

# PEKING REVIEW

42

October 18, 1960

## THE U.S., NOT CHINA, STANDS INCREASINGLY ISOLATED

*Renmin Ribao* editorial analyses the U.N. General Assembly debate on restoring China's lawful seat in the United Nations (p. 5).

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*China and the World and Other Features*

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# Six Collections of Excerpts from Lenin's Writings and Speeches

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Editions in Russian and English translations are now available.*

*Editions in French, Spanish, Japanese and German translations will soon be published.*

# PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

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## ROUND THE WEEK

### Harvesting in Full Swing

The highlight of home news this week comes from the agricultural front. The autumn harvest is in full swing throughout China's countryside. North of the Yellow River, the major autumn crops such as maize, millet and sorghum have ripened and harvesting is proceeding apace. South of the Yangtse River, the gathering of late rice has begun.

This year's harvest is on a larger scale than ever before. The area planted this year to autumn crops is bigger than ever while the area of high-yield fields has also increased. Along with grain, the core of the current agricultural drive, cotton, hemp and oil-bearing crops, sugar-beets, fruits and tobacco—all wait to be gathered and stored. This involves a tremendous job of work and organization.

A characteristic of this year's autumn harvest which guarantees its success is the tremendous concentration of manpower mobilized for the work side by side with an increased number of improved and mechanized farm tools.

In the northeast, where autumn is the season for collecting the fruits of the whole year's labour, over 80 per cent of the rural manpower is out in the fields. Working shoulder to shoulder with them are large numbers of cadres down from the towns and cities, to participate in this final assault on the year's agricultural front.

In Inner Mongolia, 170,000 government functionaries, led by Ulanfu, First Secretary of the Autonomous Region's Party Committee, have gone to help bring in the harvest.

Workers, students, P.L.A. men and urban people in general too are flocking to the farms. They bring their own scythes and other tools, live with peasants and are ready to pitch in on any sort of job, and first of all the harvest. In the industrial provinces of Liaoning and Heilungkiang, these urban helpers now add up to five million. Where harvesting and winter sowing proceed side by side, the de-

ployment of labour has been carefully mapped out beforehand and specialized harvesting, threshing, transport and sowing teams are organized to ensure both speed and quality.

As reported in earlier issues, the countryside this year was hit by the worst natural calamities since the founding of the People's Republic. At one time or another, more than half of the country's cultivated areas were hit by drought, flood, typhoons or pests. It was only thanks to their undaunted and persistent exertions that the peasants, their efforts strengthened by their people's communes, succeeded in reducing the serious damage to one-third of the area affected—and even there managed to wrest something from nature. Now, to turn this signal victory to full account, everything is being done to bring in the crops in good time to avoid any last minute losses from rain or frost. What the commune members, supported by the whole nation, are determined to do is to get every last grain grown, harvested and stored.

### Technical Revolution Pays Off

Ever since last winter when it started, the drive for technical revolution and innovations has rolled on, gathering momentum on its way. These columns have on many occasions reported key facets and details of the way in which men and women in industry, transport, trade, financial work and capital construction are overcoming the nation's technical backwardness through this movement. Boldly improving old tools, machines and ways of work, introducing modern equipment and methods and inventing new things, they are stepping up production and sustaining the high-speed growth of the national economy. Now we have news of some of the overall accomplishments of this drive.

China's industrial production is now 50 per cent partially or wholly mechanized, as against 30 per cent when the drive started.

In mining, transport, building, freight and packing industries, workers are laying aside the old hand hammers, axes, shoulder poles and baskets. They hail this release from heavy manual labour as their "second emancipation."

Automatic and semi-automatic machines have appeared in their tens of thousands and automatic and continuous production lines by the thousands. A certain number of fully automatic workshops and factories have been created. In Shanghai, the whole process of production—from scouring, bleaching, dyeing, printing to packing—in some dozen dyeing and printing mills has been automatized. All operations are directed from central control panels.

The raising of labour productivity by a wide margin has saved a great deal of manpower. A survey of 11 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions indicates that in the first half of this year alone, this was equivalent to a total of 1.3 million men. The majority of those made redundant are being transferred to new enterprises or trained in new or higher skills. Many have gone to the countryside to help agriculture.

The introduction of new techniques, technology and production methods has improved the quality of many old products and created many entirely new products. These range from miniature motor cars and rice transplanters to such high-grade, precision items as high-voltage Schering bridges. There has been a notable improvement in the quality of converter steel in heavy industry and various pharmaceuticals and textiles in light industry.

Without any added investments on the part of the state, many factories and workshops have doubled or trebled their capacity as a result of all-round technical transformation. This is true both of older enterprises such as the heavy machinery plants in Shanghai and new, modern plants like the Harbin Measuring Instruments and Cutting Tool Plant.

There have also been great savings in the use of raw and other materials in the machine-building, coal and building industries and other fields. Economies and the more comprehensive and efficient use of steel, timber, cement and other materials have been brought about side by side with the

widespread adoption of new substitutes. Valuable uses are now being found for waste gases, liquids and slags.

To all this material progress should be added improvements in industrial management, enrichment of the technical sciences and—most significant of all—a great emancipation of minds and breaking down of old "taboos and superstitions." The communist spirit of boldness in thought and action and the spirit of mutual help have gripped the workers. These achievements of the movement for technical innovations and technical revolution promise still greater things to come.

### Sinkiang's First University

Sinkiang University, the first university to be established in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, was inaugurated this month in Urumchi, capital of the region. Its eight departments with 15 specialties include courses in mechanical, electrical and chemical engineering, mathematics and physics, biology, chemistry, architecture, history and the languages of China. It has over 1,000 Uighur, Kazakh, Han and Khalkhas students, most of them children of peasants and herdsmen.

The university campus is entirely new and built since the liberation. Its laboratories have excellent modern equipment. It has its own factories, farms, livestock breeding ranch and even a botanical garden.

For the people of Sinkiang, the setting up of such a modern, full-fledged university for the training of their national cadres has meant the realization of a long-cherished dream. Long years of Kuomintang oppression left multi-national Sinkiang in an extremely backward state educationally. At the time of liberation, less than a quarter of its school-age children were in primary schools. College education was beyond the reach of the working people. Sinkiang College, predecessor to the new university, was the region's only institute of higher learning. It had only 300 students and 10 teachers!

In undertaking the tremendous task of building a new Sinkiang, educational development was one of the

first cares of the Communist Party and the People's Government. Systematic and increasing investments were made in school buildings and the training of educational workers, particularly of the various national minorities. In the course of the last few years, eight institutes of higher learning were set up. These included institutes of agriculture and animal husbandry, medicine, petroleum and teaching. All of them benefited from the generous assistance of other regions. Sinkiang University alone has 114 faculty members trained in Peking, Shanghai and Sian.

Sinkiang's primary and secondary education is developing at an even faster rate. This term, with more than 200,000 first-graders and a total of 953,000 pupils in primary schools, elementary education is already universal. In pre-liberation days, even fair-sized places had no primary schools. Now, every one of the region's counties and cities—in fact each of the production brigades of the people's communes—provides elementary schooling for its children. For the first time in history, the children of the pastoral Kazakh, Kirghiz and Tajik nationalities are enjoying regular schooling.

Sinkiang is fast multiplying its middle schools too. They now number 211, as against 117 in 1957, and these are supplemented by 323 part-time agricultural and pastoral middle schools. The region aims to achieve universal secondary school education in the not too distant future.



Kazakh Girl Reading  
Woodcut by Huang Yung-yu

# The U.S., Not China, Has Become More Isolated

The following editorial was published in "Renmin Ribao" on October 12. — Ed.

**T**HE question of restoring China's lawful seat in the United Nations was one of the focal points in the general debate in the 15th Session of the U.N. General Assembly. The debate on this question started on October 1 and ended on October 8. Although, once again, as it has done during the past ten years, the United States set in motion its voting machine and manipulated a majority to reject the Soviet proposal for placing the question of China's representation on the agenda of the current General Assembly session and adopt its resolution on preventing the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations, the heated debate and the results of the voting show vividly that the U.S. policy of hostility to China has become more and more unpopular. The solemn voices in the General Assembly of the delegates of the countries in the socialist camp and of those Asian and African countries and Cuba and Finland which are friendly to China enormously overpowered the U.S.-manipulated, so-called "majority" and exerted a tremendous, far-reaching influence both in and outside the United Nations. The Chinese people express deep gratitude to the governments and people of those countries which have supported China in the U.N. General Assembly.

Delegates of 31 countries spoke in the debate. Among them, delegates of 24 countries resolutely stood for placing on the agenda the question of restoring China's seat in the United Nations; only those of six countries spoke in the General Assembly for the shameless U.S. policy of hostility to China and against the Soviet proposal.

The United States got its resolution adopted by a mechanical majority (42 to 34, with 22 abstentions) only after exerting pressure on certain countries. The result of the voting shows that the number of votes in favour of the U.S. resolution further dropped by two compared with last year while those against increased by five. Especially worth noting is the fact that all the new African member states of the United Nations refused to support the United States. Among them, the Mali Republic, Senegal and Nigeria voted against the U.S. resolution while the other 12 countries abstained. Prior to the voting, the United States did a great deal of lobbying with respect to these new member nations but failed to get the desired support. This turn of events could not but greatly alarm the United States. Henry Jackson, Democratic Party National Chairman, called it "ominous."

An analysis of the results of the U.N. General Assembly voting on the question of restoring China's lawful seat in

the organization during the past ten years will reveal still more clearly the fact that the supporters of the United States have become fewer and fewer. Ten years ago (1951), of the 52 votes cast, those for the United States were 37, representing 71 per cent of the votes cast; those against were 11, representing 21 per cent; and four abstained, representing 8 per cent. This year, only 42 out of 98 votes favoured the United States, a drop to 43 per cent; 34 votes against it, representing 35 per cent; and 22 abstained, representing 22 per cent. Even representative figures of the U.S. ruling circles had to admit that this showed U.S. "prestige" was on the downgrade. F. Serrano, Foreign Secretary of the Philippines who toed the U.S. line, also admitted that the result of the voting in the U.N. General Assembly meant "the weakening of the free world." Officials of the Foreign Office of the Hayato Ikeda government of Japan, too, were "surprised." Japanese observers found it necessary to draw the attention of their government to this "change in the world situation" and advocated that Japan "should decide on its own policy instead of merely voting along with the United States." Obviously, all the governments of those countries which toe the U.S. line of hostility to China face this choice.

**I**N the course of the debate on the restoration of China's lawful seat in the United Nations, the countries in the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union—the brother countries of China—firmly supported the restoration of China's lawful seat in the organization and condemned the despicable U.S. activities in showing hostility to China, sabotaging the U.N. Charter and turning this international organization, the United Nations, into a tool of its cold war.

The Soviet delegation headed by Comrade Khrushchov and all other Party and government leaders of the socialist countries present at the session, Comrades Novotny, Shehu, Zhivkov, Kadar, Podgorny, Mazurov, Gomulka and Gheorghiu-Dej, in their speeches at the session unanimously supported the restoration of China's lawful seat in the United Nations and condemned the delegates of U.S. imperialism and its followers for their slanders and attacks on China at the session. Citing incontestable facts in their speeches, they have shown the world that the aggressor is not China, which has never sent a single soldier to U.S. territory, but U.S. imperialism which has all the time been smearing China as "an aggressor" and which is still occupying China's territory of Taiwan and repeatedly conducting military provocations on China's borders; that the one which is warlike is

by no means China, which has withdrawn, on its own initiative, the Volunteers from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and has firmly advocated the conclusion of a peace pact of mutual non-aggression by countries in Asia and around the Pacific, but is precisely U.S. imperialism which has dotted the world with military bases and organized aggressive military blocs and is still making intensified efforts to expand its armaments and prepare for war; and that the country which has no democracy and where the policy of brutal suppression is pursued is not China, but is precisely the imperialist U.S.A. which discriminates against the Negro people and constantly lynches them. Khrushchov and other comrades have also forcefully exposed the U.S. plot of creating "two Chinas," pointing out that this intrigue is "in effect, a poorly camouflaged stratagem aimed at dismembering the territory of great China and tearing away the province of Taiwan which is one of its parts." As for the restoration of China's seat in the United Nations, this is primarily not an urgent need of China, but of the United Nations as a world organization. How can the United Nations be regarded as a world organization when it fails to include the country which has a quarter of the world's population? Comrade Shehu has put it well: "To oppose restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations means indeed to work against international co-operation and endeavour to transform the United Nations into a tool of imperialist policy; and to vote against restoration of China's rights in the United Nations is to vote against peace, against disarmament, for the triumph of the U.S. policies of aggression and war, to vote for imperialism and colonialism." Let all the imperialists and reactionaries who dream of undermining the unity of the socialist camp grumble! The debate at the U.N. General Assembly session on the restoration of China's seat is a fresh expression of the solid unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.

**D**URING this heated debate, the government leaders and delegates of the many Asian and African countries and Cuba and Finland also expressed sympathy and friendship for the Chinese people. Ghana's President Nkrumah, Cuban Prime Minister Castro, U.A.R. President Nasser, Afghan Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Naim, Cambodian Head of State Prince Sihanouk, Nepalese Prime Minister Koirala, Indonesian President Sukarno, Indian Prime Minister Nehru, Guinean President Toure and the delegates of Burma, Morocco, Ceylon, Iraq, Yemen and Finland all supported the restoration of China's seat in the United Nations. Prime Minister Castro pointed to the urgent necessity of solving the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China, saying: "The world will not be fully represented as long as the People's Republic of China—having a population of one quarter of the world's total—is absent from this Assembly." Prince Sihanouk said that major international problems could not be solved without the participation in international conferences of the lawful representatives of the Chinese people numbering close to 700 million, a nation whose might continues to grow. President Sukarno described China as an ancient, wise and powerful nation which "often is called Communist

China but which is the only China for us." Ceylonese delegate Corea said that it was quite absurd for certain countries which had diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China to vote against the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations. Let all the imperialists and reactionaries who dream of isolating China from the other Asian and African countries and from all other peace-loving nations grumble! The vast numbers of peace-loving nations including Cuba, which is the first Latin American country to have won independence and rid itself of the control of the United States, support the restoration of China's lawful seat in the United Nations. They will be joined by still more countries in the course of the upsurging tide of the national and democratic movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America when still more nations win their fight against imperialist domination and enslavement.

**A**S is generally known, China is a sponsor of the United Nations and a permanent member of its Security Council. It is only as a result of U.S. imperialism persisting in its policy of hostility to China and manipulating its voting machine in the United Nations that the People's Republic of China having a population of 650 million, is deprived of its lawful seat in the United Nations and that the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which was repudiated by the Chinese people 11 years ago, is thrust into the United Nations. This is not only firmly opposed by the Chinese people but also opposed by an ever increasing number of countries. The United States vainly seeks to isolate China by this arbitrary method and hopes that great China will "vanish." But history advances in a direction opposite to the U.S. desire. For 11 years, China has been deprived of its seat in the United Nations and has not been recognized by the United States, but the Chinese people have prospered, China's socialist construction has won great achievements, the struggle of the Chinese people against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war has scored great victories and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, of which China is one of the initiators and by which China consistently abides, have blossomed and borne fruits among countries over vast regions. China has become a strong and mighty country in the world in the struggle against imperialist aggression and in defence of world peace. It has won the sympathy and praise of the people the world over who treasure peace and uphold justice. New China has established and is developing friendly ties with the people of almost all countries in the world. We have friends everywhere in the world.

The result of U.S. manipulation in the United Nations to prevent restoration of China's lawful seat is that it is not China but the United States which has become more and more isolated in the world and in the United Nations, and that it is not the international status of China but the prestige of the United Nations which has been more and more impaired.

The Chinese people have always had a clear understanding of the U.S.-manipulated United Nations Organization. Although the U.S. position in the United Nations has become increasingly difficult, we know that U.S. im-

perialism will continue to use the United Nations to carry on hostile activities against China. In such circumstances, as long as China's lawful seat is not restored in the United Nations, we will have nothing to do with it. We are convinced that the countries in the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union will stand on China's side for ever; and that among the countries in the vast Asian, African

and Latin American regions and among all peace-loving countries in the world, more and more will support China, while more and more people will realize that no major current international issues can be settled without China's participation. The despicable U.S. activities to bar China from the United Nations will sooner or later go completely bankrupt.

## Political Work in the Chinese People's Liberation Army

**A**T a recent conference of high-ranking cadres of the People's Liberation Army, Marshal Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, gave extremely important directives on the army's political work. He explained the four kinds of relations and four principles in the sphere of political work, making an excellent application and elaboration of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. He clearly defined the direction of the political work in the People's Liberation Army in the new period for building up a modernized revolutionary army and of the entire work of army building.

The political work of our army, Marshal Lin Piao said, has fine traditions and has the ideological leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung who has given many directives and examples with regard to it, and it has very good foundations. In the past few years, Marshal Lin Piao pointed out, progress has been made in the army's political work; its shortcoming being insufficient attention to ideological questions. But since last May, 120,000 cadres in the entire army have gone down to the companies and basic levels, to promote the movement for cultivating the splendid "Three-Eight" working style of the People's Liberation Army and engage in political and ideological work in a big way. (This working style is generally summarized in three mottoes and eight words. The three mottoes are: Keep firmly to the correct political direction; maintain an assiduous and simple working style; be flexible and mobile in strategy and tactics. The eight words are: Be united; keep on-your-toes; be earnest; be lively. — *Ed.*). As a result, the situation has improved rapidly; the achievements have been tremendous and a new atmosphere has been created.

Marshal Lin Piao said: Political work is very important. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has stated, it is the lifeline of the People's Liberation Army, the supreme commander, the soul and the guarantor of all work. To be successful in all work it is necessary to rely on Party leadership, political work, the mass line and the political consciousness of man. We must now, he emphasized, grasp ideological questions and shift the centre of our work to the ideological sphere. As to method, we must go down from the offices to the companies and from the higher to the lower levels and bring the masses into action. Political work is the mass work of the Communist Party in the army. It is similar to the work of arousing the masses in various localities; we are arousing the masses who carry weapons and wear uniforms. When the masses are aroused, and when ideas grip the people, there is

strength. We must, said Marshal Lin Piao, grasp the ideological situation at the lower levels and ensure that the ideas of the leadership are put into effect. The battle of ideas is very important. If the battle of ideas is not well fought, it is impossible to fight other battles well.

There are four inter-related questions in political work in the army, said Marshal Lin Piao. They are:

(1) The relationship between weapons and men. Both weapons and men are needed in war, but weapons have to be used by man. If the men have no courage, the weapons cannot play their full part. Therefore, victory in war depends on man. After all the atom bombing and shelling is over, when the enemy is engaged at distances of several score metres, reliance must still be placed on man's courage, high degree of political consciousness and spirit of sacrifice. In attack, you can win victory only by storming the enemy's positions. In defence, you can smash the enemy only by being able to stand up to his attack. This is the key question in deciding victory. We need both weapons and men, but we attach greater importance to the role of man. The spiritual atomic bomb, that is, man's ideological consciousness and courage, is much more powerful and useful than the material atomic bomb. And only we can forge this spiritual weapon. Our enemies cannot. Therefore it is something which is ours alone; imperialism has no way to compete with us.

(2) The relationship between political and other work. In the army there are different kinds of work: headquarters, rear-service, military training, culture and education, etc. But all other forms of work can be done well only when political work is well done and the initiative and creativeness of men is brought into full play. By firmly grasping this link, solutions can be found to all questions. When political work is done well, man is governed by ideology, by politics and by himself and troops can be kept in good shape. In building up the army, Chairman Mao first of all dealt with political work, building the army on a political basis. When political work is well done, the political consciousness, initiative and creativeness of men can be developed to the fullest.

(3) The relationship between ideological and other aspects of political work. Political work has various aspects, some of an administrative or business nature, others of an ideological nature. All its aspects, not just one, must be attended to, but the emphasis must be on ideological work. To carry out its policy among the

masses the Communist Party must carry on education in their midst in accordance with the needs of the masses themselves, and on the basis of living questions, not abstractions.

(4) The relationship between ideas from books and living ideas. Books are necessary, but living ideas are the important thing. Books, too, must be integrated with practice. One cannot find out from books what problems exist among the troops, what the policies of the Central Committee of the Communist Party are, what the international situation is. These questions must be answered by taking reality as the core, from the proletarian standpoint and in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles. Ideological work must reflect reality; things must be done in accordance with actual circumstances. This is materialism. It has been thoroughly elaborated in Chairman Mao Tse-tung's reports "Reform Our Study," "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," and "Oppose the Party 'Eight-leg-

ged' Essay." The main thing is to grasp living ideas, look into the ideological situation at the lower levels, arrange work in accordance with the ideas of the Central Committee of the Party and answer questions from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. Books are necessary but book learning must be linked with reality. The function of political work is to communicate the ideas of the leadership to the masses and vice versa, and clear away any possible obstacles. The main section of the political department of the army is its propaganda department, which is in charge of ideological work.

Marshal Lin Piao called for the concentration of forces to make a break-through at one point, in the same way as in battle. At present, he said, the task is to break through at the point of ideological work in the general field of the political work of the army, so as to advance the political work to a higher level and do it better and better.

## Sino-Korean Economic Agreements Signed

**T**HE Governments of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea signed in Peking on October 13 an "Agreement on the Granting of Loans by the People's Republic of China to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea" and an "Agreement on the Supplying of Whole Sets of Equipment and Technical Aid by the People's Republic of China to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea."

The agreements were signed after sincere and friendly talks between the visiting Korean Government Economic Delegation and the Chinese Government on the further strengthening of mutual economic aid and co-operation between the two countries.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien signed the agreements for China. Vice-Premier Li Joo Yun, head of the Korean Government Economic Delegation, signed for Korea.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Ho Lung were present at the signing ceremony.

Under these two agreements, the Chinese Government will, in the period 1961-64, grant a long-term loan of 420 million rubles to the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic and help the latter build industrial plants for the manufacture of rubber tyres and radio communications equipment and a number of light industrial enterprises producing consumer goods. The agreements also stipulate that China will provide Korea with cotton textile equipment and radio equipment.

The success of the talks between the Government Economic Delegations of China and Korea is an indication of the further development and consolidation of the unbreakable and lofty friendship between the peoples of the two countries, which is cemented in blood. It is a new contribution by the Governments and peoples of the two countries to the great unity and strength of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.

On the evening of the signing of the two agreements, Premier Chou En-lai gave a banquet in honour of Korean

Vice-Premier Li Joo Yun and the Delegation he led. Both Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Li Joo Yun spoke at the banquet. They congratulated each other on the signing of the two agreements, and pointed out that the peoples of China and Korea would for ever be united, and support and assist each other in the building of socialism and in their struggle against the common enemy — U.S. imperialism.

The following evening, Korean Ambassador to China Li Young Ho gave a banquet for Vice-Premier Li Joo Yun and the Delegation he led.

Speaking at the banquet, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien of China said: In the war against U.S. imperialist aggression, the Korean people, with their dauntless, heroic spirit, defeated the aggression launched by U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious imperialism in the world. They thus not only defended the independence of their own fatherland, but also safeguarded the security of China. This was a tremendous support to the peaceful construction of the Chinese people.

We Chinese people, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien stressed, always hold that mutual help and support among socialist countries is a sacred and glorious duty we should carry out in our big socialist family, which at the same time is in our common interests. The Chinese people are eager to contribute their bit to the Korean people's cause of socialist construction. Owing to the fact that at present our country has not yet rid itself of the economic backwardness carried over from the old society, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien continued, our aid to the Korean people is still very limited. But the Chinese people are firmly convinced that, with the continuous leap forward in socialist construction in our two countries, the fraternal mutual help and co-operation between China and Korea will certainly be continually strengthened, and that there will assuredly be a continued common upsurge in the economies of the two countries.



# Ikeda Government's Diplomatic Moves

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

*Following is a commentary published in "Renmin Ribao" on October 11.—Ed.*

**A**FTER the notorious Nobusuke Kishi government of Japan fell under the blows of the Japanese people, a new government headed by Hayato Ikeda took its place. When this new government was first formed, the Japanese bourgeois propaganda machine tried in many ways to create the impression that Hayato Ikeda was different from Nobusuke Kishi; meanwhile, the Ikeda government itself also pretended to adopt a "moderate" attitude. For instance, it alleged that it would "discard subservience to the United States," adopt "a good-neighbour foreign policy towards all countries," China being "no exception," and that it "hopes to be able to establish friendly relations with communist China and Russia" and so on. But the flood of words uttered and the things done by Hayato Ikeda and other responsible officials of his government in the short period of less than three months since its formation stand in sharp contrast with the fine promises above quoted.

Soon after it was formed, the Ikeda government sent a delegation headed by Tsuruhei Matsuno, Speaker of the Japanese House of Councillors, to Taiwan where he publicly announced that "the new Ikeda government of Japan will absolutely not recognize communist China." Matsuno's statement showed clearly that the Ikeda government's foreign policy was one of continued subservience to the United States and hostility to China. Matsuno also indicated in Taiwan that the Ikeda government hoped that Taiwan, south Korea and Japan would strengthen their "co-operation." On September 6, the Ikeda government sent Foreign Minister Zentaro Kosaka to south Korea and even issued a joint communique with the Chang Myun government, publicly announcing that Japan and south Korea would strengthen "friendship" and "co-operation." These actions of the Ikeda government indisputably show that it is stepping up the plan, begun in the period of the Kishi government, to patch up a northeast Asian military alliance. In order to please the south Korean government, the Ikeda government recently broke off unilaterally the negotiations to prolong the agreement on the repatriation of Korean nationals residing in Japan. Inejiro Asanuma, Chairman of the Japanese Socialist Party, pointed out that "the sabotage of the work to repatriate Korean nationals is part of the intrigues of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries to form a 'northeast Asian treaty organization.'" This assertion conforms to reality.

Particularly serious is the fact that on September 22 when the Steering Committee of the U.N. General As-

sembly, as a result of manipulation by U.S. imperialism, insisted on interposing, despite opposition, the so-called "Tibet question"—which constitutes interference in China's internal affairs—into the agenda of the current U.N. General Assembly session, the Ikeda government's delegation headed by Foreign Minister Zentaro Kosaka voted for it and expressed approval of U.S. interference in China's internal affairs. The Chinese people resolutely oppose the vicious attempt of the imperialist bloc headed by the United States and its followers to interfere in China's internal affairs by cooking up the so-called "Tibet question." The Chinese Government and people have always respected Japan's sovereignty and territorial integrity and consistently supported the Japanese people's desire for the return of Okinawa. We have never questioned Japan's sovereignty over Okinawa. Yet, the Japanese Government not only has time and again announced its intention of continuing to maintain its so-called diplomatic relations with the Chiang Kai-shek clique which has been repudiated by the Chinese people, and continues the intrigue for creating "two Chinas," but also has now openly collaborated with U.S. imperialism in an attempt to deny China's sovereignty over Tibet. This the Chinese people will absolutely never tolerate. Recently, on October 8, the Ikeda government again voted at the United Nations for the U.S. resolution rejecting the restoration of China's lawful seat in the United Nations. Judging from these dirty deeds of the Ikeda government, it can be further affirmed that Hayato Ikeda is in no way second to Nobusuke Kishi in subservience to the United States and hostility to China.

**A**S to the Japan-U.S. military alliance treaty, resolutely opposed by the broad masses of the Japanese people and severely denounced by fair-minded world public opinion, the Ikeda government has not only expressed its readiness to carry it out loyally but openly declared that this aggressive military alliance is the core of its foreign policy. According to U.P.I., during his talks with U.S. Ambassador to Japan Douglas MacArthur II, Hayato Ikeda personally pledged that "Japan will fulfil her obligations under the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty." On September 12, Japanese Foreign Minister Zentaro Kosaka stressed, in his joint communique with the U.S. Secretary of State in Washington, that Herter and he "agreed upon the importance of maintaining close co-operation between the two countries within the framework of their new treaty of mutual co-operation and security." On September 6, the Ikeda government formally adopted the "new policy" made public by the Liberal Democratic Party on September 5 as its domestic and foreign policy. Article three

of the chapter on foreign relations of this "new policy" explicitly provides that "Japan will maintain the Japan-U.S. joint security set-up and the minimum necessary self-defence power." According to the Japanese press, the Japanese "National Defence Agency" decided on September 14 to demand that the Japanese Government allot to it 185,000 million yen in next year's budget. This sum of military expenses is 36,500 million yen more than the amount for the present year. If military expenses put under other categories in the budget are added, then the total sum of Japan's direct military expenses next year will surpass 200,000 million yen. At the same time, the United States is making every effort to induce Japan to adopt nuclear armaments. According to Kyodo, Henry A. Kissinger, policy advisor to the U.S. Defense Department, said in Tokyo on September 9 that, as to the nuclear armament of Japan, if Japan maintained close relations with the United States, the United States could provide nuclear weapons at any time. We have always held that after the U.S. troops withdraw from Japan and after Japan has got rid of U.S. control and won complete independence, the Japanese people should possess armed forces for self-defence. But the Ikeda government's so-called "maintenance of minimum necessary self-defence power" is only another name for the revival of militarism and armament expansion and war preparation. What is the Ikeda government's attitude towards the desire of the broad masses of the Japanese people for neutrality? According to the "new policy," "Japan will reject idealistic neutralism, and, as a member of the free world, co-operate more closely with the free nations, including the United States." At the same time, the Ikeda government even apologized to that chieftain of U.S. imperialism, Eisenhower, who had been compelled to cancel his scheduled visit to Japan as a result of the resolute opposition of the broad masses of the Japanese people, and, furthermore, announced that it had renewed the invitation for Eisenhower to visit Japan.

**T**Hese iron-clad facts show that the Ikeda government's policy of toeing the U.S. line, showing hostility to China and reviving Japanese militarism is by no means different, in essence, from that of the Nobusuke Kishi government. The broad masses of the Japanese people and the Japanese patriotic and democratic forces have made a correct appraisal of the nature of the Ikeda government. *Akahata*, organ of the Japanese Communist Party, has pointed out that "the new policy keeps intact Kishi's foreign policy, attacks neutralism and reiterates Japan's stand of persistent loyalty to the imperialist camp. Like Nobusuke Kishi's policy, the characteristic of this new policy announced by the Liberal Democratic Party headed by Ikeda is also to uphold and strengthen the military alliance with the United States." Commenting on the "new policy" of the Liberal Democratic Party, the Japanese Socialist Party declared on September 5 that "in the field of foreign policy, it, as in the past, still leans towards the United States. . . . It does not take a single step beyond the Kishi government with regard to such questions as the restoration of Japan-China diplomatic relations or of trade about which the people show concern." Inejiro Asanuma, Chairman of the Japanese

Socialist Party, while condemning Ikeda's speech at Sendai on September 17 for his slanderous attacks on China and the Soviet Union, pointed out recently that "Ikeda's speech clearly reveals the countenance of the Ikeda government as a Kishi-type government." The joint statement issued on October 3 by 12 Japanese delegations of various fields visiting China and eight Chinese people's organizations pointed out that "the Ikeda government, in carrying out the will of U.S. imperialism and the Japanese forces of reaction, is still obstructing the normalization of relations between China and Japan." It is quite understandable why the broad masses of the Japanese people and the Japanese patriotic and democratic forces who have suffered terribly from the evil consequences of Kishi's policy of following the United States, showing hostility to China and reviving Japanese militarism, as well as far-sighted Japanese are so sensitive to the reproduction of the Kishi policy.

The "moderate" attitude which the Ikeda government professed to adopt on its assumption of power proves to be a trick to pull the wool over the eyes of the Japanese people so as to secure more votes in the forthcoming general elections. In point of fact, it continues to pursue a policy of trailing behind the United States, antagonizing China and creating "two Chinas," and plots to interfere in China's internal affairs. It is all in the interests of the pro-U.S. monopoly capital and militarist circles of Japan. It is not difficult for all clear-sighted people to see this.

Ever since the Ikeda government came into being, we have adopted an attitude of judging its words by its deeds. And now, nearly three months after its formation, there are already enough facts to show the reactionary nature of its diplomatic moves.

**T**HE Chinese Government and people, like the broad masses of the Japanese people, heartily desire friendship between the two peoples, and wish to establish normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and develop their relations towards peace and friendship. With this in view, we have always been working alongside all the patriotic and democratic forces of Japan and exerting unremitting efforts for the defence of peace in Asia and the world, and for the improvement of relations between China and Japan. The fall of the Kishi government which had undermined Sino-Japanese relations, opened up a certain possibility to break the deadlock in the relations between the two countries. But this possibility has been impaired by the Ikeda government with its numerous statements and acts hostile to China. Such being the case, we deem it absolutely necessary to reiterate the three political principles for Sino-Japanese relations. They are: firstly, the Japanese Government must cease to be hostile to China, for the Chinese Government is not hostile to Japan; secondly, the Japanese Government must not follow the United States in the "two Chinas" plot; and thirdly, the Japanese Government must stop obstructing the development of Sino-Japanese relations in the direction of normalization. Sino-Japanese relations can be normalized only when the Japanese Government agrees to these three

political principles which are completely founded on the basis of equality.

To strengthen friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples, Premier Chou En-lai recently expressed welcome for friendly contacts between the two peoples in the political, economic, cultural, artistic and other spheres, and then put forward three principles for Sino-Japanese trade relations, as an important supplement to the three political principles. These are: 1) government agreement; 2) private contracts; 3) special consideration in individual cases. All agreements from now on must be concluded between the Governments of the two countries and only so can their implementation be guaranteed, because the Japanese Government did not wish to guarantee the implementation of the private agreements concluded in the past. Government agreements can only be signed in conditions when the relations between the two countries are developing in a friendly direction and when normal relations have been established; otherwise they cannot be signed. In the absence of agreements between the Governments of the two countries, Chinese and Japanese companies which are friendly to each other may proceed from their needs, negotiate and sign private contracts between themselves whenever conditions are mature. This special consideration in individual cases has been carried out for two years. It may be continued in the future and the volume may even be expanded a bit in accordance with needs. We hold that so long as the Japanese Government continues to be hostile to China, follow the United States in the "two Chinas" plot and obstruct the development of Sino-Japanese relations in the direction of normalization, it will be impossible for the two countries to resume trade on a large scale. Nevertheless, individual cases of private economic contacts are indispensable and necessary for the two peoples. Today the broad masses of the Japanese

people and patriotic, far-sighted Japanese of all sections are sincere in their desire for the development of relations of friendship between China and Japan. In the past one year and more, in particular, the two peoples have enhanced their comradeship-in-arms in their common struggle against U.S. imperialism, and both peoples want to see the further growth of this friendship. In these circumstances, pending the restoration of normal relations between the two countries and the conclusion of government agreements, it is reasonable for us to conclude trade contracts in individual cases with those private Japanese enterprises which are friendly to us, in accordance with the needs of both parties, and it is also conducive to the promotion of friendly relations and economic exchange between the two peoples.

The developments since Ikeda's assumption of power show that the diplomatic moves of his government are obviously hostile to China, subservient to the United States and endangering peace in the Far East and the world. In face of this, the Chinese people, as they should, cannot but express their concern. At present, the Japanese people are struggling indomitably for the independence, peace, democracy and neutrality of their motherland. The Chinese people will always support these aspirations of the Japanese people. We believe that the Japanese people, who have a tradition of national independence, a sense of national self-respect and desire for peace, will assuredly grow steadily in strength in the course of the development of their struggle. No reactionaries can crush the great will and strength of the Japanese people. An independent, peaceful, democratic and neutral Japan is bound to emerge. The friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples founded completely on the basis of equality is bound to be consolidated and grow with each passing day.

## Premier Chou En-lai on Sino-Japanese Relations

**P**REMIER Chou En-lai gave a banquet on October 11 in honour of Tatsunosuke Takasaki and the group of other Japanese guests who are accompanying him on his current visit to China. It was Takasaki who headed the Japanese delegation to the Bandung Conference in 1955. Speaking at the banquet, Premier Chou pointed out that China is willing to restore normal relations with Japan and promote friendly co-operation between the peoples of the two countries in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. Premier Chou reiterated the three minimum conditions for improving Sino-Japanese relations and said that the authorities of both countries should improve relations between China and Japan on these conditions.

Premier Chou En-lai said how glad he was to meet once again after a long separation his colleague at the Bandung Conference and his friend Mr. Takasaki, and he welcomed the other Japanese friends from the economic field who are with Mr. Takasaki on this visit. In his speech, the Premier said: It is just as Mr. Takasaki stated on his arrival in Peking, relations between China and Japan have been in an unnatural state during the past 15 years since the end of World War II. Responsibility for this, however, does not lie on the Chinese side, the Premier pointed out.

The peoples of China and Japan wish to be friendly with each other, Premier Chou said. What the Chinese people are concerned about is that a handful of rulers in Japan, relying on foreign forces, are trying to revive

Japanese militarism and endanger peace in the Far East. But we are convinced, Premier Chou declared, that the Japanese people, who have a tradition of national independence, a sense of national self-respect and desire for peace, are against the revival of Japanese militarism and wish to restore normal relations between China and Japan. These aspirations of the Japanese people, Premier Chou said, are identical with those of the Chinese people.

The Premier expressed his happiness that the friendly relations between the peoples of China and Japan are growing and that exchanges of friendly visits are increasing day by day. This will greatly help peace in the Far East, Asia and the rest of the world, he said.

Premier Chou stressed in his speech that China is willing to restore normal relations with Japan and promote friendly co-operation between the two peoples on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. He then reiterated the minimum conditions for improving relations between China and Japan. These conditions are: 1) There should not be hostility towards each other; China is not hostile to Japan, and Japan should not be hostile to China. 2) China recognizes Japan, and Japan should not follow the United States and participate in the plot to create "two Chinas." 3) Development of Sino-Japanese relations in the direction of normalization should not be obstructed but should be promoted. As both the Chinese and Japanese peoples have these desires, Premier Chou said, the authorities of both countries should therefore improve relations between the two countries in accordance with these three minimum conditions.

In conclusion, Premier Chou welcomed Mr. Takasaki's efforts to explore on his own behalf all possible ways to improve Sino-Japanese relations on the basis of the ten principles of the Bandung Conference.

## Joint Statement by Chinese and Japanese Committees for Afro-Asian Solidarity

**D**RIVE the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces out of Asia and Africa, thoroughly wipe out colonialism and win complete national independence! This is the basic task for the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, declares the statement jointly issued in Peking on October 8 by the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and the visiting Delegation of the Japanese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

The joint statement records the identical views of the two sides with regard to the question of strengthening the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and supporting the common struggle for national independence and against imperialism. It says that U.S. imperialism—which is turning Japan into a military base, illegally occupying Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands, occupying China's territory of Taiwan by armed force and plotting to create "two Chinas"—is the common enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. U.S. imperialism, the statement continues, is carrying out aggression and intervention everywhere in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world, and is frenziedly engaged in arms expansion and war preparations. It is, therefore, also the common enemy of the peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and throughout the world.

Paying tribute to the Japanese people's nationwide movement to oppose the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," the statement says that it is a great, patriotic and just struggle which has dealt a telling blow to the war plots and aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism in Asia, and has strongly inspired and supported the struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world against imperialism and colonialism and for the

winning and safeguarding of national independence, democratic liberties and the defence of world peace. At the same time, the statement notes, the wave of tempestuous struggles against U.S. imperialism that has swept Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world has also given great inspiration and support to the Japanese people's struggle.

The joint statement strongly condemns the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Both parties are of the opinion that the basic task for the Afro-Asian solidarity movement is to drive the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces out of Asia and Africa, thoroughly wipe out colonialism and win complete national independence. Only when this basic task is fulfilled will it be possible for the Asian and African peoples to enjoy genuine peace and prosperity. It is necessary, the statement says, to hold aloft the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist banner and exert persistent and unremitting efforts to uphold and carry through the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, the ten principles of the Bandung Conference and the declarations and resolutions of the two Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conferences held in Cairo and Conakry.

The statement expresses weighty support for the peoples of Algeria, the Congo, Cuba, Laos, south Korea, south Viet Nam and the other peoples in their just struggle against aggression and intervention by the imperialist countries headed by the United States. Both parties solemnly protest against U.S. imperialist aggressive acts against the Congo carried out under the flag of the United Nations. They pledge themselves to resolutely expose and oppose the U.S. imperialist plot of using and manipulating the United Nations to push ahead with its

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## Condolences on Inejiro Asanuma's Death

In a message to the headquarters of the Japanese Socialist Party, Premier Chou En-lai expressed deep condolences on the assassination of its Chairman, Inejiro Asanuma, by a fascist gangster, and requested that his sincere sympathy be conveyed to Inejiro Asanuma's family. Premier Chou wrote:

"Mr. Asanuma was an outstanding, patriotic statesman of Japan and a respected friend of the Chinese people. It is no accident that he was assassinated at a time when the patriotic, just struggle of the Japanese people against U.S. imperialism had scored tremendous victories and when the general elections in Japan were approaching. This is a grave signal of a new attack to be unleashed against the Japanese people by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. But this vile act by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries can only make themselves even more unpopular; it will only arouse the Japanese people to still greater indignation and stimulate them to unite on a still broader scale for struggle."

"We pledge," Premier Chou continued, "that the Chinese people will for ever stand by the side of the Japanese people who oppose U.S. imperialist aggres-

sion, strive for national independence, safeguard world peace and promote Sino-Japanese friendship. We firmly believe that the struggle of the Japanese people for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality and for promoting the normalization of relations between China and Japan will certainly win ultimate victory, and that the unfulfilled task of Mr. Asanuma will certainly be brought to fruition with the victory of the Japanese people's struggle."

Similar messages of condolences were sent by Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee; Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity; Liu Ning-I, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions; Chang Hsi-jo, President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs; Chu Tu-nan, President of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; Li Teh-chuan, President of the Red Cross Society of China; Nan Han-chen, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade; and by the National Women's Federation of the People's Republic of China and the All-China Youth Federation.

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new colonialist schemes in Africa and other areas. They firmly believe that so long as the people of all countries continuously strengthen their unity, heighten their vigilance, expand the united front against imperialism headed by the United States and persist in struggle to the end, they will surely win final victory over the imperialist and colonialist forces, thus enabling the Asian and African peoples and all other oppressed nations and peoples to win genuine independence and freedom and safeguard lasting world peace.

The struggle by the peoples of Asian and African countries for general disarmament, a ban on nuclear weapons, the liquidation of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops and the easing of international tension must be intensified, declares the statement, and U.S. imperialist activities to step up nuclear armament, rig up and expand aggressive military blocs, carry out military provocations and war threats must be resolutely opposed. Both parties support Premier Chou En-lai's proposal that the countries in Asia and around the Pacific, including the United States, conclude a peace pact of mutual non-aggression and turn this region into a nuclear weapon free area, and they are determined to make common efforts for the realization of this proposal.

The joint statement notes that the further strengthening of friendship and unity between the peoples of China and Japan is beneficial not only to the common struggle of the two peoples, but also to the strengthening of the unity of the Asian and African peoples and the safeguarding of peace in these two continents and throughout the world. To realize this aim, the statement continues, the struggle against forces hostile to China and obstructing the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations must be continued. While welcoming mutual visits between the people's organizations of China and Japan and cultural exchanges between the peoples of the two countries, both parties hold that the three political principles and the three trade principles put forward by the Chinese Government are the only way to break the deadlock in Sino-Japanese relations. With these principles as the basis, the joint statement concludes, both parties are determined to work together to develop economic exchanges between the peoples of the two countries and for the early restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

This joint statement was signed by Li Teh-chuan, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and Tokumatsu Sakamoto, Head of the Delegation of the Japanese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

# Agriculture: Foundation Of the National Economy

by YANG LING

**T**HE development of China's national economy must take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the dominant factor, and integrate priority for the development of heavy industry with the speedy development of agriculture. This is the scientific summation of the experience of socialist construction in our country made by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung; it is the most important component part of our general line for building socialism. The policy of the Party and practical results have repeatedly shown and proved that under the socialist system, industry and agriculture are closely integrated and mutually promote each other; agriculture is certainly not merely adapted to and limited by industrial growth in a negative and passive way, but is able to promote and push forward the development of industry and the national economy as a whole in a positive and active way. One of the fundamental reasons for the high-speed and proportionate development of our national economy is the fact that we have found out such a correct road, that is, the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture. This is a brilliant example of creatively applying the fundamental principles of Marxism in solving the problems of socialist economic construction; at the same time, it also develops and enriches Marxist political economy.

## **The Party and Chairman Mao Always Give Serious Attention to the Peasant and Agricultural Questions**

The questions of the peasants and of agriculture are both of primary importance in the revolution and in construction. The Chinese Communist Party has always given great attention to the important role played by agriculture in economic construction as a whole, just as it gave to the important role played by the peasants in past political revolutions. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, during the period of the democratic revolution, a resolute struggle was carried out against various mistaken ideas that neglected the tremendous role played by the peasants in the revolution, and the closest alliance was established between the proletariat and the broad masses of peasants, thus laying a solid foundation for the victory of the revolution; at the same time, the policy that "agricultural production occupies first place in our economic construction" was formulated (Mao Tse-tung, "Our Economic Policy," a report delivered in 1934 in Juikin, Kiangsi). In 1939 Comrade Mao Tse-tung again pointed out: "The peasantry constitutes approximately 80 per cent of the nation's total population and is the mainstay of China's present-day national economy" ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party"). Under

the arduous conditions of the agrarian revolution, the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression and the People's War of Liberation, the Chinese Communist Party led the masses in establishing the revolutionary bases that provided plenty of food and clothing and were prosperous and happy, and it acquired rich experience in economic construction before the nationwide victory of the revolution. In his political report to the Party's Seventh National Congress in 1945, "On Coalition Government," Comrade Mao Tse-tung foresaw the extreme importance of the peasant and agricultural questions in the process of the industrialization of the country. He pointed out again in 1948: "The elimination of feudalism and the development of agricultural production will lay the foundation for the development of industrial production and the transformation of an agricultural country into an industrial one" ("Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area").

After the liberation of the country, the Chinese Communist Party still gave the greatest attention to rural work even though work in the cities became very heavy. In his closing speech at the Second Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in June 1950, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The majority of China's population are peasants. The revolution was won with the help of the peasants, and the industrialization of the country must again depend on their assistance for its success." The Party and state adopted a series of major policies and measures to accelerate the change in the relations of production in agriculture and the growth of the agricultural productive forces; in three years output of major agricultural products was restored to or exceeded the highest levels ever achieved in the country's history. Then the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao formulated the general line for socialist revolution in our country and creatively put forward the famous principle that the steps in the advance of socialist transformation of agriculture in our country should be co-ordinated with those of socialist industrialization, guiding the more than 500 million peasants to move swiftly on to the socialist road. In the First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy of the People's Republic of China put forward by the Party's Central Committee, it was clearly stated: "We are determined to develop industry, but we must on no account belittle the importance of developing our agriculture. Practical life has, in fact, brought home to us the tremendous importance of agriculture to the growth of industry. We cannot industrialize our country without a corresponding development of our agriculture." In July 1955, Comrade Mao Tse-tung once again pointed out in

his report on "The Question of Agricultural Co-operation": It is necessary to "resolve the contradiction between the ever-increasing demand for marketable grain and industrial raw materials and the present generally poor yields of staple crops," otherwise, "we shall not be able to complete socialist industrialization." Industry and agriculture, he said in the same report, "cannot be separated, cannot be dealt with in isolation from each other. Moreover, there must be no attempt to put emphasis on one only and underrate the other."

After having led the rural areas of the country to an upsurge in the socialist revolution and won the great victory in agricultural co-operation, the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, on the basis of the proposal of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, put forward in January 1956 the draft National Programme for Agricultural Development. This great programme for the high-speed development of socialist agriculture and building the new socialist countryside has played a tremendous role in promoting the upsurges of both agricultural production and socialist construction as a whole. At an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee held in April 1956, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a report on "Ten Sets of Relationships" and listed as the primary question the correct handling of relations between industry and agriculture and between heavy and light industry. In September of the same year, the Resolution of the Party's Eighth National Congress on the Political Report of the Central Committee further pointed out: "Agriculture has a wide and extremely important influence on industrialization. Agricultural development not only bears directly on the living standards of the people and the rate of growth of light industry, it also has an impact on the rate of growth of heavy industry. . . . We must make a still greater effort to develop agriculture." In February 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his report "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" gave a more penetrating analysis of the relations between heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. He pointed out that this is the question of China's path to industrialization and put forward the policy that "industry and agriculture must be developed simultaneously." In the light of the new upsurge in socialist construction that emerged after the nationwide rectification campaign, the Third Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee in September 1957 put forward and adopted the revised draft of the National Programme for Agricultural Development. The Programme declares in its introduction: ". . . the development of agriculture occupies a vital place in our socialist construction. Agriculture supplies industry with grain and raw materials. At the same time, the countryside, with its more than 500 million population, provides our industry with the biggest domestic market in the world. In this sense, without our agriculture there could be no industry in our country. It is utterly wrong to neglect the importance of agricultural work."

At the Second Session of the Party's Eighth National Congress in May 1958, the general line for building socialism was formulated, listing simultaneous development of industry and agriculture as one of its fundamental points. The fact of the big leap forward demonstrates the power of this general line and further proves that in-

dustry and agriculture can be simultaneously developed at high speed. During the big leap, on the basis of the logical trend of growth of China's agricultural production and the great creation of the masses of the people, the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave timely leadership to the people throughout the countryside in establishing the people's communes, thus creating this best form of organization for the high-speed building of socialism and the future step-by-step transition to communism. On the basis of the big leap and under the conditions of the steady consolidation and sound growth of the people's communes, our socialist construction entered a new period of a continued leap forward. It was then that the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a further Marxist summing up of the rich experience of the proletariat in leading socialist economic construction, put forward the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation, industry as the dominant factor and integrating priority for the development of heavy industry with the speedy development of agriculture, pointed out that accelerating the growth of agriculture is a central link in the high-speed and proportionate development of our socialist economic construction, and put forward the task of speeding up the technical transformation of agriculture.

#### **The Party's Policy Correctly Reflects the Objective Laws of Economic Development**

This policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the dominant factor entirely conforms to the Marxist theory of expanded reproduction, and correctly reflects the inherent links between the two most important departments of the national economy. In accordance with the theory of expanded reproduction, priority must be given to the production of capital goods. According to the same theory, expansion of the production of capital goods can in no way be separated from the production of consumer goods. Expounding the Marxist theory of reproduction, Lenin said: "Means of production are manufactured not for their own sakes but only because more and more means of production are demanded by the branches of industry manufacturing consumer goods." ("Reply to Mr. P. Nezhdanov.") Of course, branches of agriculture producing consumer goods equally demand more and more means of production; the development of branches of industry producing consumer goods is more directly linked with the development of agriculture. The realization of expanded reproduction demands additional labour materialized in the form of goods (capital goods and consumer goods) and additional labour power. The additional capital goods needed for the expanded reproduction of heavy industry can be derived mainly from the department of heavy industry itself (part is also derived from light industry and agriculture). A considerable portion of the additional consumer goods and labour power needed comes from agriculture (part also comes from light industry). Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in his "On Coalition Government," has already pointed out that the peasants are both the sources of industrial labour power and the mainstay of the market for industry. "Only the peasants can supply the largest amount of foodstuffs and raw materials and consume the largest amount of manufactured goods." In his report on "The Question of Agricultural Co-operation" he again pointed out: "A considerable part of the large

funds which are needed to complete both industrialization of the country and the technical transformation of agriculture is derived from agriculture. Apart from the direct agricultural tax, accumulation of funds comes about by way of developing the production of light industry, which produces large quantities of goods needed by the peasants. The peasants exchange their marketable grain and industrial raw materials for these goods. That satisfies the material demands of both the peasants and the state. It also accumulates funds for the state. But any large-scale expansion of light industry requires the development not only of heavy industry but of agriculture too." In his report "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" he expounded even more clearly the reasons why agriculture provides heavy industry with an important market: ". . . it is not so clearly understood that agriculture provides heavy industry with an important market. This fact, however, will be more readily appreciated as the gradual progress of technological improvement and modernization of agriculture calls for more and more machinery, fertilizers, water conservancy and electric power projects and transport facilities for the farms, as well as fuel and building materials for the rural consumers. 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. Hence what may seem to be a slower pace of industrialization is actually not so, and indeed the tempo may even be speeded up."

It is precisely because the Party's policy correctly reflects the objective laws of economic development that it has demonstrated immense strength in the Chinese people's practical activities for building socialism. During the decade from 1950 to 1959, the gross value of agricultural output increased 2.7-fold, an average annual rate of increase of 10.4 per cent. This high-speed growth has no parallel in history. The high-speed development of agriculture has appeared simultaneously with, and played an important role in the high-speed development of industry. During the First Five-Year Plan, the average annual rate of increase of the gross value of industrial output was 18 per cent, that of the gross value of agricultural output was 4.5 per cent. The ratio between the two was 4 to 1. In the value of industrial output, that of means of production rose 25.4 per cent, occupying a position of priority. In 1958, the gross value of industrial output rose 66 per cent, and that of agricultural output, 25 per cent. The rates of growth of both showed a great rise, while the ratio between the two changed to 2.65 to 1. In the value of industrial output, that of means of production increased 103 per cent, still occupying a position of priority. In 1959, the gross value of industrial output increased 39.3 per cent and that of agricultural output, 16.7 per cent. The rate of growth of both were still very fast and the ratio between them changed to 2.35 to 1. In the value of industrial output, that of means of production increased 43.3 per cent, again occupying a position of priority. Their rates of growth showed that industry and agriculture have indeed developed simultaneously, that indeed, while heavy industry has been given priority for development, agriculture has developed rapidly too. From this, we can see

clearly that industry and agriculture can develop simultaneously at high speed, and that priority for the development of heavy industry is integrated with the speedy development of agriculture. Such development is truly a proportionate development.

### **The Development of Agriculture Plays an Immense Role in Promoting the Growth of the National Economy as a Whole**

The reality of our country's economic construction fully proves that the policy laid down by the Party's Central Committee and the thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the importance of agriculture and the relations between industry and agriculture correctly reflect objective truth. In the last few years, farm produce is used as raw materials for producing approximately half of the value of industrial output in our country; about 80 per cent of the raw materials for light industry comes from agriculture; about half of our country's total financial revenue is connected, directly or indirectly, with agriculture, and over 70 per cent of our export commodities are farm products and goods processed from these products. A bumper or poor harvest, therefore, cannot but have an important effect on the rate of development of the national economy in the current year or in the one following.

During the decade from 1950 to 1959, the average annual rate of increase of the gross value of agricultural output was about 10.4 per cent, and that of the gross value of industrial output was about 29.2 per cent. Generally speaking, when the annual rate of increase of the value of agricultural production surpassed the average rate, that of the value of industrial output in the following year also surpassed the average rate. When the annual rate of increase of the value of agricultural production was much lower than the average rate, that of the value of industrial output in the following year was also much lower than the average rate. This is also roughly the case with the increase of the gross national income and state financial revenues.

In 1950, the rate of increase in agriculture was 17.7 per cent. In 1951, the rate of increase in industry was 37.9 per cent, that of national income was 17 per cent, and that of state financial revenues nearly doubled.

In 1952, the rate of increase in agriculture was 15.3 per cent. In 1953, the rate of increase in industry was 30.2 per cent, that of national income was 14 per cent and that of state financial revenues was 24 per cent.

In 1958, the rate of increase in agriculture was 25 per cent. In 1959, the rate of increase in industry was 39.3 per cent, that of national income was 21.6 per cent and that of state financial revenues was 29.4 per cent.

The foregoing shows the effects the fairly rapid rate of increase in agriculture in the three years during the decade had on each following year. These figures fully demonstrate that with a satisfactory development of agriculture, every economic task can be more easily tackled; that is to say, that the acceleration of the development of agriculture is a central link in the high-speed and proportionate development of the socialist economy.

The facts cited below show the effects the rather slower rate of increase in agriculture in another three years of the decade had on each following year.



In 1953, the rate of increase in agriculture was 3.1 per cent. In 1954, the rate of increase in industry was 16.3 per cent (in the case of consumer goods it was only 14.2 per cent), that of national income was 5.7 per cent and that of state financial revenues was 20.5 per cent.

In 1954, the rate of increase in agriculture was 3.3 per cent. In the following year, the rate of increase in industry was 5.6 per cent (it dropped by 0.03 per cent in the case of consumer goods), that of national income was 6.5 per cent and that of state financial revenues was 3.7 per cent.

In 1956, the rate of increase in agriculture was 4.9 per cent. In the following year, the rate of increase in industry was 11.4 per cent (in the case of consumer goods it was only 5.6 per cent), that of national income was 4.6 per cent and that of state financial revenues was 7.9 per cent. These figures clearly demonstrate the influence exerted by agriculture on the national economy as a whole.

There was only one exception during the decade. The rate of increase in agriculture in 1957 was 3.5 per cent while that of industry in 1958 was 66.2 per cent. But this exception in no way indicates that agriculture ceased to have any effect on industry; in reality, it indicates an even more important effect. The reason is that 1958 was the first year of the big leap forward, and this started with agriculture. The big leap of agriculture in 1958 played an immense role in promoting that year's big leap in industry.

Experience in our economic construction also shows that the market question is one of the most important questions in expanded reproduction. Whether in light or heavy industry, even simple reproduction will be out of the question if products are not sold. In China, the countryside is the biggest market for industrial products; over 60 per cent of the total retail sales of industrial consumer goods in the country are sold in the rural areas. Both production and consumption in this vast countryside with its more than 500 million people play an active part in promoting industrial development. Quickening the tempo of agricultural development requires a rapid increase in the production of agricultural means of production and this is a tremendous force that impels the development of heavy industry. During the period of the First Five-Year Plan, the total value of means of production provided for the countryside by the state amounted to 14,200 million yuan, but in the two years between 1958 and 1959 alone it came to 14,830 million yuan. But still the demands of agriculture remain far from being satisfied. Agricultural production calls for several million tractors but at present there are altogether less than 100,000 and the planned output of tractors for 1960 is only a little more than 20,000. Agricultural production calls for drainage and irrigation machinery with tens of millions of horsepower, but at present it uses only a few million horsepower. Agricultural production every year calls for tens of millions of tons of chemical fertilizer but in 1959 its yearly output was only some 1.3 million tons. The accumulation of funds in agricultural production increases very quickly. In 1958 alone the accumulation of the rural people's communes amounted to 10,000 million yuan. Most of this is set aside for the purchase of means of production; after the establishment of the people's communes, the

need for the larger types of means of production mounts still more rapidly. As agricultural production develops, the peasants' income too increases steadily. The average income of commune members in 1959 increased by more than 50 per cent compared with 1952, about 20 per cent compared with 1957 and around 10 per cent compared with 1958. The additional income is spent mainly on buying means of livelihood; this directly promotes the development of light industry and indirectly the development of heavy industry.

In the last analysis, this is a question of the relation between production and consumption (including consumption both in production and in daily life). As Marx put it, without production there can be no consumption, without consumption there can be no production; if production is said to be the starting point and consumption the terminal, this terminal in turn influences the starting point, making the entire process start all over again. (Marx: *Introduction to "Critique of Political Economy."*) This is so in all societies. Only in class societies, there are ties as well as antagonistic contradictions between production and consumption; in socialist society, they are interlinked and mutually promoting and, though there are still contradictions between them, these are no longer antagonistic.

### **Agriculture Is the Foundation of the Development of All Social Economies The Difference Between the Tempo of Industrial and Agricultural Development Can Be Eliminated**

In any society, as long as agriculture exists, it inevitably becomes the foundation of the development of the social economy. Ever since the times of the birth of primitive livestock breeding and primitive farming, these activities have occupied the most important position in economic life. Agriculture came into being first, later on, handicrafts came onto the scene, and then industry. The reason is quite simple: agriculture is the "source of food and clothing." In agricultural production, grain production is of particular importance. Grain is the foundation of foundations. The development of agriculture itself cannot do without grain production. If the grain produced by every agricultural labourer were enough only for his own consumption, it would be impossible to embark on undertakings other than farming, nor would it be possible to embark on agricultural production yielding industrial raw materials; without a certain amount of grain for use as fodder, the smooth development of livestock breeding as an important branch of agriculture would also be impossible. Marx pointed out: ". . . All production of surplus-value, and thus all development of capital, has for its natural basis the productivity 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." (*Capital*, Vol. III, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, p. 766.) This is because "the number of workers employed in industry, etc. . . . is fixed by the quantity of agricultural products which the agricultural workers produce over and above their own consumption." (Marx: *Theories of Surplus Value* [Selections], Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1951, p. 48.) But in capitalist society, capital which is formed mainly in the spheres of industry and

commerce exploits agriculture more and more heavily. It cannot do without agriculture; it takes grain and raw materials from agriculture; it also obtains labour power by the method of driving the rural labourers into bankruptcy and accumulates capital by cruelly squeezing and exploiting the rural labourers. This further deepens the antagonism between city and countryside which has existed for thousands of years, and there is an extreme imbalance between the development of industry and agriculture, causing agricultural development to lag behind that of industry. Moreover, due to the abnormal development of industry and the failure of agriculture at home to meet the needs of industry, capitalist economy is bound to seek for raw material bases and markets abroad, relying on agriculture in the colonies to strengthen its own foundations. This is precisely one of the key root causes of the aggressive nature of imperialism. In consequence, agriculture in the colonies is inevitably pushed into a decline, which daily sharpens the antagonism between the imperialist powers and the colonies. It is quite impossible in capitalist society for industry and agriculture to develop simultaneously at high speed. This is determined by the fundamental economic laws of capitalism. Capitalist production is not intended for consumption, it is aimed to extract as much surplus value as possible. Blood-sucking capital daily impoverishes the industrial and agricultural labourers, sends up the prices of means of livelihood, and as a result of "over-production" makes it impossible for agriculture to grow rapidly. Lenin said: "The development of agriculture lags behind that of industry. This is characteristic of all capitalist countries and is one of the most important causes of the disproportion in the development of the different branches of national economy, of crises, and of the high cost of living." ("New Data on the Laws of Development of Capitalism in Agriculture," *Selected Works*, Vol. XII, International Publishers, N.Y., p. 274.) Such an economic basis finds its reflection in the superstructure, "the most common idea to be formed in bourgeois political economy . . . is that of contrasting industry with agriculture." (Ibid. p. 272.) Those who maintain that it is impossible to develop agriculture at a high speed simultaneously with the high-speed development of industry and those who maintain that agriculture should be left in a passive and backward position in the national economy simply regard this phenomenon, which is characteristic of capitalist society, as an eternal truth. They do not understand that "the fact that industry develops faster than agriculture is precisely the characteristic of the capitalist way of production. But this is a historical difference that can be eliminated." (Marx: *Theories of Surplus Value*.)

Throughout the past history of mankind, agriculture did not always lag behind. Under pre-capitalist modes of production, productivity in agriculture was, generally speaking, always greater than that in industry. It was only during the period of the vigorous development of capitalism, that productivity in industry began to grow at a faster rate than in agriculture. Later, at certain periods, owing to their special conditions, some capitalist countries also succeeded in temporarily speeding up agricultural growth a bit, but, due to the contradictions inherent in capitalist society, it is never possible under the capitalist system to eliminate the differences between



**Aid to Agriculture — Delivering a New Mechanical Pump to the Farm**

Woodcut printed in water colours by Li Huan-min

the rates of growth of industry and agriculture. This "historical difference" can be eliminated step by step only in the course of socialist economic construction. A very great historical task which our Party is now leading the whole nation to perform is to eliminate this "historical difference." In our country, there is also a specific circumstance: suffering as they did from long years of oppression and exploitation by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, both industry and agriculture are relatively backward while the proportion of industry in the national economy is especially small. Over a certain historical period, we still cannot but make the tempo of growth in industry faster than in agriculture. In our country, this is precisely an indispensable process in quickening the tempo of development of the national economy as a whole, agriculture included. In the course of it, though the tempo of industrial development is faster, the gap between the rates of growth of industry and agriculture is being narrowed. The correct way to narrow this gap lies not in slowing down the tempo of industrial growth but in quickening the tempo of agricultural growth. That is to say the correct way is to achieve a balance on a positive basis instead of on a negative basis. Under the socialist system, industry and agriculture become a unified entity of the national economy and the aim of production is to meet the daily growing needs of people in both material and cultural life; the home market can always absorb the growing amount of means of livelihood and we will never have to worry about "overproduction." This is determined by the fundamental economic law of socialism and also by the law of planned and proportionate development of the socialist economy.

Under the socialist system, since there is still an essential difference between industry and agriculture, certain contradictions still exist between them. But these contradictions are no longer antagonistic in nature, but may become mutually promoting forces. Agriculture still cannot meet fully the demands of industrial development while industry also cannot meet fully the demands of agricultural development. That each side places higher demands on the other is precisely one of the forms in which their mutual promotion manifests itself. Over a certain period, ownership in industry and in agriculture will not be the same, neither will be the degree of their mechanization and their labour productivity; their conditions of production and the way they are subject to the influence of natural factors are also not the same; these latter differences will last for a longer time. These differences are also bound to affect the difference in the tempos of their development. Through subjective human efforts, however, this difference can be reduced. Between 1950 and 1952, the ratio between the annual average rate of growth of the gross output values of industry and of agriculture was 2.47 to 1. After the start of large-scale economic construction, in order to change the situation left by history in which industry in our country was very weak, the tempo of industrial development was greatly accelerated; during the First Five-Year Plan, the ratio between the annual rate of growth of the gross output values of industry and of agriculture was changed to 4 to 1. In the big leap year of 1958, under the circumstances where both industry and agriculture had made considerable progress, the ratio between the rates of growth of industry and agriculture was 2.65 to 1; in 1959, under the circumstances of the continued leap forward in both industry and agriculture, the ratio was changed to 2.35 to 1. In the future, in view of natural or other causes the tempos of development in industry and agriculture will not invariably come closer to each other every year; but, judging from the general trend of development, once the proportions between industry and agriculture reach a certain point, the tempos of their development will certainly come closer to each other. Until labour productivity is raised to a considerable level, there will inevitably be various concrete contradictions between industry and agriculture relating to distribution of manpower, technical force, funds, raw and other materials and equipment. However, given proper arrangements, all these contradictions can be resolved. They will certainly not hinder the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture; on the contrary, they can be solved radically only when there is a simultaneous development of industry and agriculture.

The policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the dominant factor is definitely not a temporary, but a fundamental and long-term policy.

Some people think that it is necessary to make industry the dominant factor only during a certain period. They think that as soon as heavy industry is well developed and industrialization and the mechanization of agriculture are realized in our country, there will be no more need to develop heavy industry on a priority basis. This is not correct. When agriculture has reached a high degree of mechanization, the role of industry as the dominant factor will not diminish but inevitably become still greater.

Some people think that it is only in certain periods that it is necessary to take agriculture as the foundation, that when agriculture is greatly developed and the productivity of labour in agriculture greatly raised, there will be no more need to pay attention to the development of agriculture. This is also incorrect. Production keeps on expanding. Life keeps on being improved. The population increases every year. In the future, the industrial population is bound to increase. The same is true of the rural population which produces the raw materials for industry. Therefore, a steady increase is needed in the output of agricultural products, and first and foremost, food grains. When man's powers are not yet capable of controlling nature entirely and in the circumstance that there is as yet no guarantee that the output of food grains and other agricultural products will increase steadily by large amounts each year, it is all the more necessary that we should do our best to increase the output of all kinds of agricultural products, especially food grains, so as to increase the amount held in reserve. The role played by industry as the dominant factor will become ever greater, and so will be the role played by agriculture as the foundation. It is not means of livelihood alone which agriculture produces. The proportion of means of production in agricultural products is bound to grow constantly. With the development of industry, agriculture will supply more raw materials to industry. The portion of food grains which will be used as industrial raw materials will also grow. The development of agriculture also demands an increasing amount of food grains as well as means of production to be supplied by agriculture itself.

How then shall we further implement the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation? We must, on the one hand, strengthen agriculture itself and bring its potentialities into full play, and, on the other hand, mobilize industry and other fields of activity to give still greater support to agriculture.

### **It Is Necessary to Constantly Adjust and Improve the Relations of Production and the Superstructure And Greatly Strengthen Leadership and Put More Manpower in Agriculture**

There must be a proper estimation of the potentialities of agriculture itself for expanded reproduction. The raising of labour productivity in agriculture at a still greater rate depends, of course, on the growth of industry; the growth of industry, however, depends primarily on the raising of the productivity of labour in agriculture. We must understand that agriculture itself has tremendous potentialities for the raising of its productivity of labour. The fundamental changes in the relations of production and in the superstructure release these potentialities. Further partial adjustments and improvements in the relations of production and the superstructure will release them further. Lenin long ago pointed out that to build socialism and to improve the people's living conditions, it is necessary, first of all, to increase the production of grain, that is, first of all, to raise the productivity of the peasantry. He said: "It is necessary to start with the peasantry." He also criticized those who failed to understand this as people who "simply do not stop to think, and yield to the power of phrases." ("The Food Tax,"

*Selected Works*, International Publishers, N.Y., Vol. IX, p. 176.) He also pointed out: "The raising of its [agriculture's] productivity must bring in its wake the improvement of our industry." ("Speech at the First Agricultural Congress of Moscow *Gubernia*, Nov. 29, 1921.")

Facts in our country have long borne out that it is possible and necessary to carry out agricultural co-operation before the realization of mechanization in agriculture. With changes in the relations of production, the raising of the level of consciousness of the masses, the reform of farming techniques, the strengthening of leadership and improvements in methods of work, labour productivity in agriculture can also be greatly raised. We certainly should not wait passively for the mechanization of agriculture. We must bring into full play the enthusiasm and initiative of the broad masses, and, first of all, the peasant masses, to raise agricultural production. This is precisely a necessary condition for accelerating the growth of industry and working to bring about the mechanization of agriculture at an earlier date.

In order to bring into further play the potentialities of agriculture for expanded reproduction, great and painstaking efforts must be made along the following lines:

First, we must continue to consolidate and develop the people's communes, and carry out adjustments and improvements in and the work of building up their management, rules and systems, labour organization, political work, the style of work of cadres, and methods of work. This is to better co-ordinate the relations of production with the productive forces, and to make the superstructure play a more active role in relation to the basis.

Second, we must ensure that there is sufficient able-bodied men and women on the main fronts of agricultural production.

Third, we must reform farming techniques and tools in a more meticulous and scientific way on the basis of the Eight-Point Charter for Agriculture. Expanded reproduction may be carried out in two ways. The first way is expanded reproduction under the circumstance that the technical conditions remain unchanged. This depends mainly on increases in the amount of labour employed and the raising of labour productivity, etc. The second way is expanded reproduction under improved technical conditions. This relies mainly on the reform of implements and techniques. In actual production, these two ways have frequently been adopted simultaneously. Under present conditions in our country, it is all the more necessary to adopt both ways simultaneously for expanded reproduction in agriculture. It is therefore necessary to allocate sufficient manpower to agricultural production, to improve the organization and use of manpower, as well as to vigorously introduce technical innovations and press forward with the technical revolution. All this depends mainly on the strength of agriculture itself.

At the present time, the rational allocation and correct use of manpower is the central question in implementing this strategic policy of taking agriculture as the foundation. First of all, the largest and strongest force of manpower should be concentrated on the foremost

front of agricultural production, especially the front of grain production. Viewed in relation to a comparatively long historical period, "the peasants — [are] the source of China's industrial workers." To achieve industrialization, "China will have to undergo a long process of transforming the rural inhabitants into urban inhabitants." (Mao Tse-tung: *On Coalition Government*.) To develop industrial production it is necessary to draw a certain amount of manpower from the countryside. The peasants are the most reliable allies of the working class. They also constitute the most powerful reserve force of the working class. But it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that what is referred to here is "a long process." The transforming of peasants into workers must be carried out under certain conditions and plans. The prerequisite for any trade to draw manpower from agriculture is the raising of labour productivity in agriculture. The amount and quality of manpower to be drawn from agriculture and the time to do this must be geared to the extent to which labour productivity in agriculture is raised, to the total amount of agricultural output and the amount of agricultural products needed. This is a very important principle; without it the national economy as a whole could not be ensured a healthy development. Within a certain period and under certain circumstances, industry and other branches of the economy should not draw manpower from agriculture, on the contrary, they should give a part of their manpower to reinforce the agricultural front. At the same time, they should rapidly raise labour productivity in agriculture by concentrating their efforts to support agriculture and speed up its technical transformation as well as by the use of other methods. This is precisely what we mean by the old Chinese saying: "You must first give to it before you take from it." To change the situation in which "more than five hundred millions are engaged in food production," and to draw manpower from agriculture, it is necessary to concentrate superior forces to develop agricultural production first.

Labour power constitutes roughly one-third to two-fifths of the rural population of our country. A one per cent increase in labour productivity in agriculture will release from more than one million to more than two million units of labour power with the aggregate output of agricultural products remaining unchanged. This does not mean that for every one per cent increase in labour productivity in agriculture, there is the possibility of drawing from agriculture the same proportion of manpower. In allocating labour power, the state of industrial and agricultural development should be taken into consideration, and first of all the agricultural situation. Under present circumstances, even if there is a certain increase in labour productivity, this should continue to be used for the expanded reproduction of agriculture, especially the expanded reproduction of grain. This is because it will not do merely to maintain the annual output of agriculture products, especially of grain, at the present level. The development of our economic construction as a whole demands a still greater and faster increase in the annual output of agricultural products, especially of grain. Only when labour productivity in agriculture is raised to a certain level, can the further increase in labour productivity lead to transference of labour power gradually, and on an increasing scale, to industrial production as a

reinforcement for the further development of industrial production.

### **Developing Agricultural Production Is the Great Cause Of the Whole Party and People**

### **Industry Can Fully Play Its Leading Role Only When It Gives Support to Agriculture**

At the same time, there must be a clear understanding that the development of agricultural production is the cause of the whole people. In April this year, when the Second Session of the Second National People's Congress formally adopted the National Programme for Agricultural Development, the following call was issued to the whole nation: "Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. To fulfil the National Programme for Agricultural Development ahead of schedule is of extreme importance to the continued leap forward in China's socialist construction. The Congress calls on the people of all nationalities throughout the country, and the industrial, agricultural, communications, financial, banking, trade, science, educational, cultural, public health and physical culture departments to make joint efforts and strive to fulfil the great task of completing the Programme two or three years ahead of schedule." Immediately after this call, the drive to support agriculture surged up all over the country among the various trades and professions; new forms of strengthening the ties between workers and peasants were created, such as "hook-up" relations between factories and mines and the rural people's communes and between urban people's communes and rural people's communes. Lenin once pointed out: ". . . It is our duty to establish intercourse between the workers in the towns and the workers in the country, to establish between them the form of comradeship that can easily be created. This is one of the fundamental tasks of the working class which is now in power." ("Pages from a Diary," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, N.Y., Vol. IX, p. 489.) It can be said that the creation of this kind of comradeship has already started in our country.

Great efforts in support of agriculture by no means weakens industry but strengthens it in a very important aspect. The dominant role of industry is brought into full play precisely under the principle of making agriculture the foundation. In 1955, Comrade Mao Tse-tung already pointed out: "Only when socialist transformation of the social-economic system is complete and when, in the technical field, all branches of production and places wherein work can be done by machinery are using it, will the social and economic appearance of China be radically changed. (*The Question of Agricultural Co-operation*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1956, p. 34.) In 1959, he again stated explicitly that the fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization and put forward the great task of speeding up the realization of the technical transformation of agriculture step by step within ten years. This will primarily depend on industrial strength.

The means of production turned out in industrial production fall into two categories: one for producing further means of production and the other for producing means of livelihood. The means of production which

produce further means of production must have priority in development; at the same time, the development of the means of production producing means of livelihood must also be accelerated. Under the socialist system, the purpose of giving priority to the development of the means of production of the first category is exactly to produce the means of production of the second category with still greater speed and in still greater quantity — the final aim being to produce more means of livelihood; it by no means implies that the development of the means of production of the second category can be neglected while giving priority to the development of the means of production of the first category. The production of the means of production in both categories can also be developed simultaneously and their development can be quickened simultaneously. Only in this way can the integration of priority for the development of heavy industry with the rapid development of agriculture be realized. And only by giving sufficient efforts to increasing the output of means of production for agriculture can this foundation, agriculture, be further consolidated and the dominant role of industry be brought into full play. Consider if there were no increase in the means of production for agriculture, how then could industry play its dominant role?

In order to obtain manpower and material resources from agriculture, industry must first support agriculture with large quantities of the means of production. According to investigations made in Heilungkiang Province, the labour productivity of a man engaged in agricultural production with agricultural machinery is over two and half times greater than that of the same man using old-fashioned farm implements; the amount of marketable grain he can provide is also five times greater. In the light of investigations made in other areas, a one horse-power machine can do the work of four to eight men. The use of chemical fertilizer alongside farmyard manure can also save much manpower otherwise required to transport and apply the manure. These are the most important ways of raising agricultural labour productivity.

Trade is an important link between industry and agriculture and can play a most significant part in promoting and organizing the more effective implementation of the policy of making agriculture the foundation and industry the dominant factor. The experience of the trading departments in many localities proves that mastery of and conformity with the laws of agricultural production as well as timeliness and the use of those forms in the field of purchase and supply which meet the needs of agricultural production help greatly to raise agricultural labour productivity and the rate of marketable farm produce.

As for the various branches of the superstructure, they, too, in order to serve the economic basis, must first of all serve agriculture. In planning all this work, account must be taken of the farming seasons and the special features of farming; work must be closely linked with production and not impair production or be separated from production. It is quite obvious that only when agriculture, the foundation, is further consolidated, can the economic basis as a whole become still more consolidated. And only when the economic basis becomes more con-

solidated can the superstructure progress even more satisfactorily.

### **Making Agriculture the Foundation Is a Major Political Question and Is Very Closely Connected with the General Line and the Worker-Peasant Alliance**

To make or not to make agriculture the foundation, to develop agriculture rapidly or not—this is not only an economic question but also a major political question; it is a question of doing or not doing things according to the general line, a question of maintaining or not maintaining the worker-peasant alliance. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "In drawing up plans, handling affairs or thinking over problems, we must proceed from the fact that China has a population of six hundred million people." He also noted that "besides Party leadership, the population of 600 million is a decisive factor." In one respect, this refers to the needs of the 600 million people, but in its more important aspect, it refers to the enormous role of their subjective activity. Among them more than 500 million are peasants. Even if in future things develop to the point where the proportion of industrial to agricultural population is fifty-fifty, the agricultural population will still number several hundred million. Should these several hundred million people be regarded as a tremendous force capable of advancing society or should they be regarded as merely passive, negative factors? Should this tremendous force of several hundred million people be mobilized to take part energetically and on their own initiative in socialist construction or should they not be so mobilized? Herein lies the essence of the question. As Comrade Liu Shao-chi said in his political report to the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party: "Why is it that industry and agriculture must be developed simultaneously? It is because ours is a large agricultural country, and of our over 600 million people, more than 500 million are peasants who constitute a most powerful force both in the revolutionary struggle and construction. Only by relying on this powerful ally and giving full play to the peasants' initiative and creativeness can the working class of our country achieve victory. The paramount importance of the peasantry as an ally is just the same in the period of construction as it was in the period of revolution."

Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy, industry is the dominant factor in the national economy—this is an objective law. Making agriculture the foundation and industry the dominant factor—is the policy laid down by the Party on the basis of this objective law. The essence of this principle is the mobilization of the world's hugest army of labour to develop the production of the basic means of livelihood; to mobilize the world's largest domestic market to promote the production of heavy and light industrial goods in incomparably great quantities; to mobilize the strength of the working class of our country to support the peasants in a still more rapid transformation of the state of agriculture in this big agricultural country and in the process effect a still more rapid growth of industry; and to mobilize the

strength and wisdom of several hundred million people to take part in the sacred cause of the high-speed construction of a great, modern socialist country. The great victory of economic construction in our country in the last ten years and more fully confirms the great significance of the Party's policy of correctly handling relations between industry and agriculture. This policy reflects objective laws and at the same time develops along with the objective situation. Now this policy of making agriculture the foundation and industry the dominant factor is being further affirmed and emphasized; this reflects the needs of development of the objective situation. The people's communes in the vast countryside are being daily consolidated and are developing in a healthy manner. This provides the most fundamentally favourable conditions for the development of agricultural production and strengthening the ties between workers and peasants. The big leap forward in industry and its continued leap forward urgently demands a corresponding increase in agricultural production, while at the same time providing more advantageous conditions for industry to play its dominant role in relation to agriculture. The output of grain and other farm produce has been increasing very rapidly in the last few years; at the same time, the need for grain and other farm produce in the country's construction and the people's daily life has also grown considerably. This calls for production of grain and other farm produce in still greater quantities and even more rapidly. On the other hand, the big leap forward in industry also brings with it the possibility of increasing production of grain and other farm produce in still greater quantities and at a still higher rate. In 1958 and 1959 the amount of steel allocated by the state for the manufacture of agricultural machinery and farm implements exceeded the total amount of steel products used for this same purpose during the period of the First Five-Year Plan; again in 1960, steel allocated for this purpose according to the state plan is around 100 per cent greater than in 1959. The strength of other branches of industry to support agriculture has also grown considerably. The general economic situation now is one in which socialist construction is in a new stage of all-round continued leap forward while the worker-peasant alliance has entered a new stage in which the realization of the modernization of agriculture is being speeded up. This is an historic epoch of great significance, it is the epoch in which our country is accelerating the building of socialism and actively creating conditions for building communism. Further stress on making agriculture the foundation and industry the dominant factor is precisely for the purpose of getting people mentally prepared to meet the demands of the objective situation that is developing. By relying on the strength of the people's communes and state industry, by firmly applying the policy of making agriculture the foundation and industry the dominant factor, we will certainly bring about in our socialist economic construction as a whole a continued leap forward with still greater, faster, better and more economical results; necessary conditions can also be created for realizing in our country, step by step, the great ideal advanced by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*: "[the] Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; [the] gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country."

# CHINESE PRESS OPINION

## Stop U.S. War Supplies to South Viet Nam!

Expressing support for the statement of October 10 issued by the High Command of the Viet Nam People's Army, *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator says (October 13) that this statement, which strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for its stepped-up war preparations in the southern part of Viet Nam, merits the serious attention and close concern of all participants in the 1954 Geneva Conference and of all peace-loving nations and people who are concerned about peace in Indo-China. Just as the High Command of the Viet Nam People's Army points out, Commentator says, guns are fired and blood is shed every day in the southern part of Viet Nam though peace was restored in Indo-China more than six years ago. And all the arms which the Ngo Dinh Diem troops use to slaughter the people under the direct command of American generals and advisers were illegally introduced into south Viet Nam by U.S. imperialism. Despite the fact that the Geneva agreements explicitly forbid the introduction of all types of additional weapons, ammunition and other war materials into Viet Nam, despite the fact that the U.S. was a participant in the 1954 Geneva Conference and its delegate, the then Under Secretary of State W. Bedell Smith, promised there that the U.S. would not resort to threats or force to impair the Geneva agreements, the U.S., between the time of the restoration of peace in Indo-China and June this year, has illegally sent 643 shipments of all types of weapons and war materials into the southern part of Viet Nam. In that part of Viet Nam, the number of regular troops equipped with U.S.-made new weapons now reaches 150,000. In the meantime, the U.S. has greatly increased its military personnel illegally stationed in south Viet Nam. The staff of the U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group has multiplied to 10 times the pre-armistice figure, Commentator points out.

"The illegal introduction by the U.S. of military supplies into the southern part of Viet Nam and the increase of its military personnel there are part of the entire U.S. plot to prepare war in the area. Its purpose is to

turn south Viet Nam into a U.S. colony and a base for launching war in Southeast Asia," Commentator stresses.

These U.S. war preparations are a serious provocation against the Vietnamese people and menace peace in Indo-China, Commentator says. U.S. imperialism has more than once sent arms from its arsenals in southern Viet Nam to Cambodia, to aid the rebels in that country and threaten its peace and neutrality. The Ngo Dinh Diem regime, directed by U.S. imperialism, has also sent arms to aid the extremely pro-U.S. reactionary clique in Laos for the extension of the civil war there. According to a U.P.I. report, the Ngo Dinh Diem clique is now dispatching truck convoys to Laos to help the rebel Phoumi Nosavan group against the Souvanna Phouma government. At the same time, the U.S. is stepping up the building of military bases in south Viet Nam, particularly in the Saigon-Bien Hoa plateau, and linking these up with the aggressive SEATO bloc's network of military bases in Thailand. It is thus clear that the continued and intensified introduction by the U.S. of war materials into south Viet Nam is



**Probable Victim**

Seal: Elder-Brother-Whale, why are you swimming away so fast?

Whale: Haven't you heard about the U.S. plan to build missile bases all over the world? Hard to say they won't try to build one on my back. . . .

By Chiang Fan

not only co-ordinated with its plot to extend the civil war in Laos, but also aimed at creating new tensions in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

China is a participant in the Geneva Conference and a close neighbour of the states of Indo-China, says Commentator. The Chinese people cannot stand idly by while U.S. imperialism aggravates the situation in Indo-China, menaces peace in Southeast Asia and sabotages the Geneva agreements. "We fully agree with the just condemnation of U.S. imperialism by the High Command of the Viet Nam People's Army, and wholeheartedly support its reasonable demand that the International Commission in Viet Nam should take immediate measures to stop U.S. imperialist intervention and war preparations in the southern part of Viet Nam," Commentator concludes.

## Cuban People Will Certainly Win Victory

A *Da Gong Bao* commentary (October 13) condemns the U.S. for directly organizing armed counter-revolutionary rebellion and intrusion in Cuba. Such recent attempts made by the U.S. provide fresh proof that imperialism will never lay down its butcher's knife of its own accord, the commentary says.

Out of fear of the progress of the Cuban revolution and the liberation movement in Latin America, the commentary continues, U.S. imperialism has intensified its conspiracies against Cuba, in spite of the setbacks it has suffered in its interventionist activities. The recent counter-revolutionary rebellion in the Escambray Mountains and the intrusion in Bahia De Nvavas were only a part of the aggressive U.S. scheme of using Latin Americans to fight Latin Americans. But the course of events is running counter to the will of U.S. imperialism, says the commentary. The "San Jose Declaration" which the U.S. cooked up for intervention in Cuba has aroused the strong opposition of the Cuban and other Latin American peoples. And now the armed rebellion and intrusion directly organized by the U.S., too, have received crushing blows.

The Cuban people, doubly alert and confident, are determined to defend their national sovereignty and carry on their national and democratic revolution. They are unconquerable, because their cause is just, says the commentary.

## **Korean Workers' Party Anniversary Greeted**

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on behalf of the Party and all the Chinese people sent a message of warm greeting on October 9 to the Korean Workers' Party on its 15th anniversary.

The message says that in the past 15 years, the Korean Workers' Party, headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, has led the Korean people to establish a system of people's democratic dictatorship in the northern part of Korea, repulsed U.S. imperialist aggression, and carried forward socialist transformation and socialist construction so as to turn the northern part of Korea into a socialist industrial-agricultural country; it has made undaunted efforts to realize the peaceful unification of Korea. Now the people of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, inspired by the brilliant prospects of the Seven-Year Plan initiated by the Korean Workers' Party, are launching their nationwide winged-steed movement and are advancing from one victory to another.

The 15 years' history of the Korean Workers' Party, the message continues, fully proves that the Party is the inspirer, organizer and leader of the Korean people in winning all their successes. The Chinese Communist Party wishes the Korean Workers' Party further and greater success in leading the Korean people in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and in striving for the peaceful unification of Korea, in accelerating the socialist transformation and socialist construction of their country and in defending Asian and world peace.

### **Sino-Polish Scientific Co-operation**

A fresh step has been taken for the further consolidation and development of scientific co-operation between China and Poland. An agreement on scientific co-operation and a plan for its implementation in 1961 have been signed on behalf of the Chinese Academy of Sciences by Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Academy, and on behalf of the Polish Academy of

Sciences by Tadeusz Kotarbinski, its President.

Speaking at the farewell banquet in honour of the visiting delegation of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Kuo Mo-jo declared that the agreement will further strengthen the fraternal and creative co-operation between the two academies of sciences and that Chinese scientists will certainly do their best to fulfil the tasks allotted them in the agreement. Expressing hopes for continued growth of such co-operation, he said that this will be a further step in strengthening friendly co-operation between the two countries, in strengthening the whole socialist camp and the forces safeguarding world peace, and will help win victory for our common cause.

In his speech, Academician Tadeusz Kotarbinski called for co-operation not only in the field of natural science but in all other scientific fields as well, for this co-operation based on the spirit of proletarian internationalism will further promote the friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

### **All-African Students' Conference**

Premier Chou En-lai has sent a message of warm greeting on behalf of the Chinese people and Government to the All-African Students' Conference held in London, October 12-14. In it he greets the heroic struggle for the liberation and freedom of Africa which the African students and youth, together with all the African people, have carried on for so long. "Your just cause," the message declares, "has always enjoyed the Chinese people's deep sympathy and resolute support." Premier Chou's message extends to the conference best wishes for positive contributions to enhancement of the unity of the African students and youth and to the just struggle for winning and safeguarding national independence, opposing imperialism and colonialism, combating racial discrimination and defending world peace.

The All-China Students' Federation has also sent a cable of greeting to the conference expressing the firm support of Chinese students for the just struggle of the African students against imperialism and colonialism. The cable points out that U.S. imperialism is penetrating into Africa by stepping up its plunder and intervention under the guise of so-called aid to under-developed countries and by instigating Africans to fight Africans so as to disrupt and suppress the national and democratic struggle of the African peoples. The criminal activities of aggression and intervention which U.S. imperialism has recently carried out against the Congo under the name of the U.N. further prove that it is the most vicious enemy of the peoples of Africa and of the rest of the world, the cable adds. In conclusion, it expresses hopes for the continued development of the friendship between the Chinese and African students in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and for national independence and the safeguarding of world peace.

### **Iraqi Mission in China**

The Iraqi Military Goodwill Mission headed by Brigadier-General Mahmoud Abdul Razzaq, Commander of the Second Division of the Iraqi National Defence Forces, has concluded its visit to China and left for home. Before its departure, Chairman Liu Shao-chi received its members and had a friendly talk with them.

Speaking at the farewell banquet, Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, greeted the mission's visit as a contribution to promoting mutual understanding and friendly relations between the peoples and armies of China and Iraq which have already established a profound friendship in the struggle against imperialism. He expressed the conviction that this friendship will continue to grow and become ever stronger on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit, as the two peoples build their respective countries and safeguard their national independence and peace.

Brigadier-General Razzaq, in his reply, noted that both Iraq and China oppose aggression and ardently love peace. The peoples of the two countries



# Sino-Burmese Friendship Shines Bright

"It is a matter for praise and rejoicing that in the present world situation of cold war and deadlock, Sino-Burmese friendship shines in its full brightness and lays down a new path of international friendship and co-operation," said Vice-Premier Chen Yi at a farewell banquet given in Canton in honour of General Ne Win, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of Burma.

After leaving Peking on October 4, General Ne Win and his wife visited a number of places in China. Recalling this, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that they had been warmly welcomed everywhere by people from all walks of life and had sown the seeds of a *paukphaw* (kinsmanlike) friendship. They had given a high appraisal of China's achievements since she began her great leap forward. The Vice-Premier heartily thanked them on behalf of the Chinese Government and people.

"Both China and Burma love peace and advocate peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles," said Vice-Premier Chen Yi. "Nevertheless, some countries in the world still refuse and fear to recognize the People's Republic of China. They even dread meetings and contacts between leaders of different countries. There are leaders of certain countries who, even though they have opportunities to meet with others, could hardly engage in conscientious negotiations on questions of common concern and work to attain fruitful results. This is because they themselves have neither confidence nor sincerity in adhering to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and in solving international disputes through friendly negotiations."

"On the contrary," the Vice-Premier continued, "the leaders of the peace-loving Asian and African countries

have repeatedly paid friendly visits to each other and achieved considerable results. The state leaders of our two countries, China and Burma, in particular, have paid frequent friendly visits to each other and attained very fruitful results in the past few years. These visits and personal contacts have not only promoted mutual understanding, but contributed tremendously to the growth of Sino-Burmese friendship."

"While we are rejoicing over the great development of the friendship between China and Burma," continued the Vice-Premier, "we cannot but speak of the efforts and contributions made in this respect by His Excellency General Ne Win. But when speaking of Sino-Burmese friendship, General Ne Win has always, first of all, praised the efforts and contributions made by Prime Minister U Nu. We heartily appreciate this spirit of unity shown by General Ne Win and hope that it will be greatly extended, as it will certainly benefit the Burmese people."

In reply, General Ne Win declared: "The signing of the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty has not only greatly promoted the friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples, but has also set a good example." "Now that the edifice of Sino-Burmese friendship has been built," said General Ne Win, "both of our two countries have the duty to protect it for ever from damage. I can assure you that Burma will certainly do its utmost to protect this edifice, and at the same time I believe that China will also certainly endeavour to protect it."

General Ne Win left Canton for home on October 13.

have carried out a prolonged struggle against imperialism and they will continue that fight, he declared. He expressed hopes for a further promotion of friendly contacts between the peoples and armies of the two countries.

## More U.S. Air Intrusions

Military intrusions by the United States into China's territorial air space continue.

A U.S. naval patrol plane intruded into China's air space over Yunghsing Island of the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province between 10:20 and 10:26 hours on September 18. On September 26, between 12:00 and 12:10 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into the same area. Another U.S. military plane intruded over the area south of Swabue and Pinghai in Kwangtung Province between 14:29 and 14:42 hours on September 18. On September 28, a U.S. naval patrol plane violated China's air space over Yunghsing Island in the Hsisha Islands in

Kwangtung Province between 12:04 and 12:09 hours.

The spokesman for the Chinese Foreign Ministry has issued the 121st, 122nd and 123rd serious warnings against these U.S. military provocations.

## BRIEFS

Liu Ning-I, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, has cabled to the Confederation of Workers of Cuba, strongly condemning the counter-revolutionary invasion of Cuba organized by the U.S. imperialists, warmly congratulating the Cuban people on their victory in wiping out the counter-revolutionary forces in the Escambray Mountains and reiterating the support of the Chinese workers and people for the just struggle of the Cuban people.

"The Chinese workers will always stand by you in your struggle," says a message sent to the African Trade

Union Congress of Southern Rhodesia by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions expressing support for the struggle of the Southern Rhodesian workers against colonial rule and for wage increases and the right to live.

Six kinds of improved Chinese agricultural implements have been presented to Nepalese Prime Minister Koirala by Chinese Ambassador to Nepal Chang Shih-chieh on behalf of the Chinese Government. On making the presentation at the experimental farm of the Agricultural Department of the Nepalese Government, the Chinese Ambassador expressed the hope that the implements would promote the exchange of agricultural technical experience between the two countries and strengthen Sino-Nepalese friendly relations. Prime Minister Koirala interestedly watched a special demonstration of the use of these implements given by Chinese specialists.

# LITERATURE

## **"Green Trees Spread Wide Their Shade"**

Since histories of individual communes began to be written in the latter part of 1958, quite a number of good ones have appeared. A particularly attractive one is *Green Trees Spread Wide Their Shade*, published in September last year by the Writers' Publishing House of Peking. This is good material for socialist education, and good reading too from the literary standpoint. Together with a book of reminiscences of the revolution and two factory histories, this story of the Xinmin People's Commune of Sinfan County, Szechuan, was cited as one of "the first precious fruits" of this new genre in writing by Chou Yang in his report to the recent third congress of writers and artists (see *Peking Review*, No. 38, p. 13). Such an endorsement came to the reading public as no surprise. Very soon after it appeared, critics and readers praised it almost unanimously as an unusual achievement.

It is a 188-page collection of 26 stories about real people and real events. Each can stand as an independent feature story, reportage or sketch, but they take an added significance in the whole plan of the book and add up to a vivid, compact story. With the Communist Party's policies at various periods of the revolutionary struggle for the new countryside running like a red thread through all its pages, this story of the growth of the nationally known mutual-aid team led by Lo Shih-fa, epitomizes the stupendous changes that have taken place in the life of China's 500 million peasants since liberation.

The first story, "The Earth-Shaking *Fansheng*" (*fansheng*, literally, "turn the body," here meaning liberation), is a close-knit story of the life and struggle of the peasants of Sinfan before and after the land reform. Allowing for its local specifics, this is a true reflection of the typical struggles waged by the revolutionary peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party and their victories. Other stories, "A Banner," "Selling Dog's Meat Under the Sign of a Sheep's Head," "One Step Higher," and "Let's See Who Is Stronger," describe the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads following the land reform when

the mass of peasants followed the Party along the road to co-operation against the small minority who put up all kinds of resistance and obstacles in an attempt to halt the march of time. The pages bring us into contact with various types of peasants "at the crossroads." The reader gets a more concrete understanding of what is said in the book's preface: "The rich peasants try hard to tempt; the middle peasants waver; the new-style lower middle peasants (poor peasants before the land reform) adopt one attitude and the old-style middle peasants, another. Lacking class consciousness, even some poor peasants lose their bearings and don't know which way to turn. They are eager to develop production but can't see the strength of the collective; they are eager to get a more abundant life but are not ready to say goodbye to private ownership..."

But most of these peasants know well the insecure life which they lived under a small peasant economy. They have their feet on the ground: "What you hear is abstract but what you see is real." The concrete example of the steadfast Lo Shih-fa and his progressive team members, and what is more important, the patient and painstaking education given them by the Party over the years, are all eye-openers. Once they see with their own eyes the good of socialism, the practical advantages of the collective, most of them go straight forward. In November 1952, the Sinfan peasants set up their co-op farm raising high the first red banner in the agricultural co-operative movement in Szechuan. On New Year's Day, 1956, the Sinfan peasants took another big step forward and organized the first collective farm in the province. In October 1958, in a big leap effort, they hoisted the banner of the people's commune. An old Chinese saying has it: "It takes ten years to grow a tree." But in the Xinmin People's Commune, we find that "green trees spread wide their shade."

*Green Trees* is distinguished by its good characterization and the deft way the separate stories link up; the language is lively and rich in imagery, typical of the working people; it has a highly distinctive local flavour. Much of this is due to the fact that the stories were told at first hand by narrators who had themselves taken part in the events related. These accounts were written down by members of a work

team organized by the Szechuan Federation of Literary and Art Circles. But then a difficult job of polishing still had to be done to turn this into a literary product that retained the full-blooded truth of the original. In an article describing how this work was done published in *Renmin Ribao*, the writers pass on some interesting experiences. When the first draft of "Earth-Shaking *Fansheng*" was read to the narrator, Lo Shih-fa, he shook his head disappointedly and said: "I don't get the feeling of an earth-shaking uproar." Then he asked: "Why do you omit the armed struggle against the landlord led by Huang Chinghsien, the scene in which Yang Wanmin took out all the landlord's big bushels and small steelyards [used to cheat the peasants] to settle score with him, and the busy activities of the masses?" The criticism, the writers felt, was as fully justified as the remedy suggested was to the point. They write: "We indeed lacked a correct understanding of the relation between the individual and the mass, and the historical role of the individual."

"A Banner" includes an incident describing the conflict between members of the Lo Shih-fa mutual-aid team and Yang the Blind, a well-to-do middle peasant who makes every effort to prevent the team helping to till the land of a poor old widow. The first draft of this contained this line: "We gave Yang the Blind a thorough dressing down." But the editorial committee organized by the county Communist Party committee, under whose guidance the work team was, suggested that this line be expanded as it contained a significant point. To do this the members of the work team interviewed a number of poor peasants and found that there was always a vehement outpouring of words when they were asked how the well-to-do middle peasants tried to bully them. The writers crystallized these words into the following paragraph which they substitute for the discarded line:

"Look here, Uncle! Feng Chuan, always blunt, walked up to Yang the Blind. 'Don't go blowing off your top like that! You don't want to have anything to do with us now but if you kicked the bucket tomorrow, do you think your pigs will carry you out? No! You will need us to knock up a coffin for you even if we are poor

folks.'—a much more effective expression of the bitter feelings of the poor peasants for those who tried to hold them back and open a way for capitalist exploitation.

In writing this history, the writers, who collaborated with the commune members, went down to the village to live and work alongside the peasants. It was through this intimate contact with the real life heroes of this story

that they learnt to be at one with the thoughts and feelings of the peasants. They became close friends. This was the key to success. The peasants talk more freely to people whom they know and trust; the facts and details could be checked and re-checked. The latter part of this history, indeed the bulk of it, is devoted to the experiences of the peasants in creating their new life after the establishment of their collective farms and the people's com-

mune. It is an inspiring story of socialist enthusiasm. Here again the writers give the credit to the ideological remoulding, the remaking of their outlook into a revolutionary outlook which is so much stressed in Chairman Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Art and Literature*, as the necessary step in the development of a revolutionary, socialist writer able to see and describe the new.

## WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

— Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc. —

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

### PEKING OPERA

▲ **STORM AT CHINTIEN VILLAGE** A historical opera centring around the Taiping Revolution. Describes how the peasants in Chintien Village, Kwangsi, rise and take up arms against the corrupt Manchu rulers. Produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre.

Oct. 21, 7:15 p.m. Renmin Theatre

▲ **UPROAR IN HEAVEN** Monkey Sun Wu-kung defeats the gods of thunder and lightning and other deities sent to subdue him. Produced by the Shang Hsiao-yun Peking Opera Troupe.

Oct. 23, 7:15 p.m. Zhong He Theatre

▲ **SHE SAI-HUA** A historical opera produced by the Shang Hsiao-yun Peking Opera Troupe. She Sai-hua is the beautiful and clever daughter of She Hung, a high court official in the Sung court. Two of She Hung's colleagues want their son to marry her; Yang Chi-yeh, one of her suitors, who later becomes a famous general, wins her heart and hand.

Oct. 21, 7:15 p.m. Zhong He Theatre

▲ **TIGERS LEAP ACROSS HIGH PEAK** A new opera on a contemporary theme. Produced by the Peking Opera Company of Peking. Describes how mechanization is introduced into production in a Peking factory.

Oct. 26, 7:15 p.m. Peking Workers' Club

### SHAOHSING OPERA

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

Oct. 22 & 23, 7:15 p.m. Cultural Palace of Nationalities

### PINGJU OPERA

▲ **THE LIFE STORY OF WU SHUANG** A historical opera set in Tang Dynasty times. The emperor, captivated by the beauty of a young girl, Wu Shuang, whom he meets during a spring tour, forces her father to offer her to him as a concubine. Stung by a refusal, the emperor imprisons Wu Shuang's father. A kind-hearted and resourceful messenger rescues him from prison. Produced by the China Pingju Opera Theatre.

Oct. 24, 7:15 p.m. Chang An Theatre

### MODERN OPERA

▲ **HUNGSHANHU** A new opera produced by the Cultural Troupe of the P.L.A. telling how fishermen in a Chinese village under the guidance of a P.L.A. scout wage a complex struggle against KMT reactionaries on the eve of liberation.

Oct. 22 & 23, 7:30 p.m. Wu Dao Kou Club

### SONG AND DANCE

A folk song and dance troupe from Rumania. It will give several performances in Peking.

(Watch for dates and places.)

### THEATRE

▲ **NAVAL BATTLE OF 1894 SINO-JAPANESE WAR** A new play produced by the Cultural Troupe of the P.L.A. is a vivid portrayal of the lofty patriotism and heroism displayed by the Chinese people during that war as well as an exposure of the aggressive nature of imperialism and the corruption and betrayal of the Manchu rulers.

Oct. 25 & 26, 7:15 p.m. Renmin Theatre

▲ **HOLDING THE LONG CORD IN OUR HANDS** A new play in six acts produced by the China Youth Art Theatre. It draws its name from Chairman Mao's famous lines: "Today we hold the long cord in our hands; when shall we bind fast the Grey Dragon?" (referring to the Japanese aggressors). It tells about the militiamen in an old liberated area concentrating on agricultural production while at the same time giving a good account of themselves as militiamen.

Oct. 18-20, 7:15 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

▲ **PRINCESS WEN CHENG** A historical play written by the famous playwright, Tien Han. The Emperor Tai Tsung of the Tang Dynasty marries Princess Wen Cheng to the Tibetan King Sron-Tsan Gampo. This Tibetan-Han union strengthens the friendship between the two nationalities. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre.

Oct. 22-25, 7:15 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

### FILMS

▲ **TRAIN UNDER FIRE** A wide screen feature film produced by the Changchun Film Studio. Defying the enemy, a train crew in the early stages of the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea gets its urgently needed freight through for the rebuilding of a wrecked bridge.

Oct. 25 & 26, Shoudu Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema

▲ **IN THE NAME OF REVOLUTION** A feature film based on the stage play by the Soviet playwright, Shatrov. Produced by the Peking Film Studio. It shows Lenin's care and concern for the young generation.

Oct. 18 & 19, Guang An Men, Zhongyang, Peking Workers' Club, Xin Zhong Guo

▲ **SPRINGTIME BLOSSOMS** A feature film produced by the Peking Film Studio portrays the growing enthusiasm of the housewives as they take part in the urban people's commune. The story is told through the struggle between a conservative-minded mother-in-law and her progressive daughter-in-law.

Oct. 20-23, Peking Theatre

▲ **NIH ERH** A feature film on the life and work of Nieh Erh, Chinese revolutionary composer. Produced by the Haiyen Film Studio.

Oct. 19-25, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong, Guang An Men, Zhongyang, Peking Workers' Club, Shengli, Xin Zhong Guo

▲ **FIRST SPRING OF THE 60s** A feature film in colour jointly produced by the Tienma and Haiyen Film Studios. The workers of the Lian Hua Stripe Works in Shanghai inspired by the general line for building socialism work out a plan for mechanization within the amazing period of seven days.

Oct. 22-25, Shengli, Xi Dan Workers' Club

### EXHIBITIONS

▲ **EXHIBITION OF FAMOUS CHINESE PAINTINGS FROM TANG TO CHING DYNASTIES (7-20th century)** Open daily from 8:30 a.m.-3:30 p.m. Ends in mid-November.

At Palace Museum

▲ **SECOND CHINESE WORKERS' ART EXHIBITION** More than 600 works. Traditional Chinese paintings, oil paintings, graphic art, posters, etc. Open daily from 9:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m.

At Working Peoples' Cultural Palace

▲ **G.D.R. GRAPHIC ART EXHIBITION** by artists from 15th century to 20th century. Open daily (except Mon.) 9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon; 1:00-6:00 p.m.

At Zhongshan Park

▲ **G.D.R. GRAPHIC ART EXHIBITION** by contemporary artists. Open daily from 9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon; 1:00-6:00 p.m.

At the Gallery of the Artists' Union

### SPORTS

A track and field team from Bulgaria will compete with the Chinese teams.

(Watch for dates and places.)

# RADIO PEKING'S English Language Transmissions

(New Schedule Beginning October 15, 1960)

Transmission to:	Peking Time	Local Time (Normal)	kc/s	metres
Britain and Western Europe	03.00-04.00	19.00-20.00	7080,9457,11650	42.37,31.73,25.75
	04.30-05.30	20.30-21.30 (London)	7080,9457,11650	42.37,31.73,25.75
		20.00-21.00 (Stockholm, Paris)		
		21.30-22.30		
North America	09.00-10.00	20.00-21.00 (Eastern S.T.)	9480,11945,15115	31.65,25.12,19.85
East Coast:	10.00-11.00	21.00-22.00	9480,11945,15115	31.65,25.12,19.85
West Coast:	11.00-12.00	19.00-20.00 (Pacific S.T.)	11820,15060,17745	25.38,19.92,16.91
	12.00-13.00	20.00-21.00	11820,15060,17745	25.38,19.92,16.91
Australia and New Zealand	16.30-17.30	18.30-19.30 (Aust. S.T.)	15060,17835	19.92,16.82
	17.30-18.30	19.30-20.30	15060,17835	19.92,16.82
		20.30-21.30 (N.Z. S.T.)		
		21.30-22.30		
Southeast Asia	19.00-20.00	18.30-19.30 (Djakarta, Singapore)	11885,15417	25.24,19.46
	20.00-21.00	19.30-20.30	11820,15095,1190	25.38,19.87,252
		19.00-20.00 (Manila)		
		20.00-21.00		
India, Pakistan and Ceylon	22.00-23.00	19.30-20.30 (Delhi, Colombo)	9480,11740,15140	31.65,25.55,19.82
	00.00-01.00	21.30-22.30	9860,12010,15060,1190	30.42,24.98,19.92,252
		19.00-20.00 (West Pakistan)		
		21.00-22.00		
		20.00-21.00 (East Pakistan)		
		22.00-23.00		
Africa	23.00-24.00	18.00-19.00 (East African Time)	9775,12055,15095	30.69,24.88,19.87
	11.00-12.00	6.00- 7.00 (East African Time)	15500,17810	19.38,16.84
	01.00-02.00	19.00-20.00 (Capetown)	1190,9775	252,30.69
		19.00-20.00 (Salisbury)	12055,15095	24.88,19.87
		20.00-21.00 (East African Time)		
	02.00-03.00	17.15-18.15 (Monrovia)	9775,12055,15095	30.69,24.88,19.87
		18.00-19.00 (Accra)		
		18.00-19.00 (Freetown)		
		19.00-20.00 (Lagos)		
		20.00-21.00 (Cairo)		
	05.30-06.30	20.45-21.45 (Monrovia)	6000,9510,11980	50.00,31.55,25.04
		21.30-22.30 (Freetown)		
		21.30-22.30 (Accra)		
		22.30-23.30 (Lagos)		

## Tune in to Radio Peking's Regular Features:

**Tuesday:** China in Construction

**Wednesday:** Culture in China

**Thursday:** In the People's Communes

**Friday:** In the Socialist Countries

**Saturday:** Opinion in Peking  
Quiz

**Sunday:** Listeners' Letter Box  
Sunday Concert