. The Indian press reported that the budget increase of more than 2,700 million rupees of new taxes had aroused the indignation of the people. There was an all-time record buying spree and commodity prices immediately soared.

It is under these circumstances that Nehru, in a succession of statements, came out in defence of this military budget which is to swallow the people's wealth. He said that it was true the budget imposed heavy burdens on the poor but this was inevitable. He asked the people to compare the present situation in India to the "taxation imposed upon their people by the countries involved in the Second World War," believing that this would sugar the pill. Obviously, the purpose of Nehru in spreading the rumour that "Chinese forces are massed across the border" and that war might break out at any time was to justify his opposition to the lifting of the "state of emergency" and to ask the people to tighten their belts and support the military budget.

This was the conclusion of the *New York Times* which said that the spreading of the rumours that "Chinese forces are massed across the border" was "aimed to justify emergency powers for the [Indian] government and draconian new taxes."

However, an article in the *Times of India* doubted whether Nehru could succeed. It stated: "Nehru's references to the possibility of another Chinese attack are an attempt to encourage a sense of emergency. . . . It is rather ridiculous to base the entire nation's morale on the anticipation of another major Chinese attack and that this possibility should be constantly emphasized by government speakers without any rational justification to support it."

A Covetous Eye on Chinese Territory

The third objective of Nehru's outcry about "Chinese troop concentrations" is to cover up the Indian troops' push towards the border areas and large-scale arms expansion and war preparations in India.

As early as the end of February, Nehru announced that India was not bound by the Colombo proposals or anything else and that India was sending its armed forces step by step to the area in the "Northeast Frontier Agency" [Chinese territory south of the illegal McMahon Line] which China had evacuated and that Indian troops had "moved up" in areas east of the line of actual control vacated by the Chinese in the western sector. IIS openly declared on March 17 that the present ceasefire was a "unilateral act" on the part of China and it was

impossible to have any formal ceasefire before meetings were held between China and India.

In the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, Indian troops intruded into China's Spanggur Lake area on four occasions in four days between February 11 and 14.

A March 20 dispatch of a Western news agency quoting "informed sources" in New Delhi said that the Indian Defence Ministry had ordered immediate resumption of patrol duties by Indian troops in border areas south of the illegal McMahon Line where China had taken the initiative to withdraw its border forces. The "ground" for the resumption of patrols as advanced by Indian sources was again the rumour that "Chinese forces are massed across the border in Tibet."

It must be noted that the same Indian sources also concocted the story about a "heavy concentration" at Chumbi valley, China, bordering on Sikkim. And on March 21, U.S. Ambassador to India Galbraith, accompanied by senior Indian officers, visited the Natu La Pass on the China-Sikkim border with ulterior motives. In fact, it was Indian troops which crossed the pass this year and built fortifications on Chinese territory, preparing for long entrenchment, while Indian aircraft repeatedly intruded into China's air space from the China-Sikkim border for reconnaissance and provocation purposes.

It is also under the pretext that "Chinese forces are massed across the border" that the Indian Government is stepping up its arms expansion and war preparations and has stirred up another campaign for the "war effort"

in India. On March 25, Nehru called a meeting of the "National Defence Council" which approved steps for strengthening and reorganizing the Indian Army and Air Force and discussed the progress of new recruitment and training schemes for the army and the air force. At the meeting of Indian Chief Ministers held on March 24, Indian Minister of Home Affairs Shastri called on all the states to give every possible incentive for technical people in their employ to join the armed forces. The "Citizens Central Council" led by Nehru's daughter Madame Indira Gandhi and other war mobilization machines have all been set in motion, forcing the people throughout India, particularly in the border areas, to undergo military training, build roads, and participate in "civil defence" and war propaganda.

All this shows that the Indian Government is deliberately exacerbating the Sino-Indian border situation which was eased by the Chinese Government's great efforts and shows further that India has no desire to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question.

In sharp contrast to this attitude of the Indian Government, the Chinese Government has announced that it will release all the captured Indian military personnel. This is another and the latest of China's endeavours to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. Now it depends entirely on the Indian Government whether the eased situation on the Sino-Indian border can be maintained, whether direct negotiations between China and India can be held and whether a peaceful solution of the Sino-Indian boundary question can be reached.

Western Hemisphere

Yankee Imperialism and the "Banana Republics"

by HSIAO MING

DEFENCE works and radar equipment bristled around his temporary residence. Fifty motor vehicles equipped with wireless patrolled the city. U.S. aircraft carriers and cruisers carrying thousands of marines stood by at the seaports, helicopters hovered low, taking "uninterrupted precautions." The country's southern and northern borders were closed and demonstrations by the people banned. Warning was issued beforehand that whoever came near his armoured car would be shot. This was how things were on the eve of the U.S. President's 3-day visit to San Jose, capital of Costa Rica. Kennedy, as a Latin American weekly said, was actually "placed in a safety box."

With socialist Cuba setting a shining example, Costa Rica and the other dictator-ridden and poverty-stricken "banana republics" are like an active volcano that will erupt at any time. And it was primarily this fear that sent Kennedy to confer with the heads of the Central American countries and Panama. The San Jose con-

ference, as it turned out, was a conspiracy of U.S. imperialism and Central American reaction against Cuba and against the national and democratic movements in the isthmus countries.

The "Wall" and the Volcano

When Kennedy told the San Jose conference of his intention to "build a wall," he had in mind the U.S. attempt to draw a cordon around Cuba to contain its revolutionary influence. The "Declaration of Central America" adopted by the conference stated that the conference decided to call in April a meeting of the Ministers of the Interior of the Central American states to "develop and put into immediate effect common measures to restrict the movement of their nationals to and from Cuba and the flow of material, propaganda and funds to their countries." Clearly, the aim of U.S. imperialism is to separate Cuba from the people of Central America and even of the whole Latin American continent. In doing

so, it plans to stamp out the national and democratic movements of the American peoples in the name of opposing "communist subversion."

A San Jose dispatch printed in *U.S. News and World Report* drew attention to Kennedy's decision to assure the governments represented at the conference that the United States would "take military action to restore the governments to office" even after they have been overthrown by the people. So, although Kennedy has recently declared that each nation has "the right . . . to govern itself, to be free from outside dictation or coercion," he proposes to prop up the Central American dictators with U.S. bayonets. Under the pretext of preventing Cuban "subversive" activities, the United States is busy training troops, police and special agents to operate in these countries. The U.S. anti-guerrilla school at Fort Gulick in the Canal Zone of Panama has now trained 12,400 Latin American officers and men. Near Fort Gulick there are also a jungle warfare school and an inter-American police academy to train Latin American troops in anti-popular repression. The United States has also opened a school in the Honduran port of Tela to train scabs to white ant Latin America's progressive trade-union movement with "anti-red" claptrap. So it is plain for all to see who actually is causing unrest in Central America.

But U.S. imperialism will never succeed in its manoeuvres. The fact is: the more feverishly U.S. imperialism pursues its anti-Cuba policy and the more anxiously it tries to contain Cuba, the more widespread will be the influence of that country. In an interview with Hsinhua (New China News Agency), former Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbenz affirmed that "the Central American peoples cherish a fervent sentiment of solidarity with Cuba, . . . and the cause of Cuba is the cause of all the peoples of Latin America."

In comparing the San Jose conference with the American Continental Congress in Solidarity With Cuba, the words of Julio Sunol, a Costa Rican Legislative Assembly member, expressed the general sentiment of the people, and indeed, the people of all Latin America as well. "The San Jose conference," he said, "was a meeting of despots who do not represent the people. But the Continental Congress in Solidarity With Cuba will be a

meeting of true representatives of the peoples. Imperialism may have on its side the military and aristocratic castes, but Cuba has the steadfast and courageous peoples. The San Jose conference promised the peoples nothing but shackles and oppression. The Congress in Solidarity With Cuba offers freedom and sovereignty."

In trying to tighten his control over Central America, Kennedy hopes to strengthen the U.S. position in Latin America to coerce, through the Organization of American States, the Latin American countries into collective action against Cuba. But his efforts are made from a position of weakness. Despite the San Jose conference, the major Latin American countries, including Brazil and Mexico, adhere firmly to the principles of self-determination and maintain normal relations with Cuba. Any effective curb against Cuba, a *Washington Post* editorial said on March 17, "would require the assent of larger Latin American countries." This must be something very unpleasant to Washington. Any resolution by the Central American puppets would arouse adverse repercussions in the influential South American countries, the paper said. That was why at the San Jose conference Kennedy had to veto a suggestion for a meeting of Western Hemisphere Foreign Ministers against Cuba. He thought the call for such a meeting, to quote a Reuter dispatch of March 19, "would seem like dictation by a minority of smaller nations to the bigger Latin American ones."

"Economic Integration" for Whose Benefit?

At the San Jose conference, the United States also worked hard to press on the Central American countries to accelerate their "economic integration" within the framework of the "Alliance for Progress." The primary aim of this is of course to build up a Central American common market. What the United States hoped, the *U.S. Christian Science Monitor* noted, "is that the San Jose meeting will give further momentum to an integrated economy and talk of some kind of future loose political unification." In the eyes of Washington, the formation of the Central American countries into a more compact common market and political alliance will facilitate direct U.S. domination in the military, political and economic spheres.

All the participating Central American countries are without exception important to U.S. monopoly capital. It is estimated that private U.S. investments in them amount to some \$800 million. U.S. monopoly groups and the "green devil" as the notorious United Fruit is called in particular control practically all the important economic sectors—agriculture, industry and foreign trade. It has long been the policy of U.S. monopoly capital that these countries grow monocrops only, such as coffee or bananas, that the feudal relations of production be kept intact and that the development of national industry be held in check. As a result, the "banana republics" have remained economically backward and dependent on U.S. mo-



"Economic Integration"

Cartoon by Chiang Yu-sheng

nopoly capital. Some 70 per cent of the 12 million people in Central America are today still engaged in agricultural production, while the bulk of their export and import trade is conducted with the United States.

In the autumn of 1957, an inter-American economic conference was held in Buenos Aires, attended by those representing the newly emerging economic forces in Central America and other Latin American countries. Seeking freedom from the economic oppression of U.S. monopoly capital, the conference formally proposed the establishment of a Latin American common market without U.S. participation. This, the participants hoped, would strengthen their national industries and so lessen their economic dependence on the United States.

The ruling group in the United States at first objected strongly to the establishment of such a common market. But in view of the insistence of Latin American political figures and commercial circles, it later changed its attitude, promising support for the formation of such a market while making every effort to turn it into a colonial instrument for U.S. economic penetration and political domination.

"Excellent Conditions" for U.S. Business

As the U.S. attempt to butt into the common market has met with general opposition, the United States has resorted to the plan of forming two to three "free trade zones" in Latin America and has proposed the forming of such an economic organization first among the Central American countries. In 1961, a general treaty on "economic integration" of Central America began to come into effect. The treaty, which incorporated many previous agreements, provides for the establishment of the common market and the unification of tariff systems in Central America by June 1966.

The U.S. press at that time disclosed that the lifting of tariff barriers among the Central American countries would attract more foreign capital. U.S. monopoly capital which had penetrated there can freely dump its products through exemption from taxes. In early 1957, the U.S. journal *Business Week* was frank enough to admit that the Central American trade zone had created excellent conditions for U.S. businessmen. Foreseeing these favourable conditions, the U.S. General Tire and Rubber Company, for example, set up a tire factory in Guatemala to sell its products tax-free in Central America.

Public opinion in Costa Rica has pointed out that the implementation of the Central American economic integration plan would provide a common market for the subsidiaries of U.S. monopoly enterprises in the Central American countries. These factories would be exempted from the taxes now paid on goods shipped from the United States. They could also get cheap labour and economize on transport charges. This was borne out by the fact that Costa Rica lost 50 million colones in the past year just because the U.S. factories in Central America did not pay the taxes.

Kennedy has also tried to peddle his fraudulent "Alliance for Progress" both inside and outside the con-

ference. "We are more concerned with what goes on in Latin America than ever before," he said, adding that a great effort was needed to "help maintain stable government" in Latin America and that "this is the real meaning of the 'Alliance for Progress.'" So once again Kennedy has made it clear that this is merely an unholy alliance between U.S. imperialism and the forces of reaction in the Latin American countries. Even former Brazilian President Kubitchek, who recently helped advertise the "alliance" in Mexico, had to admit that the Latin American people either ignore or are hostile to the "Alliance for Progress" programme and that it is not welcomed by a single country.

At the San Jose conference, discordant tunes were also heard from the Central American participants when they talked about their economic plight. Complaining about the reduction of prices for Latin American raw materials by the United States, Honduran President Ramon Villeda Morales said that "unjust treatment of their trade" was one of the causes of the economic difficulties of these countries. It was reported that the United States was prepared to provide within the next ten years the Central American countries with "aid" amounting to \$150 to \$250 million and so give a boost to the "Alliance for Progress" programme. But, due to the reduction of the coffee price by the United States, the Central American countries in 1962 alone suffered a loss of \$187 million. Since 1957, for example, Costa Rica has lost some \$140 million in this way. It is said that every time the United States gives Salvador a loan of one million dollars it takes away \$40 million from that country simply by forcing down the coffee price. It is thus clear that both the "Alliance for Progress" and the "economic integration" of Central America are in actual fact nothing but euphemisms for U.S. imperialism's further plans to control and enslave the people of Central America and the rest of Latin America.

Kennedy Stoops to Conquer

U.S. press comments have described as a "change" in U.S. practice the meeting in person of the U.S. President with his hirelings from the small "banana republics," which the United States has always dominated but never respected. The real reason why the U.S. President has stooped to conquer is that Washington is very much worried about the unrest on the Central American isthmus. It has now to seek the support of these lesser states in forming a united Latin American front against Cuba. This bespeaks a weaker, not a stronger, position of the United States.

The San Jose meeting showed that the Kennedy Administration is making great efforts to push ahead with its policy against Cuba and repress the people of Latin America. But the situation proves not in favour of the United States. For Cuba, as AP noted on March 20, "is a symbol of communist success in at least one Latin American country" and therefore "an encouragement" to the oppressed peoples of Latin America.

Intensified U.S. moves against Cuba are bound to stimulate Latin Americans to still greater endeavours in their just struggle to defend Cuba and to repel U.S. enslavement.

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S. IMPERIALISM

Where Are the Pledges Now?

The Soviet freighter *Baku* carrying sugar from the Cuban port of Caibarien was attacked by an armed motorboat run by U.S. agents. Machine-gunned and shelled, the unarmed freighter was severely damaged by an underwater explosion caused by the pirate ship. This was the second such serious provocation in March. The fact that the day before the raid, U.S. aircraft reconnoitred the area and the mine was later discovered to be U.S.-made proves that, despite its repeated denials, Washington masterminded this cowardly action. Like all previous anti-Cuban counter-revolutionary moves, it was organized, financed and equipped by the U.S. Government.

These attacks on Soviet ships are quite in keeping with the latest round of U.S.-directed manoeuvres against Cuba. Simultaneously with war cries from Washington (there seems to be a competition among U.S. officials and politicians as they vent their frustrated fury to see who can mouth the worst curses against revolutionary Cuba) there have been the San Jose conference, the reinforcement of the Florida air bases and, significantly, intensified terrorist activities inside Cuba by counter-revolutionaries on Washington's orders.

During the crisis last October, Kennedy officially pledged that there would be no invasion of Cuba. In January this year, Secretary of State Rusk testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said that the pledge no longer held good. Leaving this perfidy aside, the hard facts of U.S. behaviour since October show again and again that Washington's pledges cannot be accepted at their face value, that it has not honoured its commitments, and that, if anything, it is the readiness of the peoples, first of all the Cuban people, to fight back which has made the U.S. imperialists think twice before they make a venturesome move.

In his statement on the *Baku* provocation, Premier Fidel Castro declared: "The cowardly and criminal attacks against a peaceful and absolutely un-

armed Soviet ship have shown the correctness of the demands put forward by Cuba during the October crisis and the danger to world peace as a result of the irresponsibility of the U.S. ruling clique and its piratical and aggressive policy."

LATIN AMERICA

"We Stand by Cuba!"

The Latin American peoples have given a resounding reply to Yankee imperialism's latest efforts to isolate and strangle socialist Cuba. To the San Jose conference and declaration, they have now opposed the Niteroi conference and declaration, as the American Continental Congress in Solidarity With Cuba and the Declaration to All American States are called.

"To defend Cuba's right to self-determination and to check foreign interference in its internal affairs and international activities," states the Niteroi declaration, "is to defend the right of every one of our states to determine in a sovereign way its own destiny today and in the future." Describing the San Jose conference as a prelude to new aggression against Cuba, the declaration calls for common action on the part of the American peoples to ward off any attack upon Cuba, any blockade or other attempts to isolate her, to fight for the triumph of the Cuban people's five demands and to strengthen throughout the continent the movement for solidarity with Cuba.

The conference condemns intensified Yankee interference in the affairs of the Latin American republics. It terms the people's struggles the best guarantee for ensuring the right of self-determination and realization of the principle of non-intervention. It appeals to the American peoples for a renewed struggle to combat the imperialist plot to undermine their unity. It calls on the countries of the continent to strengthen, develop and enhance their nationwide campaigns for solidarity with Cuba. For this, it proposes that large-scale demonstrations in solidarity with Cuba be held in Latin America and throughout the world in the week between April 19

and 26 and during the fortnight between July 15 and 30 this year.

The rulers of Washington have a mortal fear of the true voice of the Latin American peoples. They tried to obstruct, sabotage and smear the conference. But the three days in Niteroi, Brazil, show that they have again failed.

JAPAN

The Plot Against the People

The Japanese people's movement is forging full steam ahead. Throughout March, hundreds of thousands of workers took part in the spring offensive and struck in all branches of industry. On the 24th, well over 70,000 demonstrators encircled Itatsuke in Kyushu—the biggest U.S. air base in Japan. They shouted "U.S. get out of Japan!" and "No Polaris submarines in Japanese ports!" On the 27th, 50,000 people rallied in all parts of the country to protest against the Tokyo-Seoul talks. These and many similar mass actions marked a new upsurge in the patriotic campaign against Washington's moves to make Japan a U.S. nuclear base and to knock together an aggressive north-east Asian military alliance.

Confronted with this situation, the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries are again up to their old tricks—sowing dissension and resorting to repression. This was evident in the recent attempt of the Right-wingers in the Socialist Party to bring about a final split in the mass organization, the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, and set up another group excluding the Japanese Communist Party. This divisive move failed when an enlarged council meeting of SOHYO (the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan) rejected a motion submitted by its board to form a separate liaison council for the anti-nuclear bomb movement.

At about the same time, a dark plot against the Japanese Communist Party was also unearthed and thwarted. Using the "confessions" of a provocateur, a police agent who had received money from an American, the police authorities planned to make mass raids on the Party organizations in Tokyo and many other prefectures on the eve of the local elections. Only timely exposure and strong protests to

the Japanese Government frustrated this frame-up.

Life has taught the Japanese people who their true enemies are. Through the mass campaigns, they are becoming increasingly aware of their own strength. Nothing can stop them from achieving further success.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Independence Through Struggle

London's announcement that it recognized the right of Northern Rhodesia to secede from the Central African Federation was a concession forced from it by the African people's long struggle. Only a few days ago, the nationalist delegation for Northern Rhodesia led by Kuanda and Nkumbula had walked out of a conference with the British Minister for Central African Affairs Richard Butler when the latter rejected their demands for secession and self-government.

The Central African Federation was imposed by Britain on Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia in 1953. Its aim was to combine Nyasaland's cheap labour and Northern Rhodesia's rich copper mines with Southern Rhodesia's industry and white settlers' rule. This, it was thought, would facilitate exploitation of the Africans and at the same time perpetuate the colonial rule under a new garb.

However, the Africans would have nothing to do with this continued slavery under a fanciful name. During the last few years, strikes, demonstrations and the burning of the detested passes have developed into armed struggle. In 1959, an uprising in Nyasaland lasted three months. In 1961 fighting spread to four of the eight provinces in Northern Rhodesia. In Southern Rhodesia, the Africans fought the colonial troops with bows and arrows near Salisbury and in some border areas. It was these courageous struggles coupled with their victories in the Legislative Assembly elections which won the right to secede first for the Africans in Nyasaland and now for those in Northern Rhodesia.

However, the battle is far from won. The same British statement which acknowledged in principle Northern Rhodesia's right of secession stressed that before any further change was made in the federation, "there should

be renewed discussion in Africa not only on the transitional arrangements required, but also on the broad lines of a new relationship." According to the British *Daily Telegraph*, Butler is now concentrating on getting the three territories to accept "economic association." Moreover, the white settlers in Central Africa have not disguised their intentions. Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation and Winston Field, Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, are jointly demanding "independence" for a white-dominated Southern Rhodesia. Field has threatened that he will not co-operate in the dissolution of the federation unless Southern Rhodesia is given independence and unless a new Northern Rhodesian constitution guarantees the "interests" of the white settlers.

It is clear that the fight for freedom will continue.

BRITAIN

Crisis Clouds

The House of Commons in London was the scene of two angry demonstrations last week. First, a contingent of 7,000 jobless marched in from all parts of the country to protest against high unemployment. They besieged the House of Commons, chanting "We want work, out with the Tories!" The next day, 6,000 school teachers streamed to Westminster to lobby against a government decision to deny them a pay award agreed on earlier. They were just as militant as the unemployed. The Western press reporting these events recalled the "hunger marches" during the depression 30s.

For Britain, economic troubles are piling up thick and fast. Unemployment figures have more than doubled during the past six months. The national total for February was over 932,000, the highest since 1947. Also, the rate of increase was unprecedented and the number of wholly unemployed exceeded all postwar records. In northern England, the rate of unemployment has risen from 5 to 6.5 per cent and in Northern Ireland it was 9.5 per cent.

This grim picture is a reflection of Britain's deteriorating economy. By the end of January, industrial production had dropped 9 per cent as compared with last November. Between the third and fourth quarters of 1962, capital investment fell by 10 per cent. Many industries are operating below capacity. In February, the trade gap again widened, the deficit being 45 million pounds, compared with 42 million and 36 million in January and December respectively. This shows that the export drive has failed. The pound is again under heavy pressure. The sterling area's gold and convertible currency reserves fell by another 24 million pounds in February. With Britain's attempt to enter the Common Market stymied by de Gaulle, there is little likelihood that these trends will be reversed or that the economic climate will improve. All things point to a further lowering of Britain's status in the capitalist world.

Britain's economic woes are causing greater discontent with the Macmillan government, as shown by the recent by-election results. When the crisis clouds loom large on the horizon, the class struggle intensifies.

THE PASSING SHOW

Hot Dogs and Spanish Spirit

Madrid's central square was recently the scene of a lively comment on U.S. ruling class attitudes to other nations.

As part of their publicity activities for the "U.N. Freedom From Hunger Week," a group of Americans armed with hot dogs, descended on the square and, after attracting a crowd of Spaniards, sought to hand out the hot dogs all for-free so that their photographer could get a touching picture of U.S. charity. But the Madrilenos weren't having any of this. Shouts of "Keep your food, you . . . American capitalists!" rang out. In the ensuing melee the Americans were routed and all the photographer got was a black eye.



Rural Transport in China

by CHANG CHI-TSUNG

WITH spring sowing already under way in south China and preparations for it rapidly going ahead in the north, the shipment of equipment and supplies to the countryside is being speeded up. The nation's transport enterprises are giving high priority to freight destined for the farms and to improving rural transport in every way in line with the Communist Party's general policy for developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor.

How Rural Transport Is Organized

Rural transport in China today is organized on three levels. At the first level, that is, transport between the villages and market towns serving as collecting points, it is undertaken largely by the people's communes and their production teams themselves. (The basic units of production in the countryside are the production teams of the people's communes.) Using mainly horse- or ox-drawn carts or junks, they bring their farm and side-line produce over country roads or small rivers to market towns where their goods are purchased by state trading companies or supply and marketing co-ops. On their return trip, they take home supplies from the cities for distribution in the countryside.

At the second level, transport between the market towns serving as collecting points and the county towns, railway stations or riverports, is undertaken by the state-operated transport enterprises using lorries, tugs and barges and other modern means of transport in addition to that of the transport co-ops, rural people's communes and their production teams using the traditional carts or junks.

At the third level, trunk-line transport from the local county town, railway station or riverport to other parts of the country is done primarily by transport enterprises using modern means of transport.

Thus, while huge numbers of junks and animal-drawn carts are used in local short hauls, the key centres in the countryside are linked with the cities mainly by modern vehicles and vessels. These two forms of transport are closely integrated to form a vast transport network serving the rural areas.

These three levels, of course, overlap. As a matter of fact, rural transport is constantly being improved by the steady expansion in rural areas of the services of the state-operated transport enterprises. These are gradually sharing more of the burden of rural transport with the people's communes and their production teams, thus setting free manpower and equipment for direct agricultural production.

Thirteen Years of Progress

For centuries, the human carrier with his heavy toil, the animal-drawn cart in the north and the junk in the

south epitomized rural transport in old China. Although China's first modern highway was built in 1913 in Hunan, road building went ahead so sluggishly that only 130,000 kilometres were constructed in the 36 years before liberation. Only slightly more than half of this was open to traffic at the time of liberation, and most of it served the towns. A lorry was a rare sight indeed in most parts of the countryside.

Since liberation, in the wake of swift industrial and agricultural growth, great progress has been made in rural transport. It was greatly improved during the two Five-Year Plans (1953 through 1962), and especially in the years of farm collectivization, the three years of tremendous growth of the national economy (1958-60) and two years of readjustment (1961-62). The mileage of modern highways has greatly increased compared with pre-liberation days. Figures for 19 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions indicate that 40 per cent of the rural people's communes there are today served by modern highway transport. Many small rivers and tributaries have been dredged and made navigable. A far bigger fleet of motorized vessels is now plying the inland waterways than before. In areas crisscrossed by rivers and canals in Kiangsu, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Hunan and Hupeh where water transport has always figured prominently, an increasing number of people's communes are introducing small steamboats to replace transport by junk. In some cases, industrial goods can already be shipped from nearby cities and industrial centres directly to the production teams.

Modernization of rural transport is in itself an important aspect of farm modernization inasmuch as field transport is a part of farming, and it will greatly facilitate the mechanization of tilling and other farm work.

Better Organization

Various types of transport enterprises moving supplies to the villages have been organized in most of the rural towns served by lorry or steamboat. In some of these towns, the state has also set up transport administration offices which co-ordinate the efforts of the different transport enterprises.

Transport co-ops were formed in 1956 during the farm co-operative movement by owners of junks or animal-drawn carts who previously used to work on their own. These co-ops, where the means of production are collectively owned, are socialist in character. They have become a professional force in transport between town and country working on a year-round basis. In busy farming seasons, they play a big rôle rushing seeds, fertilizers and so on to the villages. In the slack seasons, they transport farm and side-line produce to be purchased by

the state to towns where their cargoes are taken over by lorries or steamboats bound for the cities.

In this, the efforts of the transport co-ops are supplemented by carts and junks belonging to the rural people's communes. These carts and junks are actually part of the farm equipment used in the busy seasons to move seeds and manure, etc., to the fields. But in the slack seasons they also engage in transport proper as a side-line. For this purpose, some well-to-do people's communes are already acquiring lorries or small steamboats.

For a considerable period of time during China's socialist construction, the carts and junks of the transport co-ops and the people's communes will continue to play a big role in rural transport. For the country as a whole, they form an important force auxiliary to the state transport enterprises; and for certain regions they are even the mainstay in transport.

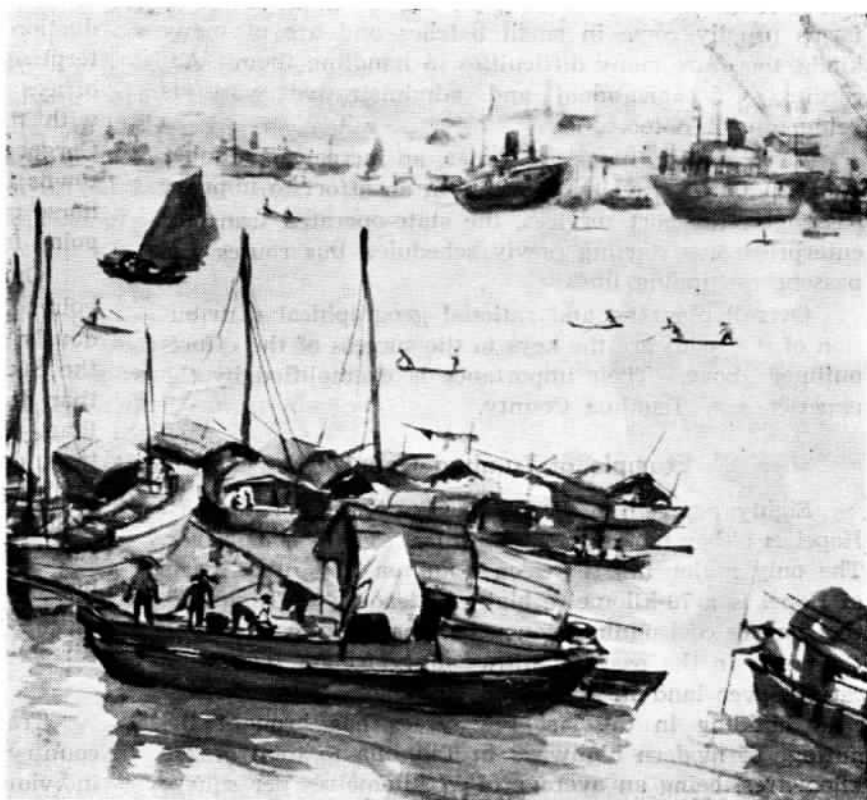
Planning Rural Transport

The People's Government and the Communist Party have all along paid great attention to transport serving agriculture and energetically developed rural transport. During the farm co-operative movement, in mapping out the programme for China's agricultural growth, they drew up a blueprint for the building of a network of country roads and inland waterways and set the long-term goal of building an extensive nationwide transport system served primarily by modern means of transport. Under this programme large numbers of country roads were built and rural transport organized on a wide scale during the periods of farm co-operation and the switch-over to people's communes.

During the Second Five-Year Plan, in its drive to boost farm output, the People's Government directed the transport enterprises to improve their co-operation with the agricultural departments and energetically support agriculture. As a result, supplies for the farms constituted a rapidly increasing proportion of the freight carried over the motor roads and inland waterways. In 1958 the amount of capital goods supplied by industry to the farms was several times bigger than in 1952. Prompt delivery of farm tools, fertilizers, insecticides and other items played a big role in enabling the communes to gather in an exceptionally good harvest in 1958.

China has now entered upon a new period — the period of gradually carrying out the technical transformation of agriculture on the basis of farm collectivization. This inevitably makes heavier demands on the transport services; these are now called upon to make further improvements.

How is this to be done? Drawing on the experience of the past 13 years, it has been decided that rural transport should be improved by more rationally distributing the country roads, fully utilizing the waterways, develop-



At a Pearl River Port

Water-colour by Huang Tu-wel

ing both modern and traditional means of transport and drawing up a long-term plan. All this should be done in the light of the geographical conditions in each given region and with a view to meeting the needs of farm production and urban-rural exchange.

In planning socialist agricultural development and rural transport in China, the county is taken as the unit and market towns within the county as centres of road systems. Rural transport will continue to be developed according to the principles outlined in the *National Programme for Agricultural Development* which was first drawn up in 1956 and revised and finally adopted by the National People's Congress in 1960. These principles are as follows:

Various types of roads should be built step by step to suit the local means of transport in a practical spirit in the light of local conditions, using materials that are locally available according to the principles of economy, suitability and no waste of land, and by counting on and utilizing to the full the initiative and enthusiasm of the masses. At the same time, routine road maintenance should be carried out well and special attention should be paid to the building of roads in the mountainous regions. Rivers should be dredged wherever possible and small rivers and tributaries should be utilized for transport by shallow-draught barges pulled by tugs.

Work in support of agriculture is being stepped up. While planning and energetically developing rural transport, the transport enterprises centred on the towns are being reinforced. The efforts of the transport co-ops and those people's communes engaging in transport as a side-line are being co-ordinated better. Priority is given to freight destined for the farms. Since supplies for the

farms usually come in small batches and are of many kinds, there are many difficulties in handling them. Accordingly, organizational and administrative work is being improved too.

As living conditions get better, an increasing number of peasants are travelling today. In an effort to improve passenger transport services, the state-operated transport enterprises are starting newly scheduled bus routes and passenger shipping lines.

Overall planning and rational geographical distribution of the roads are the keys to the success of the efforts outlined above. Their importance is exemplified by the experience of Tsunhua County.

Example of Tsunhua County

Eighty per cent of Tsunhua County in northeastern Hopei is either mountainous or hilly. There is no river. The only major link between Tsunhua and other parts of Hopei is a 70-kilometre highway leading to Tangshan, the famed coal-mining town on the Peking-Shenyang Railway. In the past, all intra-county freight had to be carried over land in animal-drawn carts. But intensive road building in the last few years has brought the mileage of modern highways in Tsunhua to total of 260 kilometres, being an average of 17 kilometres per square kilometre. Eighty per cent of the 44 people's communes in Tsunhua today have highways, and country roads now extend to all communes and their production teams without exception.

For more effective administration of transport, the county is divided into several sub-regions each basing itself on a sizable town from which highways and country roads radiate out to the people's communes and their pro-

duction teams. The Hopei provincial motor transport enterprise extends its services to these towns and sets up offices there to administer rural transport in co-operation with the state trading and grain-dealing organizations. Cargoes destined for the farms are brought into these towns by lorries and are then carried to the villages by horse carts belonging to the local transport co-ops. Outgoing freight is similarly handled.

Once transport had been improved in this way, the volume of freight handled in Tsunhua increased tremendously. The average annual volume of freight handled in the Second Five-Year Plan there was 58 per cent more than that in 1957, the last year of the First Five-Year Plan. Efficient transport of chemical fertilizers, farm tools, coal and industrial consumer goods into the county and of grain, cotton and fruits out of it served as a powerful impetus to farm production. Although the county suffered heavily for three consecutive years due to natural disasters, its average annual grain yield during the Second Five-Year Plan stood 49 per cent higher than the national average for 1957, a normal year.

* * *

Transport serves as a bridge between town and country and between industry and agriculture. Scattered individual farming such as that prevailing in old China makes little demand on transport. But as agricultural production rises with farm collectivization followed by gradual modernization, heavier demands are made both on transport between town and country and on field transport, which is part of the agricultural production process. Accordingly, at a time when the nation is going all out to aid agriculture, rural transport is playing an increasingly important role in China.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Spring Afforestation. Spring afforestation is in full swing in south China. The campaign, an annual affair in China, is gradually spreading northwards as the weather gets warm.

Commune members, workers, students and Young Pioneers in the Yangtse River valley and along the lower reaches of the Yellow River have to date added tens of millions of trees to the shelter belts along the dykes of both rivers. In Szechuan, on the upper reaches of the Yangtse, young saplings have been planted on 1.8 million *mu* of land. On both banks of the Yangtse in Kiangsu, east China, over 40,000 *mu* have been afforested. And in Wuhan, central China, millions of young saplings have been planted. Mostly fast-growing trees, they will in a few years form tree belts and groves which will help keep down the city's temperature during its long hot summer months.

Many tea oil trees have been planted in Kiangsi, Hunan and Chekiang Provinces which have large tracts of red soil particularly well suited to these trees.

Oil palms, which yield a high percentage of oil, were grown mainly on Hainan Island in the past. This year, large numbers of these oil-rich palms have been planted in the subtropical regions of Kwangtung, Yunnan, Kwangsi and Fukien.

Artificial Boards. More plywood and fibre-board was produced in January and February this year than in the same span of last year.

A large number of plywood and fibre-board factories have been set up in many parts of the country since 1958. This year some will be expanded and new ones built.

There were few plywood factories in China before 1958. During the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62), the industry produced more than twice as much plywood as during the First Five-Year Plan period (1953-57).

More Sugar-Cane. Sugar-cane planting is under way in the subtropical regions in southern and southwestern China. Kwangtung, Fukien, Yunnan and Szechuan are the four major sugar-cane

areas. This year they plan to enlarge their sugar-cane acreage by 7 per cent.

Better varieties are being planted this year. In Yunnan, the area planted to improved varieties is three times as large as in 1962. Szechuan plans to extend its acreage under sugar-cane this year by 20 per cent. In Kwangtung, which accounts for about half of the country's sugar-cane output, commune members are taking advantage of the recent rains to speed up the planting.

Farm Machine Society. The Chinese Agricultural Machinery Society was founded in Peking last month. Prominent scientists, engineers and professors from various parts of the country attended its inaugural meeting.

Liu Hsien-chou, well-known mechanical engineer and vice-president of Tsinghua University, was elected president of the society. A preparatory committee to found the society had functioned since 1956. It had organized many discussions and conferences on important questions relating to mechanization of farm work and published several books on agricultural machinery.

Szechuan Exhibition

The southwestern province of Szechuan had something exceptional to offer to Peking art lovers this last month. On show at the Artists' Union Gallery was a striking collection of Mienchu New Year pictures, a unique collection of shadow-play figures and a rich display of rubbings from 2,000-year-old Han carved bricks excavated in recent years.

New Year Pictures From Mienchu

Speaking of New Year pictures, people immediately recall the names of three centres which are now nationally known for producing these popular works of art, namely, Yangliuching (Willow Green), near the port city of Tientsin; Weihsien, in the seaboard province of Shantung; and Taohuawu (Peach Lane), in Soochow near Shanghai. These were flourishing centres 200 years ago and liberation revived and revived their dying art. But now a fourth place is vying for national attention—Mienchu to the north of Chengtu, the Szechuan provincial capital.

The Mienchu folk artists in this genre were obviously colourists. The 120 exhibits of their work, mostly original drawings for New Year prints made at the turn of the century and reproductions from old wood blocks, show that their creators had a strong taste for rich colouring and brilliant contrasts well suited to creating a festive mood. They vary much in style and form but all share the same rich local flavour. These are works of folk art on the traditional New Year themes: valiant door-gods, vivaciously drawn children, symbols of good luck and prosperity . . . but it is clear that this school of art should have its place in China's art garden of "a hundred flowers." With the help of the local authorities a co-operative for New Year pictures has now been set up in Mienchu. Veteran folk artists have been searched out to return to their beloved calling, and



together with a new generation of modern trained art students they are busy fostering a school of new New Year picture art, Mienchu style. Meanwhile, in answer to the widespread demand of experts and laymen, an album of old Mienchu New Year pictures is being published.

Shadow-Play Figures

Even more remarkable were the shadow-play figures. There are two main local types of Szechuan shadow plays—that of Chengtu and that of northern Szechuan. The 130 pieces on show were mostly of the Chengtu type, made by the famous late amateur artist Chung Huan-chang.

China's shadow theatre has a history of a thousand years. Together with the puppet theatre, it used to be one of the two forms of theatrical entertainment most accessible and popular among the millions in the countryside. A screen, a lantern, a set of cut-out silhouette figures with jointed limbs, and perhaps a drum and a pair of cymbals—with these, an artiste has the modest equipment for staging the popular traditional operas before an enchanted audience. Manipulated with thin threads or slivers of bamboo, the figures, their shadows thrown on the screen by the lantern, can be made to act anything, from the graceful dancing and tragic scenes of great love stories to the heroic acrobatics of the historical dramas. The artiste, if it's a one-man show, animates the figures, provides dialogue, narration, singing and music. The shadow play puts great demands on him, but hardly less depends on the art of the makers of the figures. The Szechuan collection showed to what a high level such folk artists have developed their art.

The Chengtu figures, cut from ox-skin parchment, are generally large, about two feet high and suitable for performances to large audiences. Head-dresses, heads, torsos and limbs are separately made and interchangeable so that they can be assembled to form different figures, or change the expression or dress of a particular character.

Those by Chung Huan-chang have great lineal beauty, and are astonishingly expressive; though they take the greatest liberties with natural form they are vividly lifelike. Chung died

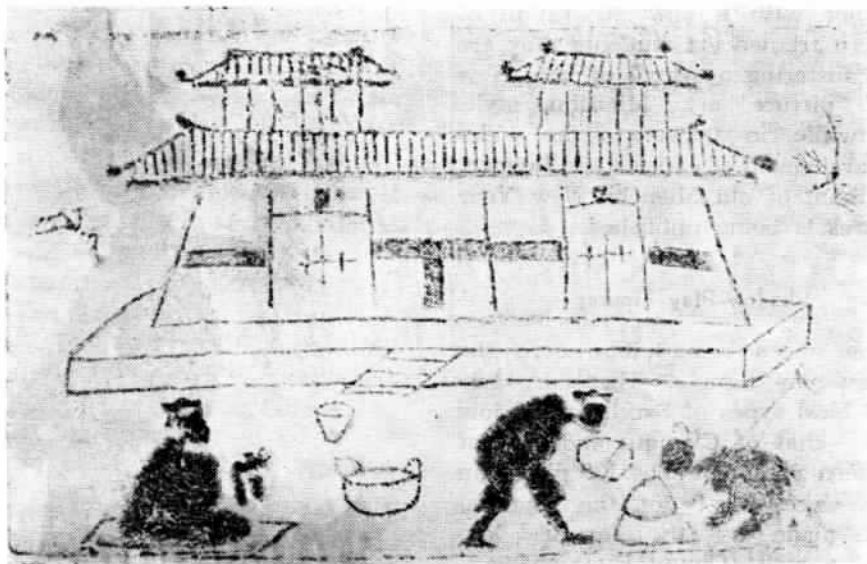


40 years ago, and is said to have devoted his whole life to making such figures. He developed such a consummate skill over the years that to make a figure, he could cut a figure out of parchment directly with his knife without help of drawing or stencil. Usually he cut the general contour of the figure first and then went on to the details and decorations. With unerring skill he brings out the salient characteristics of the characters; villain or kindly elder, graceful young damsel or wrinkled grandmother, military man or learned scholar.

The Chengtu figures on show had faces executed in fluent, flowing lines, with well-rounded chins. In striking contrast, the faces of figures of the northern Szechuan type are all cut in straight lines with pointed chins. The latter type is much smaller in size, generally only a foot high, and therefore more convenient for carrying around and showing in the mountainous



Shadow-play figures (top and left) by Chung Huan-chang and (above) by Fang Hai-yun.



Han carved brick rubbing

regions predominating in that part of the province. The Artists' Union Gallery has most attractively displayed some of the finest figures by placing them on the windows backed by opaque paper. The strong daylight pouring through the parchment brings out the full beauty of their colours.

Han Carved Brick Rubbings

The 60 rubbings selected from the Szechuan Provincial Museum and Chungking Museum collections are from Han carved bricks of the late Eastern Han and Three Kingdoms Period (25-280 A.D.). Vividly enlightening as historical records, they are splendid as examples of ancient art.

With enormous verve they picture the comfortable life of the feudal ruling class of the time, their merry-making, feasting, acrobatic, singing and dancing entertainments, their magnificent houses, coaches, proud horses and accoutrements. There are equally vivid scenes of toilers at work, cooking, making salt, fishing, hunting. The rubbing reproduced on this page shows a poor man humbling himself before a landlord as he borrows a sack of grain from the latter. And this is far from being the only such scene depicted in these ancient and penetrating comments on life. Their varied subject matter also includes episodes from legendary and mythical tales.

As early as 2,000 years ago a high level was already attained in the techniques used in these carved bricks. Combining bas-relief with line engraving they speak eloquently of

the long tradition of Chinese sculpture in mirroring life realistically. People love rubbings from them and delight in their artistry: the way they catch a vivid glimpse of reality, their masterly handling of composition, their mastery of dynamic, expressive line. They show whence Chinese painting drew a great deal of inspiration and experience in developing its techniques.

THEATRE

Peasants and Plays

Traditional opera has a centuries-old history in China. Its roots lie deep in the life of the people and their villages. But the modern drama is a relative newcomer to China's countryside. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the first modern play ever staged in China complete with a script and stage direction, was produced by a group of intellectuals in Shanghai in 1907, but it was many years before modern drama got to the villages. "Living newspapers" and agitational plays first appeared in the rural revolutionary bases led by the Chinese Communist Party after 1930; after the start of the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1937, these forms of modern drama were taken also to the Kuomintang-occupied areas by progressive patriotic drama troupes. After liberation this realistic stage art—with its up-to-date themes and characters, its picture-frame stage and other modern ideas of stagecraft—

was carried to the villages on a much bigger scale. Today with its eyes turned to the farms, China's modern drama theatre sees the millions of the nation's peasants as its greatest potential audience. Nearly every Peking modern drama troupe has a tour of the villages in its annual plans.

Much has now been learnt about the type of plays and staging the peasants like. In performing for over 200,000 peasants in the last few years, the Hopei Modern Drama Troupe reports some typical experiences in this field.

The first production the troupe brought to a village met with lukewarm response — though it was a play the troupe considered one of the best in its city repertoire. Learning the lesson on its next tour, it presented *Liu Chieh-mei*. This play is based on the true story of a former poor peasant in New China who has capitalist ideas of getting rich quick but eventually realizes his mistake. This was a great success. The peasants told members of the troupe: "We like it: it's about us peasants, it's easy to understand, and it raises some good points too." Since then, the Hopei troupe has scored other successes with new plays on themes taken from modern revolutionary history and socialist construction. They have found present-day themes, especially about the peasants themselves, particularly welcomed. "They give us ideas on how to tackle our own day-to-day problems," the peasants say.

The Hopei troupe finds that the peasants like good, thought-provoking stories with plenty of action, a clearcut plot and vivid characters. They get restless with overweighted dialogue, overly involved plots and too many characters. The peasants are used to the ways of local traditional opera. This usually restricts itself to only a few main characters; each character tells about himself and so reveals something of the plot the first time he appears on the stage giving the audience right away a clear picture of what and who to look out for. The Hopei troupe has adapted this convention to the staging of modern drama with much success.

Use of the colourful language of the peasants with its wealth of similes and homely sayings gets the play across much better than "intellectuals' talk," the Hopei troupe finds. As to costum-

ing, a peasant put it very pithily when he said: "If you actors are dressed just like us, where's the fun? Put good costumes on, and make up your faces. We don't like half-hearted, wishy-washy theatre!" Good decor and lighting also count a good deal with them.

Putting in folk songs and dances wherever possible, using gongs and

drums in dramatic moments to heighten tension, and performing short acts in front of the curtains in between scenes to keep the audience engaged, are some other ways the Hopei troupe has borrowed from folk opera, and it finds these much appreciated by the peasants.

Such are some of the experiences gained by the Hopei Modern Drama

Troupe in a decade of trying to perfect its art for the peasants. Its efforts have borne rich fruit. In the many villages where the troupe has appeared, the modern drama with its direct and powerful impact as a means of socialist art and education is now no longer a "stranger" but a welcomed "friend" of the peasants, eagerly expected, intensely enjoyed.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Two Chinese film workers, Chen Tsan-yun and Hao Yu-sheng, after a month's visit to Albania left Tirana for home on March 23. During their visit they were received by M. Myftiu, First Vice-Chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers.

Mahjoub Ben Seddik, President of the All-African Trade Union Federation and General Secretary of the Moroccan Union of Labour, left Peking for home on March 23 after a ten-day visit to China.

Toshio Tanaka, member of the standing committee of the Japanese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and his wife Sumiko Tanaka, ending their visit to China, left Canton for home on March 24. During their stay in Peking they were received by Premier Chou En-lai.

Kuo Chien, member of the secretariat of the National Women's Federation of China, returned to Peking on March 24 after attending the meeting of the bureau of the Women's International Democratic Federation in Berlin.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to President Sukarno on March 24 expressing sympathy for the Indonesian people in their sorrows caused by the Agung volcanic eruption disaster on the Island of Bali.

In Djakarta, Chinese Ambassador Yao Chung-ming expressed sympathy for the victims of the disaster in a letter to Foreign Minister Subandrio. On April 1, Counsellor Li Chu-sheng of the Chinese Embassy informed the Indonesian Government that the Chinese Government will donate 1,000 tons of rice and 2,000 bolts of cotton fabrics for relief of the victims. Members of the Chinese Embassy staff in Indonesia have made personal contributions totalling 150,000 rupiahs.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai on March 25 sent a message

to Dobi Istvan and Kadar Janos congratulating them on starting a new term of office as President and Premier respectively of the People's Republic of Hungary.

Chinese Ambassador to Ceylon Hsieh Ke-hsi and his wife presented to Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, a copy of the documentary film about her recent visit to China.

More than 200 Japanese writers, poets, specialists in Chinese literature and leaders of the Japan-China Friendship Movement held a meeting in Tokyo on March 27 to commemorate the 1250th anniversary of the birth of the great Chinese poet Tu Fu.

The 1963 executive plan for implementation of the Sino-Korean Cultural Co-operation Agreement was signed in Pyongyang on March 27. It was signed by Tsao Ying, head of the Chinese cultural delegation now in Korea, and Song Yung, Chairman of the Korean Committee for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries.

Lu Hsu-chang, Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, who is now on an official visit to Britain, was guest of honour at a dinner party given by the British Government on March 28 and presided over by Alan Green, British Minister of State, Board of Trade. He was also invited to a performance of the Royal Ballet by the British Minister of Aviation Julian Amery on March 26.

On March 28, the 95th anniversary of Maxim Gorky's birth, Peking's major newspapers carried articles commemorating the great revolutionary Russian writer.

A photographic exhibition on the Cuban revolution closed in Shanghai on March 29 after a fortnight's showing.

An Indonesian fine art exhibition with more than 200 works by noted Indonesian artists opened on March 29 in Canton.

A Chinese stamp exhibition jointly sponsored by the Swedish Postal Museum and the Swedish-Chinese Association is now on in Stockholm.

Between 12:17 hours and 12:31 hours on March 27, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the area of Yunghsing Island, Pei Island and Tung Island of the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province. Between 08:50 hours and 15:55 hours on March 30, a U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters in the area of Tung, Yunghsing, Pei and Shih Islands of the Hsisha Islands of Kwangtung Province.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued the 236th and 237th serious warnings to the U.S. against these military provocations.

The 1963 executive plan for implementation of the Sino-Mongolian Cultural Co-operation Agreement was signed in Ulan Bator on March 30.

Chou Erh-fu, Vice-President of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, gave a banquet in Peking on March 29 in honour of the British singer Martin Lawrence who is now performing in China.

A Sino-Moroccan Trade Agreement was signed in Peking on March 30 following talks held by government trade delegations of the two countries. The Moroccan government trade delegation headed by Abderrahmane Zniber, Moroccan Ambassador to China, was received by Vice-Premier Chen Yi on March 29.

Premier Chou En-lai received Safdar Ali Qurefhi, correspondent of the Associated Press of Pakistan, in Peking on March 31 and answered a number of questions asked by him.

The 11-member friendship delegation of the Japan-China Trade Promotion Association led by Yasuzo Ishihara left China for home on March 31.

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