

PEKING REVIEW

13

March 27, 1964

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The People's Communes Forge Ahead

Summing up five years' experience of the rural people's communes in Kwangtung Province (p. 6).

Firm Support for Palestinian And Arab People

Peking rally voices China's support for their just struggle against U.S. imperialism (p. 12).

Division and Realignment

Deepening rifts and regrouping of forces shake the imperialist camp (p. 13).

Across the Land and Other Features

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

The Roar of a Nation

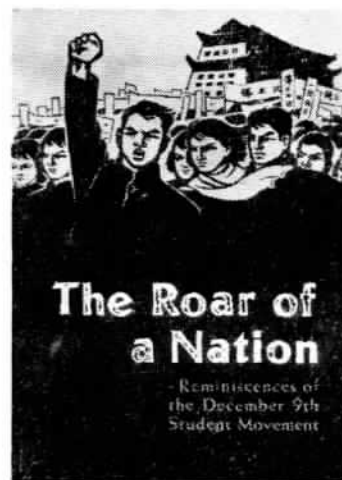
Story of a Student Movement That Roused a Nation

The Peking students' demonstration on December 9, 1935, set going a patriotic movement that coursed through the country demanding an end to the Kuomintang government's policy of appeasement, an end to civil war in China and the forging of national unity to resist the invading Japanese forces. Led by the Chinese Communist Party, the students' resolute actions opened a new stage in the growth of China's national revolution.

The reminiscences collected in this book were written by men who took an active part in that movement. They tell the story of men and women who dedicated their youth to the great cause of national liberation and grew to maturity in this heroic struggle under the guidance of the Communist Party of China. Filled with incident and the surge of a great mass movement, it is a book that will inspire all who read it.

Illustrated with photographs of the time

pp. 172



Man of a Special Cut

by Hu Wan-chun

A collection of nine of the best stories written by one of China's best known worker-writers between 1955-60. First-rate stories in themselves, they also show the author's growth as a writer.

Hu Wan-chun works in a rolling mill. He began to write as a reporter for the Shanghai *Laodong Bao* (Labour) in 1951 and has since published several collections of stories. "Man of a Special Cut" is a story of a steel mill foreman who by doing things the Communist Party way with the backing of the masses, successfully completes a difficult rush job on time. The collection includes "Ride On! Go On Fighting!" which through the instructions given to his son by an old worker gives a vivid insight into the lofty communist spirit of the older generation. "What Instructor Pu Kao Thought," a tale of the relationship between an instructor and his apprentice, illustrates the honesty and high principles of the veteran workers in helping to train the younger generation. "Flesh and Blood" is a remarkable story. It is a burning indictment of the exploiters and their reactionary rule in the old society in China.

With a preface about the author

Paper-back

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

March 27, 1964 Vol. VII No. 13

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March 27, 1964

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Chairman Mao Tse-tung met the Japanese Communist Party Delegation led by Satomi Hakamada and gave a dinner in honour of the Japanese comrades.

- Vice-Premier Chen Yi declared that China would work together with the other Asian and African countries to hold a second Asian-African conference.

- Peking held a mass rally supporting the Palestinian and Arab people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention.

- The Chinese press reported:

- the March 2 article by the editorial department of *Rodong Shinmoon*, organ of the Korean Workers' Party, marking the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Third International, the Comintern. It stresses that Marxism-Leninism and revisionism are incompatible.

- the appeal to Belgian Communists issued by the Organizing Committee of the National Conference of Belgian Communists in December last year. It calls on all Belgian Marxist-Leninists to unite and rebuild the Belgian Communist Party.

- an editorial by Jacques Grippa in *La Voix du Peuple*, organ of the Belgian Communist Party, denouncing the modern revisionists for collaborating with the imperialists in nuclear blackmail.

- the March 1 article by the editorial department of the Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit*, castigating Khrushchov for adulterating Lenin's ideas in order to pave the way for his pro-imperialist line.

- an article by Australian Marxist-Leninists refuting the Australian Communist Party's slanders against the Chinese Communist Party.

- an article in this year's No. 3 issue of the Korean journal *Keunroja*, stressing the importance of safeguarding the revolutionary tradition, defending Marxist-Leninist principles and resolutely opposing the intrigues of the modern revisionists.

- two speeches by Njoto, Second Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, at recent meetings of Party cadres, pointing out that the differences in the international communist movement today hinge on whether or not one wants revolution.

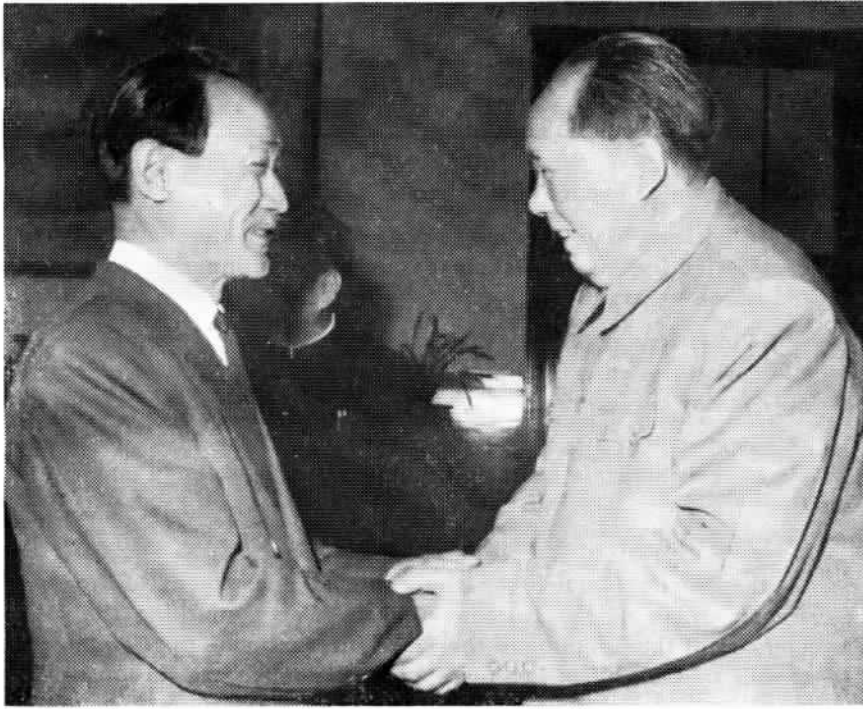
- an article in the January 1964 issue of the Vietnamese journal *Hoc Tap* on the correct way to defend world peace. It denounces the modern revisionists for prettifying imperialism.

Chinese and Japanese C.P. Leaders Meet

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, met in Peking on March 23 with Satomi Hakamada, Member of the Presidium and of the Secretariat of the Japanese Communist Party's Central Committee and members of the Japanese C.P. delegation led by him. They had a

cordial and friendly talk. Later, Comrade Mao gave a dinner in honour of the Japanese comrades.

On March 21, Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairmen of the C.P.C.'s Central Committee, met Satomi Hakamada and his colleagues. That same evening, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party gave a banquet for the Japanese comrades. In warm



Comrade Mao Tse-tung greets Comrade Satomi Hakamada

friendship, both hosts and guests toasted the victory of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world. The Japanese comrades later attended a performance of songs and dances specially arranged for them by the Ministry of Culture.

Chairman Mao Receives Puerto Rican Guests

On March 19, Chairman Mao Tse-tung received Narciso Rabell-Martinez and Marta Sanchez-Olmeda, who are now visiting China as representatives of Puerto Rican students.

The next day the two young Puerto Ricans attended a mass rally in Peking to mark the 27th anniversary of the bloody U.S. attack on their people in Ponce. On March 21, 1937, when the citizens and students of Ponce staged an anti-U.S. demonstration, they were brutally suppressed by the U.S. colonialists. But, as Vice-President of the All-China Students' Federation Chang Yin-an said at the rally, the revolutionary flame lit 27 years ago against U.S. imperialism and for national independence "is far from being quenched; it is burning vigorously." In a tribute to the students of Puerto Rico, he called them "a courageous

shock force in the struggle for national liberation." He pledged the Chinese students' support for their struggle for an independent and free Puerto Rico.

Marta Sanchez-Olmeda took the floor to describe the struggle against U.S. imperialism now going on in her land. "U.S. imperialism will be driven out of Latin America," she declared.

The Puerto Rican guests left Peking on March 21 for a tour of the southern parts of China.

Pakistan National Day

On the eve of Pakistan's National Day, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a joint message of greetings to Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. "In the past two years," said the message, "with the continuous enhancement of mutual understanding between our two countries, our relations of friendly co-operation in the political, economic and cultural fields have greatly developed under the guidance of the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference." The Chinese leaders expressed the conviction that, working in close co-operation, China and Pakistan would make further

contributions to the cause of opposing imperialism and colonialism, strengthening Asian-African solidarity and safeguarding peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

Pakistan Ambassador to China N.A.M. Raza gave a reception on March 23 to celebrate the day. Among the guests were Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premiers Ho Lung and Chen Yi. In his speech, Ambassador Raza said that the basic principle of Pakistan's foreign policy was "friendship towards all, malice towards none." "It is in pursuit of this policy," continued the Ambassador, "that Pakistan has recently taken steps to normalize her relations with all countries. Our relations with China have been specially gratifying. The foundations of a fruitful and mutually beneficial friendship have been laid."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, thanked President Ayub Khan, Foreign Minister Bhutto and the Pakistan Government and people for the magnificent reception accorded Premier Chou En-lai and himself during their recent visit to Pakistan. He noted that in the past few years a major development had taken place in the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries. "The friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples can stand the test of time and will last for ever," said the Vice-Premier. "The Chinese people will always advance together with the Pakistan people in the common cause of safeguarding national independence, building their respective countries, strengthening Asian-African solidarity and defending world peace."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi reaffirmed that the Chinese Government and people were ready to work together with other Asian and African countries to promote the smooth convocation of a second Asian-African conference. "The recent Asian-African tour of Premier Chou and myself," he said, "has enabled us to see more clearly that the national-liberation movements in Asia and Africa have surged forward vigorously since the Bandung Conference and that the face of these two con-

tinents has undergone a tremendous change. The Bandung spirit has made its way deeper into the hearts of the people. The Asian and African peoples are unshakably determined to strengthen their solidarity and to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism."

Paying tribute to Pakistan for its positive contributions to strengthening Asian-African solidarity and upholding the Bandung spirit, the Vice-Premier said: "Together with Indonesia and other Asian and African countries, Pakistan actively stands for the convening of a second Asian-African conference. The leaders of many Asian and African countries acknowledge the fact that the time is ripe for the holding of such a conference and that active preparations should be made for this purpose. The holding of this conference, we believe, will make significant contributions to the further strengthening of unity among the Asian-African countries against imperialism, the promotion of friendship and co-operation among them and the defence of world peace."

Cambodian Delegation Tours China

The Cambodian Military Delegation led by Lieutenant-General Lon Nol, which arrived in Peking on March 13, left for a tour of other Chinese cities on March 21. Senior General Hsu Kuang-ta accompanied the Cambodian guests on their tour.

Before their departure, they were entertained at a luncheon by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi. They also visited an air force unit, a tank training school near Peking and the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Museum.

How to Bring Planes From Taiwan

When Hsu Ting-tse, formerly a captain of the Chiang Kai-shek air force, flew over to the Chinese mainland in June last year with his U.S.-made F-86F jet fighter, he was warmly welcomed by the People's Government and the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army. He was made a major in the

P.L.A. Air Force and received 2,500 *liang* of gold (1 *liang* equals 1.1023 ounces) in accordance with the published regulations on rewards to air force personnel of the Chiang Kai-shek clique who came over with their aircraft. Since his return, he has rejoined his family and travelled widely to see how things are going in the country.

Last week, he was appointed deputy commander of a Chinese air force regiment. In making the appointment, General Liu Ya-lou, Commander of the P.L.A. Air Force, said that Hsu Ting-tse's example "has shown the correct path for other Chiang Kai-shek air force personnel to take."

In a notice broadcast on March 15, the Fukien Front Headquarters of the P.L.A. told other Chiang air force personnel how to follow that example. It announced once again the regulations governing rewards to Chiang's air force personnel who crossed over with their aircraft and set out new methods of making contact aimed at ensuring greater safety in landing in People's China.

The People's Government, the notice said, would give appropriate posts to returning personnel according to their ability and help them settle down properly. Their property would be protected. Awards would be given, varying in value according to the type of aircraft flown over—ranging from 3,000 *liang* of gold for a P2V or a U-2 to 200 *liang* of gold for a trainer. The airfields at Swatow in Kwangtung Province, Lukiao in Chekiang Province and Lungtien in Fukien Province were among the places listed where those returning to the mainland with aircraft should land. The notice gave the call signals and radio frequencies on these airfields together with the air distances and magnetic courses to them from Taoyuan, Hsinchu, Kungkuan, Chiayi, Tainan and Pingtung airfields in Taiwan. "On encountering P.L.A. planes . . . waggle your wings," said the notice.

Raising More Cotton

China raised over 30 per cent more cotton last year than in 1962 and the

outlook for this year is good. How this success was achieved and how to assure full realization of present prospects and plans were some of the topics discussed at a national cotton conference held on March 5-14 in Peking.

Model farmers from the nation's major cotton belts, experts and responsible government officials swapped experience gained from last year's successes, appraised the situation today and put the finishing touches to production plans for this year. The conference assessment is that extremely favourable conditions now exist for cotton cultivation, that the latent potentialities are great and that the targets set by the state can certainly be fulfilled or overfulfilled.

This is well-founded optimism. Last year, serious floods hit some of the Yellow River valley cotton-growing areas, and some areas in southern China suffered from a prolonged drought. Despite these setbacks, the nation as a whole gathered a good cotton crop.

The situation today is much more favourable, the conference reports. The increase in the labour force in the rural areas will free more manpower for raising this important industrial crop; irrigation and drainage are improved and there are increased supplies of chemical fertilizers. The spade-work done last winter and this spring for this year's cotton growing has been more thorough, particularly with regard to stocking better seeds and the popularization of advanced techniques.

The keynote of Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's report to the conference was a solidly based optimism: "The situation today is excellent. Many areas which did not bring in a good cotton crop last year are determined to make up for their losses, while those areas which succeeded in gathering a rich crop are all set to grow a still better crop this year." He urged everyone to step up the campaign to "emulate the advanced, learn from and overtake them, and help the less advanced." This, he said, would give extra power to the drive to boost cotton output in 1964.

The People's Communes Forge Ahead

— Summing Up Five Years' Experience of the Rural
People's Communes in Kwangtung Province

by TAO CHU

Following is the first instalment of a slightly abridged translation of an article by Tao Chu, First Secretary of the Kwangtung Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. It was published in the February 26 issue of "Hongqi" (No. 4). The second and final instalment will appear shortly. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE nationwide movement to form rural people's communes in 1958 was an event of epoch-making significance in China's history. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, a great social change was effected in the rural areas with their population of more than 500 million people by establishing the people's communes on the basis of the advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives. In the past five years, showing an immense vitality, the people's communes in Kwangtung Province, like those in other parts of the country, have played an extremely important role in developing agricultural production, in overcoming natural calamities and consolidating the socialist position in the countryside. They have stood up to a severe test and are giving an ever more brilliant account of themselves. It is certain that by relying on the tremendous advantages of the people's commune system, the agricultural question in China will be fundamentally solved. The great practical experience gained by the people's communes in China and the policies gradually perfected in the course of their development will add an entirely new page to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

Importance of Agriculture

As everybody knows, the agricultural question is an extremely important one. How to handle correctly the relations between agriculture on the one hand and industry and other branches of the national economy on the other is a fundamental, objectively existing economic problem in socialist society.

Marx many times explained his views on the relation between agriculture and other branches of the economy under capitalist conditions. He wrote: ". . . the number of workers employed in industry etc. and completely released from agriculture . . . is fixed by the quantity of agricultural products which the agri-

cultural workers produce over and above their own consumption."¹ He also wrote: "In fact all production of surplus-value, and thus all development of capital, has for its natural basis the productiveness of agricultural labour. . . . An agricultural labour productivity exceeding the individual requirements of the labourer is the basis of all societies, and is above all the basis of capitalist production. . . ." ² This means that agriculture is the foundation of the development of the national economy and that the growth of capitalist industry is conditioned by agricultural development. But an insoluble contradiction exists between agriculture and industry in capitalist society based on capitalist private property. Generally speaking, growth of agriculture lags behind that of industry under capitalism. This is one of the most profound reasons why the proper proportions between the different branches of the national economy in capitalist countries are destroyed and crises occur.

Agriculture is the foundation of the development of the national economy. Is this law still valid in socialist society? Not only valid, but even more important. After the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, Lenin pointed out: ". . . in as much as our international situation has improved, all political questions become focused on one point: doing all we can to raise agricultural productivity. An increase in that productivity is bound to lead to an improvement in our industrial development."³ It is an economic law of socialist society that the national economy must develop proportionately in a planned way. Of all the proportions, that between agriculture and industry is the most important. The state of the proletarian dictatorship must handle that proportion correctly in its socialist construction, so that agriculture and industry will be developed in co-ordination and the national economy as a whole make rapid progress. At the same time it should be noted that up to now eco-

¹ Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*. Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1951, p.48.

² Karl Marx, *Capital*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, Vol. III, p.767.

³ Lenin, "Speech at the First Moscow Provincial Agricultural Congress, November 29, 1921," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., State Publishing House of Political Literature, Moscow, 1951, Vol. 33, p.105.

conomic construction in all the countries in the socialist camp has proceeded under conditions of economic blockade and threats of military aggression by imperialism. Hence they must resolutely carry out a policy of self-reliance and achieve economic independence if they are to consolidate their victory and increase their aid to the just cause of the peoples of the world. Economic independence, of course, is impossible without a developed industry. But it is equally impossible without a solid agricultural foundation. Historical experience has confirmed that ignoring the importance of agriculture in socialist construction and failure to find a real solution to the agricultural problem makes it impossible to build a powerful industry. If agriculture remains stagnant, or, still worse, steadily deteriorates, the proper proportions between the different branches of the national economy are bound to be upset, causing tremendous difficulties in economic construction and preventing socialist construction from making any headway even if industry has for a time reached a relatively high level of development in certain fields.

The Correct Policy Advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have always attached great importance to agriculture. Whether in the period of the revolutionary wars or after the founding of the People's Republic of China, they have consistently assigned agriculture a most important position in the national economy and correctly handled the question of the relation between agriculture and industry.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has time and again reminded us during the socialist revolution and construction that socialist industrialization cannot proceed in isolation, independent of the development of socialist agriculture; that the proportional relations in developing heavy industry, light industry and agriculture must be handled in a proper way; and that full attention must be paid to the development of agriculture and light industry. He said: "As China is a great agricultural country, with over eighty per cent of its population in the villages, its industry and agriculture must be developed simultaneously. Only then will industry have raw materials and a market, and only so will it be possible to accumulate fairly large funds for the building up of a powerful heavy industry. . . . The entire national economy will benefit if we can achieve an even greater growth in our agriculture and thus induce a correspondingly greater development of light industry. . . . With the development of agriculture and light industry, heavy industry will be assured of its market and funds, and thus grow faster."⁴ Particular mention should be made of the fact that, basing themselves on the practical experience of socialist construction in China, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have put forward the general policy of de-

veloping the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. This means that socialist construction in our country must take agricultural development as its point of departure; that the plan for developing the national economy must be drawn up in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry; that the work of the various industrial branches must be readjusted according to the policy of making agriculture the foundation of the national economy, and that on this basis, a comprehensive industrial system is built up step by step. Implementation of this policy ensures that the development of agricultural production in our country will be speeded up, satisfying the ever growing demands of the urban and rural population for agricultural and side-line products as quickly as possible. It also guarantees that the growth of agriculture will correspond with that of industry, supplying it with plentiful raw materials and funds and opening up a vast market. This will help to accelerate industrial development. Industrial development in turn will enable industry to play its leading role better and give powerful support to agriculture, providing up-to-date equipment for its technical transformation and creating the proper conditions for its modernization. Thus a powerful agriculture will be created as the foundation, and a developed industry as the leading factor of the national economy. In proper combination these two will ensure that the entire national economy advances in proportion and at high speed.

The practical experience of socialist construction in our country has confirmed the complete correctness of this policy advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It gives accurate expression to the inner link under the socialist system between agriculture on the one hand and industry and other branches of the economy on the other. It has made clear an important law of development of socialist economy. This is a great contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

What road should a socialist country take to find a fundamental solution to the agricultural question and make agriculture really play its role as the foundation of the national economy? There can be no question of maintaining a small peasant economy. The road of large-scale capitalist agriculture is even more incompatible with socialism. Collectivization of agriculture is the common road all socialist countries must take. Strictly adhering to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party has steadfastly carried out the socialist transformation of agriculture and taken the road of building a large-scale socialist agriculture. The fundamental line advanced by the Party for transforming agriculture is first to collectivize it and then, on the basis of collectivization, introduce extensive irrigation and widespread use of chemical fertilizers, insecticides and other farm chemicals and to bring about mechanization and electrification. In a comparatively short period of time, about 110 million peasant households throughout the country switched over from individual farming to collective management and agricultural co-operation was realized throughout the rural

⁴ Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, pp.67-68.

areas. This was achieved by adopting without any interruption immediately after thorough completion of the anti-feudal land reform the methods of employing typical examples to show the way and gradual popularization and of passing through flexible transitional forms at different stages (temporary and year-round mutual-aid teams, elementary and advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives).

The People's Commune — A Logical Outcome of Economic and Political Development in China

Co-operation in agriculture gave a great impetus to the development of agricultural production, carrying the output of grain, cotton and other crops in China far beyond their past peak levels and thereby bringing about a new upsurge of the national economy as a whole. With the completion of the First Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy, China laid down an initial foundation for socialist industrialization. As a result, industry was able to give far greater support to agriculture than ever before and a start was made in creating the material conditions needed for the gradual modernization of China's agriculture. In 1958 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party put forward the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. This greatly inspired the enthusiasm of the people throughout the country in building socialism; a situation of a great leap forward then emerged in China's socialist construction. This further brought into play the initiative of the broad mass of peasants who universally demanded large-scale capital construction on the farms, the development of a diversified economy and a rapid end to the state of agricultural backwardness existing in China.

In this situation, the agricultural producers' co-operative as a comparatively small collective economic organization very clearly revealed its limitations and inner contradictions, namely: the contradiction between the need for mutual aid and co-operation on a still broader scope to build water conservancy projects on a large scale and the small scale of the agricultural producers' co-operative; the contradiction between the need to make multiple use of natural resources and to develop a diversified economy on the one hand and on the other hand the characteristic of the agricultural producers' co-operative to concentrate on only one branch of agriculture; the contradiction between the need for appropriate co-operation between agricultural producers' co-operatives and the separate managements of these co-operatives. These and other contradictions all demanded that the limits imposed by the relatively narrow scope of the agricultural producers' co-operatives be broken through. To solve these contradictions, the peasant masses in many parts of the country volunteered to merge and enlarge their agricultural producers' co-operatives and, in some places, even took a further step to organize federations of co-operatives which possessed the rudimentary features of the peo-

ple's commune and were in reality its embryonic form.

Making a timely summing up of the experiences and creations of the masses, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung adopted the Resolution on the Establishment of People's Communes in the Rural Areas. As a result, the people's communes movement quickly spread in a guided way on a nationwide scale. The people's communes, which are large in scale, go in for a diversified economy, and the all-round development of agriculture, forestry, livestock farming and side-occupations in particular, and integrate local government administration and commune management; they have since become a new form of social organization in China's rural areas. This shows that the emergence of the people's communes was not accidental. It was a logical outcome of economic and political development in China.

The birth of the people's communes opened up a still better way to develop the productive forces of agriculture, modernize it and consolidate the socialist collective economy. And with the appearance of the people's communes, a new form of social organization, we have found a concrete path of transition in agriculture from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, a path along which the rural areas of China will be guided for the victorious march towards communism in the future.

Great Achievements of People's Communes

The five years since the birth of the people's communes have seen tremendous changes in China's countryside. It is the same in Kwangtung as in the rest of China. The dynamic strength of the communes has brought about big increases in agricultural production, improvements in the material and cultural life of the peasants and marked changes in the outlook of the people. In the past five years Kwangtung Province suffered two extraordinarily big natural calamities: heavy floods in 1959 and serious drought in 1963. But, by relying on the strength of the people's communes, these two big natural calamities were overcome. Particular mention should be made of the fact that although in 1963 the province was without sufficient rainfall for eight to nine months running — the longest drought in 60 years — grain production, taking the province as a whole, increased by 1,100 million *jin* as compared with 1962. In 1963 the yield per *mu* of paddyrice in 16 counties and municipal areas reached or exceeded the 800 *jin* target set by the National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-67). There were also big increases in the output of industrial crops and in herds and flocks. Compared with 1962, the output of sugar cane and jute increased by more than 80 per cent and the number of pigs by 34 per cent.

What is the cause of such wonders? They were achieved because the big advantages of the people's communes have been brought into full play. A great deal of work went into this.

First, a large number of water conservancy works have been built and mechanization and electrification



Transplanting rice seedlings in fields watered by electric pumps (Namhoi County)

of these have been introduced in certain areas. As a result, farm production conditions have greatly improved. There are 90,515 small, large and medium-sized water storage works in the province with a total capacity of 30,000 million cubic metres of water. Apart from those for generating electricity and preventing flood, the reservoirs used for irrigation have a holding capacity of 14,000 million cubic metres. These include 22 large reservoirs and 173 medium-sized ones. One large and 18 medium-sized reservoirs were built before 1957; all the rest were built after the setting up of the communes. The province now has electric irrigation equipment with a total capacity of 246,700 horsepower, all set up after the establishment of the people's communes, and mechanized irrigation equipment with a total capacity of 135,900 horsepower, over 80 per cent of which was commissioned after the communes were formed.

Water conservancy is the lifeline of agricultural production. These irrigation facilities have given a new look to farming. In the early years of liberation, most of the province's irrigated land was dependent on the whims of weather. There were less than 10 million *mu* of land with guaranteed irrigation (able to withstand drought for more than 60 days). By 1957 there was still no more than 14 million *mu* in this category. By 1963 such land had expanded to 24 million *mu*. When all the facilities of existing water conservancy works are rounded out by the building of all necessary subsidiary projects and all are better managed and put to efficient use, then the area of land with guaranteed irrigation will be about 30 million *mu* or roughly about 90 per cent of the province's irrigated land.

In recent years in addition to the introduction of large-scale electrification and mechanization in water conservancy (covering both drainage and irrigation), partial mechanization has also begun to be introduced

in farming. There have been considerable increases in the number of tractors and new types of farm implements being used.

Secondly, farming methods have been improved in a planned way and on a large scale. To increase agricultural production by improved farming methods has always been a universal aspiration of the peasants, but this could hardly be carried out in the past when individual farming prevailed. The small, extremely weak, individual farms of the past were in no position to reform the techniques of agriculture; they did not dare to run the risks involved. Limitations in manpower and resources also made it impossible even for farm co-operatives to engage in such efforts of reform on a big scale. Since the people's communes were established,

however, with their enhanced collective power and better water conservancy facilities, practically every area has energetically experimented with new farming techniques, and has obtained good results. Many counties and communes have a certain number of their own agro-technicians and most of them have set up agro-technical stations. These have done a great deal of work in rational close planting, cultivation and popularization of good strains of seeds, soil amelioration and reforms in farming systems and methods. They have given a good account of themselves. Many places have put a great deal of effort and energy into the cultivation and popularization of good strains of rice seeds and the result has been remarkable. In many counties, ranging from the county itself, the communes, and production brigades down to production teams, a system has been introduced under which special personnel are assigned the job of taking care of seeds, and lands are allocated for seed growing. Seed selection and the breeding and popularization of improved seeds have taken on something of the character of a mass activity. There were many defects in the varieties of early rice sown in the province. But as a result of the work done in these fields during the past few years, good strains of early rice seeds have been introduced in most areas of the province and the output of early rice has increased.

Rational close planting of paddy rice seedlings was already being promoted during the period of agricultural co-operatives, but it could not be carried out on a wide scale. After the establishment of people's communes, and thanks to the energetic leadership and impetus given by them, as well as experiments and the encouraging examples provided by the agro-technical stations, it has been possible step by step to set standards of close planting suited to the different areas and varieties of seed used. Rational close planting of

rice seedlings has become a regular practice among the peasants. It is, in fact, now practically universally done throughout the province.

Thirdly, under the unified leadership and overall planning of the people's communes, resources have been utilized in a comprehensive and better way, manpower and land have been used more rationally, a diversified rural economy has been developed in a way suited to the various localities, and an overall growth of agricultural and subsidiary production has been achieved. This is an important indication that agriculture has gradually freed itself from the inevitable limitations of small-scale management. In recent years, many communes in the province have succeeded in making very good production arrangements for the teams under them. Areas growing marketable grain have concentrated their efforts on producing food crops while at the same time developing livestock breeding. Areas growing industrial crops have also grown food crops while allocating a larger acreage for peanuts and sugar cane. The suburban farms have concentrated their efforts on growing more vegetables and raising more geese and ducks, and made arrangements for their surplus manpower to engage in short-distance transport and other seasonal side-lines.

It must be added that in the days of agricultural co-operatives, some plots of the land of different co-operatives were intermingled and so it was difficult to make rational use of land, or carry on large-scale irrigation work, mechanization or electrification. At that time, many areas had hoped to solve this problem, but because of divergences of views among the different co-ops nothing was done about it. After the communes were set up, cultivated land has been adjusted in a unified way and consequently this question is now handled more satisfactorily.

The Road of Common Prosperity

Fourthly, displaying the communist spirit of mutual aid and co-operation while upholding the principles of "to each according to his work" and of equivalent exchanges, energetic efforts have been made to help the poorer teams develop production, so that everyone can gradually take the road of common prosperity. As a result, the better-off teams which have relatively favourable conditions for production and a relatively high income, have become richer, while the poorer teams with relatively less favourable conditions for production and relatively low incomes, have got out of their former poverty and backwardness and are catching up. In Kwangtung Province, at the time the communes were first established, more than one-fourth of all the production teams ranked as poorer teams. Today, such teams constitute only about one-sixth of the total, a reduction of 30 to 40 per cent in the last five years. Over a good part of the province only a few such teams remain.

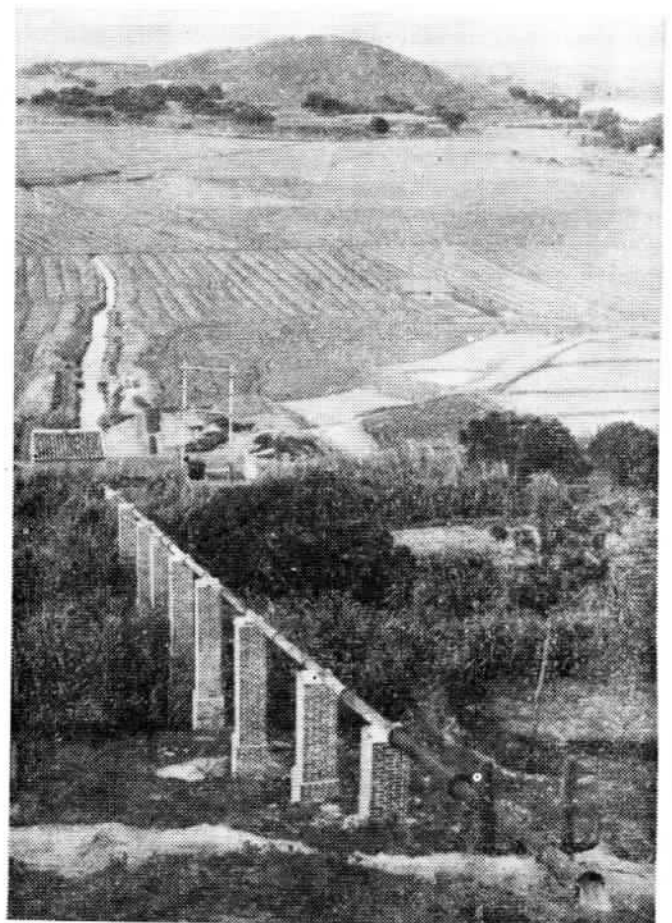
The Xinhua Commune in Fahsien County, started off with 129 better-off production teams. In the five years following the commune's establishment, as a result of improvements in farming conditions, over 85 per cent of these teams have increased their output and

income every year; in the last three years, all of them increased their output and income.

In the last five years, the Xinhua Commune, besides doing its best to help its poorer teams by improving its leadership to them in every respect, has made a big effort in organizing co-operation between teams on the principle of equivalent exchanges. It has also appropriated 590,000 yuan from the public accumulation fund (i.e., about 10 per cent of the fund) to help the poorer teams solve their production difficulties. Today, most of these poorer teams—96 out of 98—have improved production and begun to become better off.

The Dongjing Brigade of this commune consists of more than 600 households. Suffering drought nine years out of ten in the past, it never raised more than 300 *jin* of rice per *mu* in its paddyfields. In the last few years, however, its paddyrice output has been going up year by year. With the help of the commune it resolutely tackled its water conservancy problems and took steps to level off its arable land, to introduce intensive farming practices, improve the strains of seed used and develop a diversified economy. In five years, its output of paddyrice increased by an average of more than 30 per cent per year; in 1963 its plan to become a "1,000 *jin* per *mu* brigade" was realized. While in 1957 this brigade still needed to buy 500,000 *jin* of rice from the state, in 1962 it was able to sell the state 1.23 million *jin* of rice.

Fifthly, the material well-being of commune members in general has been improved while a radical



Pipeline bringing water to upland farms (Tungkun County)

change has been brought about in the outlook of the peasant masses.

There has been a marked improvement in the life of the mass of commune members in the five years since the establishment of the communes, and particularly in the last two years. Data collected from Namhoi County well illustrate this. Located amid a network of waterways in the Pearl River Delta, it enjoys, in general, fairly favourable farming conditions and its peasants are not badly off by Kwangtung standards. But, prior to establishment of the communes, production there was still unstable because its water conservancy problems had not yet been fundamentally solved; waterlogging was a frequent occurrence and part of its arable uplands was constantly plagued with drought. When the communes were set up there the people embarked on a number of large-scale water conservancy projects and, after five years of hard work, completed a fairly well-knit electrically powered drainage and irrigation network that criss-crossed the county. This has radically changed its natural conditions. Together with the energetic introduction of improved strains of seed and better methods of farming, this has brought about a substantial increase in agricultural production. The county's total paddy output went up from 295 million *jin* in 1957 to 503 million *jin* in 1963, a more than 70 per cent increase. In 1963 alone, the paddy output registered an increase of 114 million *jin*; this was an average increase of over 200 *jin* per *mu* for the county's 520,000 *mu* of land under cultivation. The output of industrial crops too has been rapidly restored and increased. Among side-occupations there has been a rapid increase in the number of pigs and poultry. With the growth of production, there has been a considerable increase in collective income; the amount of money income distributed by the collectives among the commune members in 1963 was nearly double what it was in 1957. Although per capita grain consumption in the county has always been relatively high, it registered another 20 per cent increase in 1963 compared with 1957. The purchasing power of commune members too has greatly increased, resulting in a 50 per cent rise in retail sales in 1963 compared with 1958. The peasants of Namhoi County already enjoyed a relatively high standard of living for Kwangtung Province. It was after the communes were set up that they improved on those standards by such a wide margin. No wonder they are well satisfied with their communes.

New Revolution in Peasants' Thinking

Social being determines man's consciousness. The people's commune is a brand-new institution whose birth inevitably brings about a new revolution in the minds of the peasant masses. Their fate is becoming more and more closely linked with the powerful material foundation the people's communes have built up; they are more firmly wed to the idea of reliance on collective effort. The position of socialism has thus been further consolidated in our countryside. Since their establishment the communes and their production brigades and teams have followed in distributing income the principle of "from each according to his

ability, to each according to his work," and "he who works more shall receive more and he who does not work neither shall he eat." At the same time, a reasonable amount, based on the growth of production, is put aside in public reserve and welfare funds by the communes. Part of these funds is used to help the poorer teams and households experiencing difficulties so that they too can expand production. Co-operation in production among the production teams are also extensively organized for the same purpose. The small number of commune members who are either aged, physically weak, orphaned, widowed or disabled and families in material difficulties, are being properly looked after by the communes as regards work and livelihood and are assured of their basic daily needs. In this way it is made possible for all the production teams of a commune to take the road of common prosperity step by step, and for commune members in general and without exception to lead a secure life that is getting better and better every day; the polarization into rich and poor that is inevitable under the conditions of a small peasant economy can thus be avoided. All this, plus the integration of local government administration with commune management, has advanced political and ideological education among the commune members and indubitably had a powerful effect on the minds of the people. The broad mass of commune members have thus become more socialist and patriotic minded. Today, the commune leadership at all levels as well as its rank-and-file members have all made a point of selling their farm produce and family side-occupation products to the state promptly and according to specified amounts and standards of quality. Today, young men and women consider it their sacred duty to join the people's militia and guard the frontiers in co-ordination with the People's Liberation Army. In recent years our people's militia have thrown themselves heroically into the fight and rendered distinguished service in the struggle against the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek special agents who try to harass the coastal regions. Reliance on collective effort and love of the collective is becoming a more and more widespread, deep-rooted social practice. There is also a growth of the communist spirit in which each individual or collective helps and shows his or its concern for others. The mentality and habits of the peasants developed over long years of small private ownership are being quickly transformed under the people's commune system. This is of very great significance as a guarantee of the victory of socialism and the future transition to communism in our country.

Five years are only a moment in history, but in this brief span of time the people's commune as an institution has already shown the first signs of its unrivalled superiority and made great achievements. It can be said that without reliance on the strength of the people's commune it would have been difficult to accomplish any one of the things mentioned above; it can also be said that in their continued advance, the people's communes will continue to display their superiority and achieve still more brilliant successes.

(To be concluded.)

China Supports Palestinian and Arab People

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

A RALLY demonstrating China's firm support for the Palestinian and Arab people's struggle against U.S. imperialism was held in Peking on March 20.

Strung out across the meeting place were the slogans: "Support the Palestinian people's struggle to regain their legitimate rights and return to their homes!" and "Support the just struggle of the people of the Arab countries against imperialism and old and new colonialism."

Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and leaders of seven other organizations which sponsored the rally were among those present. The diplomatic envoys of Morocco, the United Arab Republic and Syria and guests from Palestine also took part.

Mao Tun, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, addressed the rally. Among the speakers were the Moroccan Ambassador to China Abderrahmane Zniber who spoke on behalf of the diplomatic envoys of the Arab countries in China, and Mohammed Refaat, a guest from Palestine.

Final Victory Will Be Won

Strongly condemning U.S. imperialism for its long and active aggression against the Arab countries, Mao Tun stressed that the United States instigated Israel to engage in provocative acts. To enlarge its scheme, he added, U.S. imperialism recently aided and abetted Israel to change the course of the Jordan River, posing a grave threat to the people of Palestine and the Arab countries. In mid-January this year, he recalled, the meeting of the heads of the Arab countries decided to strengthen their unity and take collective action in defeating the aggressive, expansionist intrigues against all Arabs. This meeting, though praised by the world's people, came under unwarranted attack by U.S. imperialism. The speaker noted that an angry tide of protest against U.S. imperialism had swept the Arab world.

Mao Tun declared: "The Chinese people strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for abetting Israel to engage in a new provocation against the Arab people and fully support the just demands of the people of Palestine and the Arab countries. Together with them, the Chinese people will wage a determined struggle against the common enemy—U.S. imperialism."

He expressed the conviction that with their expanding strength the Arab people would win final victory.

In his speech, Moroccan Ambassador Abderrahmane Zniber said that the Palestine question not only concerned the Arab people, but all those who loved peace and upheld justice. It was a product of imperialist aggression. The more than 2 million Palestine refugees "have one hope, one expectation and one right and this is that with the support of their Arab brothers and those who assist them in their struggle against imperialism, persecution and invasion they will return to their homes," the Ambassador stressed.

After him, Mohammed Refaat took the floor. He pointed out that Israel was built up by money, soldiers and weapons from the U.S. and British imperialists and the Zionists. "Moreover," he continued, "imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, is resorting to new tactics of using Israel to infiltrate Africa and Asia, and the newly emerging Asian and African states that have won their independence through struggle."

"We, the struggling people, are determined to throw ourselves into the struggle with devotion, honour and perseverance. Either to live proudly on our own land, or to die gloriously for our cause."

U.S. Imperialism — Enemy of the Arab People

Expressing support for the just struggle of the Palestinian and Arab people, *Renmin Ribao* published an editorial on March 17.

The editorial pointed out that the legitimate desire of the Arab countries to preserve their national sovereignty and national interests had been subjected to U.S. imperialist intervention. "The U.S. Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Alexis Johnson, has openly declared that the United States intended to 'act to ensure the security and integrity of the individual states of the area—including Israel,'" the editorial said. "Actually, what he means is to browbeat the Arab countries with the threat of force so as to support Israel's aggression and expansion. This was followed by a speech made by U.S. President Johnson who declared that the United States would co-operate with Israel in the use of nuclear force, adding that 'we have the capacity to destroy any enemy—anywhere' and 'that is why even the seemingly small disputes between small countries . . . the eruption of trouble somewhere in the world are all very important' to the United

States. This is clearly open support for Israel and an attempt to apply pressure on and threaten the Arab countries."

"U.S. imperialism," the editorial continued, "arrogantly regards itself as the supreme arbiter of the fate of the Arab countries; it openly declares that it has the right to interfere in the affairs of the Arab region, and meddle with the independence, sovereignty and national interests of the Arab countries. In the eyes of this overweening and yet blindly stupid U.S. imperialism, the Arab region is nothing but a 'vacuum' for it to fill and there can be no such thing as Arab independence and sovereignty, nor respect for the interests of the Arab people."

Describing the struggle of the people of the Arab countries as part of the world people's struggle, the editorial emphasized: "By not allowing U.S. imperialism to act as their 'protector,' by checking its arrogance in throwing its weight about in complete violation of justice, and shattering its aggressive plots against the Arab countries, the Arab people will be giving very great encouragement and support to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their

struggle against U.S. imperialism and to win or safeguard their national independence."

China's Stand

Reaffirming China's stand, the editorial stressed: "The Chinese people have always resolutely supported the restoration of the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The Chinese people, too, have always given resolute support to the Arab people and the peoples of the African countries in their struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and defend their national independence. The Chinese people hold that the national sovereignty of the Arab countries should be respected by all other countries and that aggression and intervention from any quarter should be opposed. Premier Chou En-lai in his tour of African countries time and again affirmed this just and solemn stand of the Chinese Government and people. The Chinese people will resolutely uphold this stand, and give full support to the people of Palestine and the Arab countries in their struggle against U.S. imperialism, a struggle which the Chinese people regard as a powerful help in their own struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression."

In the Imperialist Camp

Division and Realignment

by YUAN HSIEN-LU

LEADERS of the NATO bloc countries have been in frequent contact of late. The United States held talks with West Germany first, then with Italy, Canada and Britain. Such exchanges between West European countries have been greater. Diplomatic activity, such as this, reveals more than in the past that contradictions among the imperialist countries have become still deeper and sharper. It points up the great cleavage in the imperialist camp and the fact that the realignment of different forces within it is being stepped up.

Underlying the extremely complicated imperialist contradictions is the overt and covert struggle that has been going on all the time between the United States trying to control its allies and the latter opposing its control.

U.S. Trying to Retain Hegemony

When Lyndon Johnson took office as President of the United States, he was confronted with a plethora of thorny foreign affairs problems inherited from John F. Kennedy. Because he had not yet got a firm footing at that time he did his best to steer clear of sharp contradictions with the allied countries. In effect, to preserve American hegemony, Johnson has been resorting to all kinds of subterfuges. His tactics have been mainly those of his predecessor, Ken-

nedy: to isolate France in all fields so as to get rid of the chief obstacle in the way of the U.S. plan to control Western Europe. Much has been done to win over the other five Common Market countries, and in particular West Germany. Taking advantage of Britain's difficult position, Johnson has been forcing it to follow Washington more obediently and thereby act as a counter-weight against France.

These tactics have been made more obvious in Washington's talks with its allies. Part of the arrangement to raise West Germany's position was to invite Chancellor Erhard to Washington first. In talks with Erhard the American President proposed setting up "special relations" with the West Germans, promising to consult Bonn before any eventual U.S.-Soviet talks. The American press has made no secret that by winning West Germany to its side the United States is undermining Bonn-Paris relations. Soon after the talks concluded *U.S. News & World Report* wishfully wrote: "A Washington-Bonn axis is under construction," adding that "there is a new and growing chill between Paris and Bonn."

In his talks with Italian President Segni, Johnson also tried in many ways to butter up Italy. His talks with British Prime Minister Home, which took place later, however, had led to expressions of indignation

by some London papers to the effect that Britain's position had been whittled down. During the Johnson-Home talks there were many differences that could not be ironed out although much bargaining took place. Nevertheless, the communique issued after the talks, apart from its statement to maintain "a strong and united Western alliance," let it be known that "the widest possible political and economic co-operation in Europe within a broad Atlantic partnership remains a common aim of United States and British policy." This has been viewed as some kind of pressure brought to bear on France.

In the face of this Washington manoeuvre, each of its allies has its own consideration arising out of individual interests. Thus complex imperialist relations, in which each tries to outwit the other, have become all the more complicated and delicate.

France Claims an Equal Share

French-American relations at present are in a highly antagonistic state. According to the Western press, failure to arrange Johnson-de Gaulle talks is eloquent testimony to the irreconcilable differences between the two countries.

As a major power in the capitalist world France never will reconcile itself to act at the beck and call of the United States. Unlike the past, when Washington's allies only wanted more of a say while still acknowledging U.S. leadership, France now asks for the discarding of this hegemony altogether and an equal share in Western leadership. De Gaulle has declared unequivocally his intention to "change what characterizes the post-war French-U.S. relations, i.e., unity dominated by the overlord." In this respect France has adopted a number of political, economic and military measures diametrically opposed to the American plan for "a Europe within the Atlantic community."

France has done much to make its position stronger. De Gaulle talked with both Erhard and Segni after they returned from Washington, stressing the need to increase Common Market co-operation. Steps, too, have been taken to smooth relations, as well as to increase bilateral contacts, between London and Paris. France continues to counter the United States within the NATO bloc and in East-West relations. Taking advantage of Washington's problems, France also has been very active all over the world in order to increase its influence in international affairs so that it may be able to cope with the United States more effectively.

By carrying out this kind of "world policy" France is now thrusting the spearhead of its activities towards Asia where the American policy of aggression constantly has met serious setbacks. France is particularly keen on Southeast Asia where it has "traditional ties." Following Cambodia's rejection of U.S. "aid," France decided to offer its own. At a time when U.S. aggression is bogged down in south Viet Nam, France, after proposing neutralizing south Viet Nam, made a new proposal for the conclusion of a neutrality

treaty of the Southeast Asian countries. And under circumstances which find Japan tending to fall out of Washington's orbit, Paris has been establishing constant contacts with the Japanese. Of special note is that despite Washington's objection and obstruction, France has gone ahead to establish diplomatic relations with China—a step of far-reaching influence. Along with all this, France has been expanding its activities in Latin America. De Gaulle's Latin American visits in March and autumn of this year has been described by French officialdom as the portent of the return of France to this part of the world. All these French exploits have served to galvanize further French-American contradictions. As the *New York Times* put it, "Franco-American relations, which have been steadily deteriorating, now head towards global confrontation."

West Germany Fishing in Troubled Waters

On the heels of sharpening U.S.-French contradictions West Germany finds itself being wooed by both parties. Taking advantage of its special position, it is fishing in troubled waters, employing the tactic of being pro-U.S., allying itself with France and appeasing Britain.

By boosting West Germany's position, Washington is behaving exactly as Bonn calculated. Returning from his visit to the United States, Erhard announced that a new phase had been reached in Washington-Bonn relations, and that the two countries will "inform each other and consult each other on all questions."

However, Washington's purpose in placing West Germany in the forefront is to tighten its own grip on the latter, while it is Bonn's intention to seize the opportunity to make itself a "full-fledged big power." On this fundamental question there is a contradiction between the two. This is why Erhard has flatly stated that West Germany is "not an American protectorate." West Germany is aware that the Bonn-Paris axis is an important asset in bargaining with Washington.

It is precisely because of this that Erhard, following his return from the United States, repeated that "friendship and reconciliation" between France and West Germany is "the foundation of West German policy." In February he went to Paris to talk with de Gaulle. Although many difficulties were not overcome both parties agreed on "close co-operation" in "supplying development aid" to the Latin American countries. Agreement also was reached on the problem of tariff reduction in the Common Market. The *New York Times* wrote uneasily: "These agreements must inevitably have far-reaching political consequences."

Besides flirting with Washington and Paris the West Germans are courting Britain. In this way Bonn not only will be able to strengthen its position vis-a-vis the United States and France; it will also facilitate West German economic expansion inside the British Commonwealth and in the British-influenced Free Trade Area. Not long ago Erhard went to Britain and on many occasions gave much importance to

Britain's entry into the Common Market and that country's part in European affairs—this is the way in which Bonn tries to win over London.

The West German tactic is threefold: pro-U.S., alliance with France and appeasing Britain. In the light of the prevailing situation and in its own interests Bonn places particular emphasis on one or the other aspect of its threefold tactic. For some time to come the wooing of many for practical purposes will be in vogue.

Britain on Horns of a Dilemma

In contrast to the rising stature of West Germany, the British position in the Western camp as second in command has been on the decline following its acceptance of the Nassau Agreement and, later, its failure to get into the Common Market.

Bent on strengthening its position, Britain lately has emphasized a policy of independence in various matters. Home repeatedly has indicated that his country will retain an independent nuclear force of its own and have a say in world affairs. In East-West relations Britain also wishes to have its role as a diplomatic broker restored, and to take part in U.S.-Soviet talks in order to be considered a "first-class power." Both Home and Foreign Secretary Butler have indicated this since the end of last year. Meanwhile, Britain has been very active in Western Europe. While doing its best to ease relations with France, it also has been wooing West Germany and Italy in an attempt to isolate France, the only country which bitterly opposes it in the Common Market.



The Conductor

Cartoon by Chiang Yu-sheng

March 27, 1964

However, results have not lived up to London's expectations. It must remain a weak opponent in dealing with the United States because Washington's help still is needed on many problems—such as "Malaysia" and Cyprus—and especially because Britain still hopes to consolidate its big-power status by means of an Anglo-American alliance. As to getting into the Common Market, chances are so slim that Home not long ago was forced to state that this question would not be considered before the general elections. For some time to come it appears that Britain will remain on the horns of its present dilemma.

Rising Tempo of Disintegration

Seizing on Washington's predicament, other U.S. allies likewise are more or less strengthening their own independent positions. Except for West Germany practically all other West European countries are cold-shouldering the U.S. multilateral nuclear project. During the Trade Expansion Act talks many of these countries challenged the United States. A number of its allies are trading with socialist Cuba in opposition to Washington's will; not even American threats to stop "aid" can make them change their attitude. The *Washington Evening Star* recently observed that there is a growing tendency in European capitals of "everybody for himself" with many eyes turning towards Paris and de Gaulle.

This tendency is not confined to Western Europe. Before visiting the United States, Canadian Prime Minister Pearson went to Paris where he expressed the hope that the French voice in the NATO bloc would remain powerful and unmistakable. Japan, too, has been affected by "de Gaulle fever" and has been in very close contact with France. No wonder the *Chicago Sun-Times* expressed grave concern, saying, "It has left us with fewer dependable allies."

In short, Washington has been deserted and forsaken by its allies in the imperialist camp. As its worldwide policy of aggression and war meets with more and greater defeats, these allies increasingly refuse to reconcile themselves to U.S. control, intervention and bullying. The struggle against U.S. domination is bound to become more widespread and fiercer. However, as the most powerful imperialist country the United States still exercises considerable influence on the policies of many Western countries. Moreover, these countries all have made it clear that they are at one with the United States on matters affecting the fundamental interests of the imperialist world. Hence the slogan of "Western unity" despite the struggle with the United States. Also, some compromises at times among the antagonists over certain matters are entirely possible. Therefore, the struggle will have its ups and downs, periods of tension and of relaxation. But it is becoming increasingly evident that in the process of the imperialist camp's disintegration a realignment of forces is taking place with the U.S.-French struggle as its focal point. How this realignment will work out remains to be seen.

Holding High Six Revolutionary Banners to Smash Revisionism

Resolution of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee Of the Indonesian Communist Party Concerning the Political Report of the Political Bureau

Following are extracts of the resolution passed by the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party approving the political report delivered by Chairman D.N. Aidit. The resolution was published by the Party organ "Harian Rakjat" on January 15. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party held in Djakarta between December 23 and 26, 1963, having heard and thoroughly discussed the political report of the Political Bureau delivered by Comrade D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Party's Central Committee, passed unanimously a resolution approving the report in its entirety and calling on all members of the Party and the progressives to work together to fulfil the urgent tasks at home and abroad, as outlined in the political report."

Highly Favourable International Situation

The resolution points out: "The plenum agrees fully with the statement in the report that the international situation is highly favourable for the development of the revolutionary forces throughout the world and increasingly unfavourable for the forces of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, revisionism and other reactionaries in the world. The struggle of the peoples of the world against the imperialist policies—policies of aggression, subversion and intervention—to win national independence, democracy, world peace and socialism, continues to advance. The 'global strategy' of the imperialists has suffered setbacks everywhere. The balance of forces within the imperialist camp is undergoing a profound change."

"As the analysis in the political report correctly shows, this part of Asia (Southeast Asia) is one of the regions which are the focal points of the world's main contradictions. Here the tide of revolution is on the upsurge and the conditions for revolution are ripening."

"The Communist Parties of those countries in this region which are still striving for national liberation, face, in common, the following principal tasks: 1. to draw as many people as possible into the national front; 2. to go to the countryside on the widest possible scale to build the worker-peasant alliance; 3. to

strengthen the Party's leadership of the masses and to be good at using all forms of struggle; and 4. to strengthen the people's co-operation with the Communist Parties in the Southeast Asian countries. These are the four magic weapons to remove the four mountains of evil—imperialism, feudalism, comprador-capitalism and bureaucrat capitalism."

Four Fundamental Contradictions

The resolution says: "The plenum reaffirms the conclusion of the political report that there exist in the contemporary world four fundamental contradictions: 1. the contradiction between socialism and imperialism (monopoly capitalism); 2. that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries; 3. that between the oppressed nations and imperialism; and 4. that among the imperialist countries themselves. Today, the contradiction between socialism and imperialism (monopoly capitalism) and that between the oppressed nations and imperialism form two great currents which merge into one revolutionary tide against imperialism. Therefore, these two contradictions are the main contradictions in the contemporary world. In view of the fact that the situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America is daily developing and ripening in favour of revolution, it is clear that the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism is the major one of these two.

"Only when the people, under the leadership of the revolutionaries, have risen and overthrown the bourgeois regime completely, will there be the possibility of solving the four contradictions. The solution, therefore, lies only in revolutionary means.

"The overthrow of the bourgeoisie is not a simple process. Consequently, it is a great mistake to think that the restoration of capitalism cannot possibly take place in socialist countries."

The Importance of Revolutions in Asia, Africa And Latin America

"The plenum," the resolution states, "repudiates the idea that 'Europe is the centre' [of the world revolutionary storm] as maintained by certain persons who hold that the main contradiction is in capitalist Europe

where the outbreak of proletarian revolution is most likely. It regards this idea as a variant of the dogmatic views on proletarian revolution taken by opportunist Parties of the Second International. Lenin himself proved this by his theory and practice in the Great October Revolution. He maintained that revolution would not first break out in the advanced capitalist countries, but at the weakest link in the chain of imperialism.

"Certain Communists maintain that if we consider the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism as the main contradiction, it means placing the peasantry in the leadership of the revolution. Such people, in the opinion of the plenum, are in fact wavering in their faith in the necessity of working-class leadership. We Communists have no reason to entertain any doubt about the necessity of this leadership in a revolution, as there has not been and never will be a single instance where the peasants triumphed in their revolution without working-class leadership. Marx, Engels and Lenin had all shown the utmost concern for the countryside and the colonies, that is, for the peasants.

"The plenum attaches great importance to the conclusion of the political report that from a worldwide viewpoint, Asia, Africa and Latin America represent the countryside of the world, while Europe and North America are its cities; that in order to win the victory of world revolution, the world proletariat must assign an important place to revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that is to say, to the revolution in the countryside of the world."

"The plenum," the resolution adds, "is in unanimous agreement with the critique in the political report of the view that national-independence struggles cannot succeed without assistance from the socialist countries."

Revisionists Are Volunteers for Imperialism

The resolution says: "The plenum stresses the two important experiences summed up in the political report. First, the experience from the holding of GANEFO (Games of the New Emerging Forces) shows that the task of smashing modern revisionism is not confined to Communists but that it concerns all patriots opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The revisionists are volunteers for the imperialists politically and ideologically.

"The second experience is that all our successes are due to the fact that we have brought into full play among the Communists and people of Indonesia the *banteng* (wild bull) spirit, the spirit of having confidence in and relying on one's own efforts, and the spirit of firmly defending the revolutionary stand and 'determinedly marching forward and never retreating.'"

Touching on the question of smashing "Malaysia," the resolution says: "In executing the tasks of smashing 'Malaysia' it must not be forgotten that U.S. imperialism is the most dangerous and number one enemy of the Indonesian people. U.S. imperialism has a great need to preserve 'Malaysia,' a form of neo-colonialism.

Therefore, the struggle against 'Malaysia' means opposition not only to British imperialism but also to U.S. imperialism."

The resolution points out that the armed struggle of the people of North Kalimantan plays the most decisive part in the liberation of North Kalimantan. The liberation of North Kalimantan depends on the people themselves.

On the question of the U.S.-Britain-U.S.S.R. tripartite Moscow treaty, the resolution says that the plenum fully agrees with the conclusion of the political report that it would have been much better had there been no such treaty. Events have also proved that since the signing of the treaty the world peace movement has been paralysed. The ceaseless underground nuclear tests of the United States meet with no opposition because they have the approval of the treaty.

"The Indonesian Communists," the resolution says, "still call for the dumping of all nuclear weapons into the sea, for a complete ban on the testing, manufacturing, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons and for effective supervision over these. Our position on nuclear weapons is that though the discovery of nuclear energy influences the development of the social forces of production yet it does not change the laws of social development. Therefore, we are not to bow before the imperialist nuclear blackmail; we oppose the fetishism of nuclear weapons and condemn blind faith in them."

Communist Construction Impossible When World Imperialism Exists

"The plenum," the resolution states, "fully agrees with the conclusion of the political report that so long as world imperialism exists it is impossible, irresponsible and not in conformity with the spirit of proletarian internationalism to carry out communist construction in one or several countries. When the socialist countries are still menaced by imperialism militarily and ideologically, their economic construction is greatly hindered. Furthermore, all the socialist countries are duty-bound to do their best to strengthen the proletarian states and turn them into the most important instrument for smashing imperialism in the world and suppressing the remnants of the bourgeois forces at home.

"Peace is the prerequisite for the building of communist society. But the world today is confronted with two eventualities: war and peace. Therefore, the plenum holds that under these conditions the plan to build communist society can only be a subjective plan that weakens the world revolutionary movement. This subjective plan idealizes the present international situation, prettifies the imperialists and their chieftains who engage in intervention, subversion and aggression everywhere and describes them as 'peace-loving' and 'wise.'"

A Firm Attitude of Independence and Equality

"On relations with the Communist and Workers' Parties of other countries," the resolution says, "the plenum reiterates what the political report stresses,

namely, that it is necessary to maintain a firmer attitude of independence and equality or equal rights."

"In dealing with the division and regrouping now going on within Communist Parties in many countries, we Indonesian Communists should as far as possible adopt the most objective attitude in accordance with Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement. The Indonesian Communist Party will, as it has done from the outset, continue to take a firm attitude towards questions in the international communist movement.

"On the possibilities of the convocation of an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties,"

the resolution says, "the plenum is in agreement with the views of the political report that bilateral talks must continue before such a meeting is convened. While waiting for the arrival of the opportune moment for holding a world meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the Indonesian Communist Party holds aloft the following six banners in continuing to combat revisionism: 1. the Marxist-Leninist banner against revisionism; 2. the revolutionary banner against capitulationism; 3. the banner of real peace as opposed to peace in abstract terms; 4. the banner of proletarian internationalism against big-nation egoism; 5. the banner of unity against split; and 6. the banner of revolutionary optimism against pessimism."

Carry the Revolution Through to the End

Commemorating the 45th Anniversary of the Founding Of the Third International

"Rodong Shinmoon," organ of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, published an article by its Editorial Department on March 2 commemorating the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Third International. Extracts of the article follow. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THERE can be no compromise between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism; the revolutionary line and the opportunist line are implacably antagonistic to each other, the article says. "It is only by carrying out a principled struggle against revisionism that one can stand the present severe test in the international communist movement, strengthen the solidarity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement and completely defend the revolutionary cause of the working class."

Beginning with an account of the historical background of the founding of the Third International and its resolute struggle against the betrayal by the Second International opportunists, the article appraises highly its tremendous contribution to the international working-class movement and the cause of world revolution.

An Event of Historic Significance

"The founding of the Third International was an event of tremendous historic significance in fostering the growth of the world communist and workers' movements and promoting the struggle of the oppressed peoples for national liberation.

"The Communist International carried on a relentless battle against revisionism and against all other

types of opportunism throughout its period of existence. It waged a persistent struggle to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism as it would the apple of the eye and strengthen the revolutionary ranks of the working class and consolidate and develop the solidarity of the international communist movement.

"The founding of the Comintern was a revolutionary victory won through staunch fighting by Lenin and the Communists of various countries. It was a great victory of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism."

The article recalls that at the outbreak of World War I, the opportunists of the Second International betrayed the working-class revolutionary cause. They openly collaborated with the bourgeoisie and degenerated into social chauvinists.

"The opportunists of the Second International challenged Marxism-Leninism by denying class struggle and rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat. They asserted that capitalism could pass peacefully into socialism without class struggle and revolution. They advocated class collaboration with imperialism. These renegades prettified imperialism and propagated the possibility of capitalist development without colonies and plunder. They also talked about opposing imperialist war, but, in fact, actively supported it under the slogan of 'defending the motherland.' They negated the peoples' revolutionary struggles for peace, publicized bourgeois pacifism and opposed the national-liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples.

"The betrayal by the Second International's opportunists brought serious losses to the international workers' movement."

The article goes on to say that as the general staff of the world communist movement, the Third International came into being when its existence was called for by the maturity of the international workers' movement. During the 20-odd years of its existence, it made great revolutionary contributions to the development of the workers' movement in the capitalist countries and to the national-liberation movement of the people of the colonies and dependencies.

Defending the Purity of Marxism-Leninism

"By crushing the opportunist Kautskyites, Trotskyites and Bukharinites who had betrayed proletarian internationalism and degenerated into imperialist lackeys, the Comintern effectively defended the purity of Marxism-Leninism and politically and ideologically tempered the Communist Parties of all countries, and thus made positive contributions to the consolidation of the unity and solidarity of Party ranks on the basis of the principles of Leninism."

The article continues: "Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism the Comintern fought for the realization of Marxist-Leninist teachings on socialist revolution, socialist construction and the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the realization of the organizational, ideological and tactical principles of Marxist parties of a new type. It thereby gave a new and vigorous revolutionary impetus to the working class and labouring people of every country.

"It contributed, in no small measure, to the working out of strategies and tactics in different periods as required by the progress of revolution, to overcoming 'Left' and Right deviations in the workers' movement and strengthening and developing the young Parties.

"It consistently defended the great banner of proletarian internationalism and played an important role in consolidating the international unity of the Communist Parties and the working class.

"Under the leadership of the Communist International, the Communist Parties intensified their struggle to smash the intrigues of the opportunists, win over the majority of the working class, oppose capitalist oppression and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat."

National-Liberation Struggle – A Powerful Factor

"The Comintern regarded the national-liberation struggle in the colonies as a powerful factor in achieving victory for world revolution. It adhered to the line of forming an anti-fascist popular front and an anti-imperialist national united front. It encouraged the working class and labouring people the world over to take part in the fight against imperialism, colonialism, fascism and war. It inspired them with confidence in their own invincibility. It contributed to educating the activists in the international communist movement in

the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"As a result, the international communist movement advanced, Marxism-Leninism was extensively popularized among the working class and working people, and an increasing number of those in the forefront of the working-class movement were drawn into the ranks of the Communist Parties."

In the 20-odd years after the dissolution of the Third International, the article adds, drastic changes have taken place in the development of the world revolutionary movement

The genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, which have carried forward the revolutionary traditions of the Communist International, have upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism. As political leader of the working people in their own countries, they fought hard for the peoples' freedom and liberation, for national independence, democracy and for the victory of socialism and communism.

Thanks to the growing might and influence of the socialist camp, the flames of the national-liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism and old and new colonialism have been kept burning and the revolutionary struggles of the masses headed by the working class are mounting in all capitalist countries.

The U.S.-led imperialists and other reactionaries are carrying on a desperate last-ditch struggle against the socialist camp and are trying to suppress the liberation struggles of the oppressed and exploited peoples. The modern revisionists, hand in glove with the imperialists, are engaged in ever more vicious schemes to emasculate the revolutionary soul of Marxism-Leninism and impede the revolutionary struggle of the people, the article says.

Combating Revisionism – Inescapable Duty of All Communists

"Today all Communists are duty-bound to combat revisionism, defend the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and carry the revolution through to the end," it stresses.

"In consolidating the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement the important thing is to be loyal to the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings and strictly abide by the principles guiding mutual relations among fraternal Parties and countries.

"Confronted by the powerful revolutionary struggles of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world the revisionists are more clearly revealing their true colours. As the historical experience of the

international communist movement shows, no amount of trickery by the revisionists can sully the great truths of Marxism-Leninism, nor can it stem the mighty torrent of the revolutionary movement of the international working class and oppressed peoples.

"Communists throughout the world must preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism as they would the apple of their eye, and unwaveringly defend the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement. They must put up an uncompromising fight, in firm unity with the revolu-

tionary people throughout the world, against imperialism and carry the revolution through to the end.

"Our Party will, in the future as in the past, remain faithful to Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of proletarian internationalism and to the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement. It will resolutely fight against imperialism and revisionism in defence of the entire socialist camp — a great gain for the international working class — and for safeguarding the unity and solidarity in the international communist movement."

Pen Probes

The U.S. Trade Sell

IT is no secret that the present head of the White Household is a "self-made" millionaire. The first lady, Lady Bird, reputedly is no mean businesswoman in her own right; she reportedly oversees housekeeping chores on the Texas L.B.J. ranch and is said to have compared personally estimates by three separate building contractors before giving the green light to house repairs. Against a background of well-publicized domestic business acumen, President Johnson is now trying to prove himself a shrewd foreign trade operator as well.

Mr. Johnson's display of salesmanship was forthright in his State of the Union Message when he told his "trading partners" abroad that "we must sell as well as buy." He was alluding to Western Europe, particularly the Common Market countries. What the American President means, of course, is that these nations must open wider their doors to American goods.

What is the basis for the President's remarks? Are his "trading partners" bent on selling without buying from the U.S.? Or is it because American imports have far outstripped exports?

The answer provided by the American press is No. "The trade figures show that the Common Market countries are among our best and most reliable customers. They buy much more from us than we buy from them. . . . U.S. sales to the Common Market come to about 5 billion dollars a year. Their sales to the U.S. are about half as large" (*U.S. News & World Report*, Jan. 20). The *New York Times* (Jan. 16) estimated U.S. sales to the Common Market in 1963 at \$5,150 million, whereas its imports from these countries were only \$2,470 million. In other words, it is the United States which has sold more and bought less.

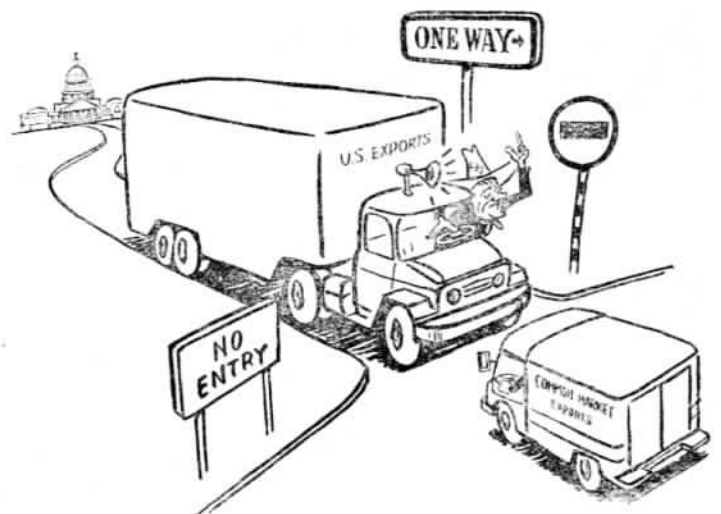
In spite of all this, Johnson is restricting U.S. meat imports while asking others to import more U.S. beef; he is subsidizing the export of U.S. wheat and other farm produce while opposing the Common Market countries doing the same; he is harping on the advantages of trade liberalization while clamping quota restrictions on U.S. imports of cotton and wool textiles.

lead, zinc and oil. Aside from "anti-dumping tariff," "tariff evaluation procedures" and "buy American" regulations, Johnson has cried out that he "must sell as well as buy"!

The explanation for Johnson's version of foreign trade is not difficult to find: like any hard-nosed capitalist he wants to sell more and buy less; he also wants his "partners" (competitors) to sell less and buy more. And this is what the U.S. will bring up at the so-called "Kennedy round" of tariff bargaining at Geneva in May, which will be held at the stucco mansion called Villa le Bocage, headquarters for GATT—the 58-nation General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Staffed by experts, the Common Market boys are no fools—even the GATT's doorman reads London's *Financial Times*! The *New York Times* already has sensed: "Although the cabinet ministers [of the six Common Market nations] indicated their intention to negotiate with the United States in Geneva on a liberal basis, the only evidence of Common Market external tariff policy has not been reassuring to United States' exporters thus far."

Surely, it is Mr. Johnson's ultimate goal to have American goods freely moving across every border and every boundary—and this is to be fulfilled under the watchword: "We must sell as well as buy"—the American way of foreign trade.



ROUND THE WORLD

De Gaulle in Mexico

Going His Own Way

General de Gaulle is back in Paris, well pleased with himself and his much reported mission to Mexico. His constant references to France's "great vocation," her "overseas prestige" and ties with the Latin countries, both in Mexico City and in the French colonies in the Caribbean, bespeak Paris' heightened confidence that France has made a good start in "returning" to Latin America. Mexico was the opening shot. Visits to other Latin countries are scheduled later in the year.

De Gaulle's profession in Guadeloupe that France does not "want to harm anybody, or to spoil anybody's game" was phrased to pacify the jittery Yankees. While in Mexico, he also went out of his way to reassure the Northern Octopus that France has no intention of undermining U.S. influence in Latin America. Still, this stopped neither the cries of alarm nor the hostile comments that "that man" de Gaulle was making one more challenge to the United States.

Washington's apprehension as well as irritation that de Gaulle was intruding into its "home territory" found full expression in the American papers. De Gaulle's visit, said the influential *New York Times*, "is a challenge to the United States' economic supremacy in Mexico, and in all Latin America. . . . France is seeking new markets and will offer bargain terms. . . . Mexico will be the opening wedge in that drive." De Gaulle was attempting to "stir up more trouble for the United States," warned the *Christian Science Monitor*. And the *New York Herald Tribune* noted that de Gaulle's tour was aimed at "'renewing old ties' and expanding French influence into the traditional backyard of the United States." It quoted a State Department source as saying that "de Gaulle has done some irresponsible things as far as we are concerned," and "if that irresponsibility rubs off

on Latin countries that are already irresponsible we are going to have trouble."

To "eclipse" de Gaulle's arrival in Mexico, reported the *New York Times*, Johnson picked the third anniversary of the "Alliance for Progress" to give the sagging programme a boost. But pie in the sky has long lost its attraction, and the Latin American countries which want to assert their independence are turning their eyes elsewhere.

The Johnson Administration yearns for the good old days when, if Washington sneezed, the capitals in Western Europe caught a cold. Then Latin America was a U.S. game preserve. Today though Johnson sounds urgent calls for unity of "the free world" and gets hopping mad at the "irresponsibility" of its friends and allies, they are going their own way. And they are challenging Washington's right to rule the roost. This even the U.S. papers are admitting.

Intervention in Cyprus

Britain Haggles for Control

Britain, which keeps several thousand troops in Cyprus, is haggling with Secretary-General U Thant over the terms of reference of the "U.N. Peace-Keeping Force" now arriving in the tension-packed island. The British commander, according to the London *Daily Telegraph*, has bombarded the United Nations with 20 "searching" questions, allegedly for clearing away possible misunderstandings before turning over his command. The first U.N. contingent of over 1,000 Canadians already in Cyprus has thus not become operational. Differences over the rights of the U.N. force also exist between President Makarios and the Secretary-General.

Britain raises these questions because, it is said, it fears that what happened in the Congo over Katan-

ga might recur in Cyprus—and with similar tragedy and brutality. Has the one-time overlord turned protector and champion of the Cypriots, determined to prevent the U.N. force from repeating its bloody role in Cyprus? Not at all. What worries colonial Britain is not whether Cypriots, like the Congolese before them, will suffer but whether the United States might not use the U.N. force to displace its British rivals in Cyprus as it did the Belgians in the Congo.

Meanwhile, fighting flares up periodically between the Greek and Turkish communities with increasing violence. The tense situation is made worse by the oft-repeated threat of the Turkish Government to intervene and its manoeuvres to pave the way for the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean to take more direct action. To intimidate, Turkey not only holds naval exercises off the port of Iskenderon, only 100 miles north of Cyprus, but keeps a large fleet of warships and troop transports cruising in nearby waters.

While all these aggressive acts are going on, the Cypriot people continue to demonstrate against the United States and Britain. The Greek Cypriots who make up almost 80 per cent of the population demand that Cyprus be left to decide its own affairs. The Turkish Cypriots with Ankara behind them—and with Washington behind Ankara—clamour for partition. In Athens, and in many other Greek towns angry crowds, protesting against the U.S. policy of intervention in Cyprus, burn effigies of President Johnson and demand that the 6th Fleet be withdrawn. The most persistently shouted slogan is—"Yankees, go home!"

Libyan Demand

Foreign Bases to Go

The wind of change has at last reached Libya. After years of quiescence, pressure is mounting to get rid of the foreign military bases and troops saddled on the country.

On the Mediterranean coast, the country has long been a stamping

ground for the Anglo-American imperialists. Washington keeps a large strategic air force base at Wheelus Field, near Tripoli, while London maintains troops in Tripoli and Benghazi in addition to a R.A.F. base at El Adem, south of Tobruk. These war establishments, which are pistols aimed at the Arab states as well as the Africans, had their origin in the Anglo-Libyan treaty of 1953 and the U.S.-imposed treaty of 1954.

The times are different now however. Libyan newspapers have been calling for an end to these unequal treaties. In Tripoli there was a student demonstration against the U.S. and British bases. On March 16, the Libyan House of Representatives adopted unanimously a resolution requesting the government to terminate the two treaties through negotiation. In case of failure, the House would pass laws abrogating the treaties. This resolution was based on two notes submitted by members which stated that the treaties are incompatible with the country's sovereignty, independence and dignity. In view of the present armed threat from Israel, it was pointed out, the U.S. military bases constituted a peril for the Arab countries.

The Libyan Government has asked for talks with Washington and London to decide the "destiny of their bases in Libya." This, according to Prime Minister Mahmud Muntasser, means "the termination of the treaties, the liquidation of bases and the fixing of a date for the withdrawal of foreign troops from our territory."

Africa is moving forward. Zanzibar was the first spring thunder this year. Developments still more unpalatable to the imperialists will follow, as news from Libya indicates.

U.S. "Aid"—1

India: In the Web

The fact that India lives from "ship to mouth" and has to import more than 400,000 tons of wheat monthly from the United States is an indication both of the seriousness of the country's food crisis and of

its crippling dependence on the largesse of its Washington overlords.

According to the *Hindustan Times* (March 10) U.S. "aid" to India since 1951 totals \$5,315 million. This includes the latest grant of \$225 million from the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) for the purchase of specified American industrial goods and equipment which Reuters describes as "the second largest the U.S. had made to a developing country. (The largest was a similar commodity loan of \$240 million extended to India last year.)" The total is made up as follows:

AID development loans	\$1,583.1 m
AID technical co-operation grants	\$ 519.8 m
U.S. Export-Import Bank loans	\$ 343.3 m
Food loans and grants under Public Law 480	\$2,869.3 m

Thanks to this vast "aid" programme, the United States has become the biggest dumper of commodities in India's history. Since 1957, India's imports from the U.S. have risen 11 times in value and her trade deficit with that country has increased 13 times. In 1962 American goods accounted for 29.1 per cent of India's imports.

India has been flooded with America's so-called farm surpluses and since she has to pay rupees for what she gets under Public Law 480, half of all Indian money in circulation or 15,000 million rupees is today controlled from Washington.

Speaking on the role of U.S. "aid" on March 6, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk affirmed that "it helps us to protect and build the strength of the free world without committing our men to combat." He emphasized that over 90 per cent of the funds for AID and the Export-Import Bank loans and grants, the "Food for Peace" programme and military "aid" are spent in the United States, and that "the millions of people who are now recipients of our loans, grants, surplus foods and technical assistance can be customers of tomorrow." This explanation of the much-vaunted U.S. generosity comes straight from the horse's mouth. India, in the grip of serious

economic difficulties, provides a horrible example of a country caught in the web of U.S. "aid."

U.S. "Aid"—2

Yugoslavia: In the Bag

None other than Secretary of State Rusk has also defined American trade and "aid" as a "useful instrument" for "cold war against communism."

In his recent speech before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Rusk gave a candid account of the undermining role American "aid" played in Yugoslavia, where capitalism has now been restored.

"The United States and other Western countries," he told the Senators, "supported Yugoslavia's assertion of independence with substantial military and economic aid. Of more lasting importance, they opened Western markets and sources of supply, enabling Yugoslavia to begin the process of developing normal trade ties with the free world. As a result, more than 70 per cent of Yugoslav trade is now with the West."

"The development of fruitful economic relations with the West helps Yugoslavia to break loose from the Soviet pattern of economic and political administration. . . . Along with its large measure of decentralized economic administration, it has developed many elements of a market [capitalist] economy. . . . Over the years, the Yugoslav example has strengthened the forces of nationalism and independence within the Eastern Europe countries. Our policy of treating Yugoslavia in a special manner has paid good dividends."

"Dividends" for whom? To the working people, return to capitalism means return to exploitation. Already the "market economy" has led to spiralling consumer prices. On March 11 the *New York Times* said that Yugoslavia's meat prices had risen 30 per cent in the last two months and quoted a trade union official as complaining that food now accounts for 61 per cent of many families' budgets.

CAMPUS LIFE

College Students After Hours

What do Chinese university and college students do after class? That question is hard to answer in its entirety: they have a myriad interests outside the classroom.

Theatre Festival

Not long ago the capital's colleges took over Peking's big Workers' Club for two days. The students, whose ages range from 19 to 25 years, put on plays, operas, songs and dances, verse recitations and comic dialogues in a *tour de force* of do-it-yourself art. Their themes were fresh and characteristic, subjects being taken from campus life and current trends in student thought on the national and international topics of the day. Their techniques and styles of presentation had a spontaneity and directness that admirably reflected the character of our youth today. The items earned enthusiastic applause, though student audiences are notably strict critics and it was mainly a student audience that, with a good turnout of veteran critics and other interested adults, attended.

This citywide show followed an earlier series of smaller festivals held in different districts of the city. Student bodies of sixty-five colleges, universities and secondary vocational schools sent 10,000 students to take part in these. And this display of talent and energy tapped only the theatrical activities of the students. Every higher educational institution in the country has its amateur art, literary and drama societies. Polytechnical Tsinghua University in Peking, which produces a large proportion of the nation's top-notch technical cadres, has a dozen student societies of literature, poetry, drama, music and the other arts. It gives a fair example of cultural life in other colleges.

Talks

Sunday or spare-time lectures organized by the student bodies are another lively side of campus life.

Lecturers are leading experts in their fields, and talks cover a wide range of topics. Analyses of current international affairs, in which college students are keenly interested, always draw large crowds. Talks on the anti-imperialist struggles of Cuba, Panama and peoples in every part of the world have been recent topics.

National affairs are naturally of major interest. These include discussions of political, economic and cultural affairs of state as well as frequent talks by veteran workers and poor peasants about life in the old society. Pai Pao-tsun, a retired worker of the Chinghsi Colliery near Peking, spoke not long ago at Peking University. He gave a sketch of his fifty years of life in the old days when he and his family lived in direst poverty and he was shipped as a Chinese contract labourer first to the U.S.A. and then to France during World War I. Foreign Trade Institute students recently invited Chen Chiang, well-known actor, to tell them how he prepared to act the villainous landlord in the early film hit *The White-Haired Girl*.

He had gone to a village in Shansi, stayed with the local peasants and learnt from them all the facts about the local landlord tyrant, whom he eventually took for his "model." Such talks move the students with extraordinary force, as they were mostly youngsters at the time of liberation and knew little of the class oppression and exploitation that existed before. Whole classes take part in the discussions which follow such talks and put out wall-newspapers expressing their views and sentiments.

Leading scientists bring the latest news of developments in radio and electronics, astronomy and space research, semi-conductors, or super-sonics and also new findings in history and other fields.

A partial list of other recent lectures shows the wide diversity of interests touched upon: "An Analysis of the Characters in the Classical Novel *Dream of the Red Chamber*"; "Tu Fu, the Poetic Genius of the

Tang Dynasty"; "Peking and Its Sights"; "How to Enjoy a Film."

Sports

Sports activities take up another big part of non-scholastic campus life. China's colleges and universities have some of the best sports facilities in the country. Track and field, football, basketball, volleyball, table tennis, swimming, gymnastics are the favourite sports. Many colleges have their own systems for grading athletes. These become stiffer as standards improve and some of them already have grades which coincide with national standards. Many universities have field teams in all the main sports events. With teams in every class everyone has a chance to take part and the best are picked for varsity teams. Sports meets are held throughout the year both within the colleges themselves and between different colleges. The rivalry is friendly, but intense. Peking, for instance, has an Inter-Collegiate Sports Competitions Committee which regularly organizes inter-collegiate meets. Invitation meets are held between the bigger cities, such as Shanghai, Peking, Canton, Wuhan and others. Something is always on somewhere or other.

That just touches on the main interests of after-study cultural activities on the campuses. What with amateur scientific and technical clubs in radio, aero-dynamics, the natural sciences, and college hikes and social get-togethers, it's not surprising that fond parents lose sight of their college-going offsprings for weeks at a time.

CINEMA

"Chang Ka, the Soldier Boy"

This is the story of the growth of a "xiao ba lu" (little Eighth Route Armyman) — one of the "little devils" of the Communist-led Eighth Route Army whose courage and resourcefulness in the revolutionary battles alongside their elders have won them a shining place in Chinese history.



"Red Sun"



"Waves on the Southern Shore"



"Chang Ka, the Soldier Boy"

The film, a Peking studio release at the end of last year, takes us back to the early 1940s, in Japanese-occupied north China. The life of Chang Ka, a 12-year-old, might be that of any other boy in a village under enemy occupation. His home destroyed, a witness of beastly atrocities committed by enemy troops and traitor helpers, Chang Ka becomes a homeless orphan when his grandma, his last relative, is killed for hiding a wounded Eighth Route Army officer. Determined to settle accounts with the enemy and remembering the tales of the Eighth Route Army told him by the wounded officer, he sets out to find this army of the people. After many adventures, the boy locates his friend's unit and is welcomed into it.

Chang Ka finds himself in a new family which surrounds him with love and comradeship. The Eighth Route Army men find the boy quick-witted and courageous on operations with a stubbornness of purpose that wins their hearts. But stubbornness can be a failing when, undisciplined, Chang Ka bites Fatty, another village boy, in a wrestling bout, and instead of acknowledging his fault, mischievously stuffs up the chimney of Fatty's home. . . . It is only after many trials and tempering in battle and in the revolutionary ideals and discipline of the Eighth Route Army that the boy makes himself worthy of the name of a "*xiao ba lu*"—a revolutionary fighter of the people.

The film is far from being just another children's story. Chang Ka's tale is typical of a whole generation of youngsters who grew up in a land resisting imperialist invasion. A desire for personal revenge first brings them on to the revolutionary path.

But once inside the revolutionary ranks, the education of the Communist Party and its traditions make them realize that the score that has to be settled is not just a personal one but that of a whole nation against imperialist aggression and domestic class oppression. This was true not only of the children but even more so of their elders.

In as far as the scope of the story allows, the film reveals much of the life of a people's army led by the Communist Party. This is reflected not only in the atmosphere of warm comradeship that exists among the fighting men and their close links with the masses of the people, but also in the spiritual growth of Chang Ka himself.

When first he listened to the tales told by the wounded officer about the heroic exploits of the Eighth Route Army, the boy had been deeply impressed, but they were "only stories" after all. Then tragedy struck. His grandmother was seized by the enemy troops and threatened with death if she did not give up the wounded officer. The boy looked on near by, every nerve taut, to see the Eighth Route Army officer stand out and coolly declare that he was the wanted man. The stories became fact. The example of this selfless action makes an ineradicable impression on the boy. In a later development, Chang Ka, pursued by enemy soldiers, dodges into the home of his old friend Fatty. The enemy soldiers follow in and start rough handling Fatty and his father, demanding that they give up "the Eighth Route Army man." Chang Ka steps out of his hiding place and with a gesture unconsciously like that of the wounded officer's, gives himself up.

Chang Ka treasures a dummy gun given him by the wounded officer. With that gun he hopes to avenge his granny. This is the gun that he wagered in the famous wrestling match with Fatty and which made him bite his opponent when he thought he might lose it. So when in a battle he captures a real gun, he is wild with joy. Back at H.Q., he is told to hand in the gun as no one is allowed to keep trophies of war. A stormy scene follows when the boy finally flings the weapon on the table, bursts into tears and runs out of the room. . . . Having got "wise," the second time he captures a gun, he hides it away. At the end of the film, we see him taking his treasure from its hiding place and handing it to his commanding officer on his own initiative. This changing attitude to the gun reflects the influence of the people's army and the growth of his own understanding and character.

Throughout, the film gives a feeling of authenticity. An example of this is that its hero is always a typical child with a child's innocence and naiveté. When he stubbornly refuses to admit his fault in stuffing up Fatty's chimney, he is finally told to shut himself up for a day in punishment and not to come out. Just then news comes that his unit is to attack an enemy fort. Chang Ka, eager to join the action, pleads with his commander: "Couldn't I come back and do my punishment later?"

Director Tsui Wei, famous actor himself, has got a beautiful performance from his child actors. Little An Chi-ssu, a primary school pupil from Inner Mongolia, stars brightly in the leading role. Both he and



"Hardy Grass"



"After the Ceasefire"



"The Knife-Thrower"

Wu Ke-chin in the role of Fatty do extremely well.

"Hundred Flowers Film Poll"

In the past month completed ballot papers have been pouring into the offices of the Association of Chinese Cinema Workers, the sponsors of the third "Hundred Flowers Film Poll." They come from all parts of China, from factories, people's communes, the armed forces, schools and offices. With the 117 films released last year to choose from, each gives a cinema-goer's first three preferences for features, documentaries, scientific and educational shorts, cartoons, Chinese opera films, scenarios, directors, actors and actresses, photography, music, etc., 15 items in all. The ballots went out on March 1, and voting closes on May 15. Results will be announced in June.

Below we give a partial list of the more outstanding features released last year which were not reviewed in these columns.

Waves on the Southern Shore: has subtropical Nanwan Gulf fishing grounds in the South China Sea as its colourful setting. The love story of a young fisherman and his sweetheart is set against the background of underground revolutionary activity in the 1920s. Directed by Tsai Chu-sheng, Part II is in the making. *Struggles in an Ancient City:* two sisters and a political commissar of the Eighth Route Army go into a Japanese-occupied city. Following the Communist Party's united front policy to resist the invaders, they win over a puppet officer and his troops. *The Knife-Thrower:* a "behind-the-scenes" film of circus folk of the old days when they fought back against

injustice and ill treatment in a China still controlled by imperialists and reactionaries.

After the Ceasefire: a dramatization of events after V-J Day when Chiang Kai-shek signed a "truce" agreement with the Chinese C.P. on the one hand while busily preparing with the aid of the U.S. for civil war. The film exposes the Kuomintang tricks at the conference table as well as the truth about U.S. "mediation." *Red Sun:* an epic of revolutionary war. It brings to the screen two decisive campaigns in east China in the Liberation War of 1946-49 after the KMT tore up the "truce" agreement.

Hardy Grass: a film of today's China. Sister-in-law Hui has no idea that her husband's new place of work in the Kunlun Mountains would be so bitterly cold and desolate. But like the hardy grass that grows in its rocky crevices, she stays and makes her home into a place of warmth and comradeship for all the truck drivers speeding along its highways with their loads of supplies for socialist construction. *Strangers on the Icy Mountain:* with some thrilling situations and fine music, this is a film of counter-espionage work on the border. *People of the Northern Wastelands:* a tale of the P.I.A. men who turned the Great Northern Wastes into a fertile granary.

SHORT NOTES

British Ballerina. Miss Beryl Grey in Liszt's *Reverie* and as Odette in the second act of *Swan Lake* will long be remembered in Peking. Each of her recent joint appearances with the Experimental Ballet Company of the Peking School of Dancing drew a capacity audience to the Tianqiao

Theatre. *Les Sylphides* was the main attraction of the second programme in which she danced. In an interview, Miss Grey said, "It is a tremendous pleasure to be able to perform with the [Chinese] company. I admire from the bottom of my heart their having achieved so much in such a short time." The young Chinese ballet dancers on their part greatly appreciated the pleasure and opportunity of performing with this fine dancer. She has virtuoso technique, fine dramatic ability, a lovely sense of line and a rich experience in the classical masterpieces of the ballet.

Soviet Musicians. *Russian Hearts Are Turned to Peking* and other songs written by the Soviet composer A.G. Novikov in the period of the Civil War and anti-fascist war are well known to Chinese music-lovers. Recent concerts given by the group of Soviet musicians and singers led by the composer gave Chinese audiences a chance to express their appreciation of his compositions to him in person. Kira Leonova, mezzo soprano; Ivan Kartavenko, tenor; and Aleksandr Rozum, baritone, were especially applauded for their rendition of Novikov's rousing compositions of the 40s.

New Documentary: "The First GANEFO." The results were certainly worth the wait—cinema audiences are delighted by the colour, gaiety and sheer spectacle of the documentary on the First Games of the New Emerging Forces held in Djakarta last November. A joint full-length work by Chinese and Indonesian cameramen, the film has well captured the spirit and excitement of the Games.

ACROSS THE LAND

Building High Yield Farms

AN important trend in China's agricultural development is the building up of farms that reap stable and high yields regardless of nature.

Although government financial aid is a large factor, it is not decisive because funds for agriculture are limited and earmarked for where they will bring the maximum return for the minimum investment in the shortest time. Even where this takes place what counts the most still is how well the collective strength of a people's commune or its production brigade or team has been able to change prevailing conditions.

Experience has amply demonstrated that self-reliance is not merely a catchy word, but an involved and practical method for attaining high productivity. On Peking's outskirts last year self-reliance was effectively proved by 52 communes and state farms which worked about 15 per cent of the capital's land under grain. Here the 400 *jin* per *mu* target¹ set for the rugged northern part of China was reached or passed in the face of a serious drought followed by unusually heavy rainfall. For half of these communes and state farms this was the second consecutive year the target was arrived at or surpassed.

Similar feats have been performed in other parts of China with yields topping the 500 and 800 *jin* per *mu* marks set for the better-endowed zones of the country.

In the north, no matter what the physical obstacles, the 400 *jin* per *mu* goal is within reach of every

¹The National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-67) drafted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1956 and adopted by the National People's Congress in 1960 set targets of 400, 500 and 800 *jin* per *mu* for the nation's three agricultural zones which were based on differences in physical conditions of China's farmland.

commune and brigade. This is borne out by the increasing number who have passed it. One example is the Nanhanji Production Brigade of the commune in Choukoutien, site of the cave of the Peking Man.

In 1956, to help feed the 174 households living on the land now worked by the Nanhanji brigade the government had to supply them with 20,000 *jin* of grain. Yet last year the brigade sold 400,000 *jin* and 171 fat porkers and its grain crop averaged 851 *jin* per *mu*. This was no wind-fall from nature; the brigade's harvests have gone up for the past five years, averaging a 16 per cent rise each year. Actually, however, the brigade's success dates back to 1958 when the present commune was formed and it went to work solving the chief obstacle to higher production—erosion and loss of soil fertility. Checking and overcoming this obstacle entailed throwing up numerous dams across gully-riven land along with other massive water and soil conservation measures. These were followed up by an intense drive for more manure and sinking wells. The latter helped stave off threats to production from drought; in the case of Nanhanji waterlogging was no problem because of the hilly terrain. The next step was the brigade mastering modern tech-

niques in crop cultivation and land utilization.

The Nanhanji brigade's road to high yields is to pinpoint the main problem at each stage and concentrate all forces to solve it mainly by their own efforts. The story of Nanhanji is one that is being repeated in many parts of China.

Szechuan Peasants' Living Standards Up

INCOMES of the more than one million families living on the west Szechuan plain went up 15 per cent last year compared to 1962. With more money in the bank and in their pockets commune families in this richest part of southwest China's rice granary bought 20 per cent more cloth, and 25-90 per cent more pork, eggs, cigarettes and alcoholic beverages. A recent door-to-door poll revealed that local peasants are eating more than twice as much meat as they did at the time of land reform in 1952, and 43 per cent more grain. Over the Spring Festival eight out of ten peasant families butchered a pig to celebrate.

Many peasant families have moved into newly built houses. Li Wen-fu of the Chingping People's Commune, a beggar before liberation, celebrated Spring Festival with his family of seven in their new seven-room house. His yearly share of grain from the commune in 1963 was 3,000 *jin* plus cash. With two porkers slaughtered for food and for sale, Li's family



Changchun No. 1 Motor Works' designers

was doing as well as their neighbours who also had more grain than they could eat. For the whole plain, the grain harvest was 10 per cent higher than 1962 as a result, among other things, of renovation and extension of the famed Tukiangyen irrigation system which is watering an area twice the acreage 14 years ago.

Before liberation most peasants on this fertile plain were landless labourers or impoverished tenant farmers; 80 per cent of the latter's annual harvest evaporated in rent and taxes.

New Cities in Sinkiang

NO modern standard atlas published abroad can keep up with the rise of cities and towns in Sinkiang in China's far northwest. In the last 14 years, on the heels of developing livestock raising and farming, dozens of new towns have sprung up in this once vast backward area.

Among the new additions to the map are Shihhotzu, population 70,000, a major light industry centre; Artush, population 5,000, capital of the Kizilsu Khalkhas Autonomous Chou; and the names of several other dozen towns in Sinkiang. All in all by 1964 there are close to 80 cities and towns compared to a dozen in 1949.

Early in liberation there were many townless counties. County government personnel and administrative accoutrements following the nomadic herdsman from place to place — from grazing land to watering places — roamed Sinkiang on horse and camel.

Auto and Truck Technicians

A BODY of skilled engineers and production workers is growing up in the city of Changchun, home of the nation's largest auto and truck factory. Among them are experts for every specialized job in the industry. The entire group has made possible the high-performance de luxe sedans and other vehicles, such as the well-known Liberation trucks, now on the road throughout the country.

More than a thousand — veteran revolutionaries and workers, cadres and youngsters trained after liberation — have raised their technical

levels as a result of the plant's spare-time educational programme. Classes in general education, a secondary technical school and an engineering college make up part of the programme. Short courses in technical training are aimed at specific production problems and have proved effective in advancing the factory's overall efficiency.

Outstanding graduates are plentiful. One is Wang Chih-pao, a blacksmith without any technical background in old China, now in charge of technical work in the forge. Another is young technician Peng Ying-pei whose graduation thesis was on the technology of engine block processing. In collaboration with other workers, she introduced over a score of innovations. Peng Ying-pei has been elected a national model worker for her many production contributions and her loyalty to socialist construction.

Briefs

A new manual alphabet for the deaf and dumb in China based on the Chinese phonetic system has been issued jointly by the Ministries of the Interior and Education and the Com-

mittee for Reforming the Chinese Written Language. It has 26 letters and four sets of double consonants — *zh, ch, sh* and *ng*. A draft of the alphabet has been in use for the past five years, and the new version is expected to aid the deaf and mute to distinguish different sounds, and in reading.

Teaching those born deaf and dumb to speak by manual signals has been replaced by oral teaching methods in China with favourable results.

Two industrial districts have gone up on the northern and western outskirts of Lhasa. Five hospitals, six schools, bookstores, libraries, a stadium and a club have been built and a new hotel near the famous Potala Palace is almost completed. There were no buildings like these in Lhasa before 1951.

The Chinese Society of Aeronautics were founded at a February 20-29 meeting at the Peking Hall of Science. Professor Shen Yuan of the Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute was elected chairman of the society.

Mother Revolution

SHIH Hsiao-mei is her real name. But to millions she is *Geming Mama*, Mother Revolution.

Born in 1889, she started work in 1901 as a child labourer in a Shanghai textile mill run by foreign capitalists. If Shanghai was a paradise for adventurers, the textile mills were pure hell on earth for Shih Hsiao-mei and thousands like her. In 1922 she led 4,000 fellow workers in a successful strike against brutal exploitation. When Shanghai workers rose up in arms in 1927 Mother Revolution was with them, fighting the warlords and imperialists. She smuggled guns to her fighting comrades, one of whom was her eldest son, a workers' Do-or-Die Squad leader who was later killed in that year when Chiang Kai-shek turned his guns against the revolutionary Shanghai workers and unleashed his White Terror on the coun-

try. Another two sons also were lost by Mother Revolution while she herself was hunted high and low by the reactionaries. Out of this Shih Hsiao-mei became a stauncher revolutionary.

Shih Hsiao-mei, 75 this year, now lives in an unpretentious house in Shanghai. Although the days of smuggling guns to revolutionary fighters are over, Mother Revolution continues fighting: for the socialist education of the young on the ideological front. One of a group of 36 veteran Shanghai workers making regular lecture tours, she gives talks about her life and the early revolutionary struggles to the younger generation. Shih Hsiao-mei has personally addressed more than 1,200,000 people and those who have heard her have been inspired and remain determined to uphold the revolutionary spirit of Mother Revolution's generation.

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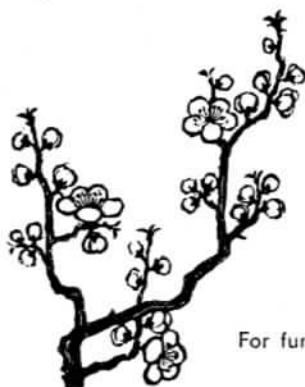
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