

PEKING REVIEW

22

June 2, 1961

Five Principles for Solution of Laotian Question

Foreign Minister Chen Yi's speech at enlarged Geneva
Conference (p. 6).

Kennedy's "Urgent Needs"

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How an imperialist-controlled institute of higher learning
was transformed into a modern socialist university
of the people (p. 18).

Children's Day Celebrations

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The White-Haired Girl

by Ho Ching-chih and Ting Yi

The well-known opera *The White-Haired Girl* is based on a popular folk-tale of northern China. It tells the moving story about a pretty, kind-hearted and courageous peasant girl, Hsi-erh, who, in the old society, suffered almost unbelievable exploitation, humiliation and persecution from a landlord family. After the liberation all these wrongs were redressed. This opera shows in vivid terms how "in the old society men were changed into ghosts, while in the new society ghosts change into men," and inspires in the people a deeper love for their People's Government and new society.

Being strongly national in character this opera is loved profoundly by the Chinese people.

A film adapted from this opera won a special prize at the Karlovy Vary Film Festival in 1951. The book is illustrated.

160 pages

Paper and cloth covers

Books for Children

NEXT-TIME PORT

This medium-length children's story is written by Yen Wen-ching, the well-known Chinese writer of children's literature.

It is about the interesting adventures of a schoolboy named Tang Hsiao-hsi, who was very fond of playing and never did his homework well. Whenever there was work to be done, he always said: "Next time." At last Time was angry with him and went away. Hsiao-hsi chased after him. On the way he met Gray Rat, who promised to take him to the "Happy Land." They first came to a place called "Next-Time Port," where all the boats were becalmed, waiting to sail "next time." There Hsiao-hsi met with many unhappy adventures. Finally he became more aware and shouted: "Oh, Time! Please don't get angry with me anymore. Please come back immediately!" And strangely enough, Time returned. The boats at the port no longer put up those signboards "Sailing Next Time!" and the port was no longer called "Next-Time Port." By then, Hsiao-hsi had learnt how to regard his homework and play in the right way. 10 illustrations.

The Rainbow Road

by Hu Chi

The Rainbow Road, written in the style of a folk tale, is a vivid story about three Tibetan boys in search of the rainbow road and a happy life.

They lived in a village far, far away in the snow-capped mountains. One day, they heard that the Chinese People's Liberation Army had built a bright rainbow road which would bring happiness to the Tibetan people. Wanting to search for happiness they decided to go out and have a look at this road. So they slipped away from home. On their way they met with many trials in crossing turbulent rivers and snow-covered mountains and walking over the scorching desert and vast grassland, constantly threatened by cold, hunger and fatigue. Because they never wavered in their faith, finally, after overcoming numerous difficulties, they found the bright rainbow road and happiness, and so started out on a new life together. Many illustrations.

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北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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ROUND THE WEEK

More Tractors for the Farms

Five major tractor plants in the country are being expanded. They are Loyang's No. 1 Tractor Works, the Tientsin Tractor Works, the Kiangsi Tractor Plant, Anshan's Hongqi Tractor Plant and the Shenyang Tractor Plant. When expansion is completed, farm machinery planners report, the production capacity of these plants will be more than 400 per cent greater than at present.

The expansion of these five plants is one of the key projects of China's capital construction programme in the field of agricultural machinery for the current year. Their expansion will be completed by next year at the latest. In the Kiangsi and Anshan plants it will be finished this year.

Although at the present stage of things in China, mechanized farming still plays a relatively minor role in agricultural production, an increasing number of tractors and other farm machinery have been sent to the countryside by the state in the past few years. These are heralds of things to come. In seven areas in the north-east, including Shenyang, Anshan and Yingkow, the tractor-ploughed acreage this spring was double that ploughed at the same time last year. Wheat and cotton producing Shantung Province now has 6,300 tractors (in terms of 15 horsepower units) which ploughed nearly 10 million *mu* of land this spring. In the current national agricultural drive the production of farm machines is being gradually stepped up.

Supply of Parts. While the five tractor plants mentioned above are being expanded, 14 works of varying sizes making agricultural machinery accessories and parts are either being built or enlarged. The nation's farm machinery industry right now is mass producing four types of tractors — "East Is Red," "Iron Bull," "Bumper Harvest," and "Red Flag," as well as many types of irrigation and drainage machinery and tractor appliances such as harrows, seeders, rakes, etc. Maintenance of these tractors and other farm machinery requires a large amount of parts and accessories. Most

of these 14 plants are specialized enterprises where production is or will be highly mechanized. Construction and expansion of these plants will greatly increase the supply of parts and accessories.

Repair Networks. The steady flow of tractors and other farm machines to the countryside is resulting in a growing number of machine-repair workshops in the rural areas. Last week reports from Shansi, Hopei, Shantung, Honan, Liaoning Provinces and Peking tell of rapidly developing networks of farm machinery repair service centres in these areas. To date 334 repair works and workshops and many more repair stations have been set up.

In addition to providing repair and maintenance services for tractors, trucks and other farm machines and tools on the farms of local people's communes, these repair centres also help train mechanics and tractor drivers for them.

Most of the larger repair works were formerly small plants which were rebuilt or expanded in the latter part of last year. The small workshops have been built up from numerous repair service stations while most of the repair stations in the villages today are recent creations. Together, these big and medium-sized repair works and the small repair stations go to make up the extensive networks that take care of farm machinery maintenance work in these areas. They handle everything from day-to-day check-ups to major overhauls.

These repair service networks are being built up and developed according to plans carefully worked out by the local authorities. While the emphasis is put on areas where the most machinery is being used, other areas are not neglected. Sooner or later they'll be getting more machines, too.

Taiwan Anniversary

Three hundred years ago, in 1661, Cheng Cheng-kung (Koxinga), the famous general of the Ming Dynasty, sailed at the head of a fleet from the Chinese mainland and landed on the Chinese island of Taiwan, then occu-



Building a New Factory

Sketch by Li Chieh-wen

pied by the Dutch colonialists. After nine months of bloody fighting he drove out the Dutch and recovered Taiwan for China. Ever since then Cheng Cheng-kung has been honoured by the Chinese people as a national hero.

Four years ago on May 24, 1957, some 30,000 Taiwan citizens rose in a furious demonstration against U.S. imperialism. Shouting the slogan "U.S. troops, get out of Taiwan!" people in Taipeh stormed the U.S. "embassy" and the U.S. "Information Service." They were supported by the warm sympathy of their Chinese compatriots on the mainland and elsewhere.

Last week, special meetings were held in Peking, Foochow, Shanghai and other cities to commemorate this double anniversary. At these meetings, members of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, people from Taiwan and members of China's democratic parties forcefully condemned the U.S. occupation of Taiwan and its outrageous "two Chinas" scheme and expressed the determination of the Chinese people to liberate the island.

At the Peking meeting, Hsu Meng-shan, Secretary-General of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, said that both the recovery of the island from the Dutch colonialists 300 years ago and the anti-U.S. demonstration of the Taiwan people four years ago served to prove that the Chinese people, including their compatriots on Taiwan, are unswerving in the struggle against foreign aggressors and to bring Taiwan back to the bosom of the motherland. No matter how ferocious the aggressors may be and no matter what cunning tricks they may play, they will have to get out of

China's territory of Taiwan. Hsu Meng-shan paid tribute to the daily mounting anti-U.S. struggle of the people in Taiwan today.

Denouncing the Kennedy Administration for stepping up its despicable attempt to create "two Chinas," he declared that the imperialists will never succeed in their schemes; the Chinese people will surely liberate Taiwan.

Red Scarves

On May 27, Peking's Chingshan Park was astir with a crowd of two thousand Young Pioneers. Its famous Coal Hill was overrun by boys and girls in neat white shirts, red scarves and blue trousers or shorts. Red flags bearing the star and torch flew proudly in the summer breeze from this, the highest hill within Peking's city wall. On that afternoon 1,100 boys and girls were admitted to the Young Pioneers in a full-fledged ceremony held in the presence of many veteran revolutionaries. The gathering was one of the many activities of Peking's boys and girls on the eve of International Children's Day.

At the ceremony the veterans of the revolution placed red scarves, insignia of the Young Pioneers, round the necks of the new members of China's children's organization. Among the veterans present were Teng Ying-chao, Vice-President of the National Women's Federation, People's Liberation Army officers who were once members of the famous Children's Corps, and veteran workers who took part in the big railway strike in 1923.

Teng Ying-chao, speaking to the gathering, extended warm greetings to the boys and girls for International

Children's Day. She encouraged them to study well, keep fit, develop habits of diligence and industriousness, make daily progress and prepare themselves to be worthy successors in China's revolutionary cause.

On May 27, in Shanghai a gala Children's Day party was held in that city's famous Children's Palace. More than 2,000 children met there with veteran revolutionaries, outstanding workers and peasants, writers, scientists and artists.

Passing On Know-How

A headline name last week was that of Chou Chin-jung, a skilled engineering worker at the Hangchow Machine Tools Works, for his achievement in training more than 40 young workers in the last three years. Good as that record is, Chou's feat, however, is not unique. Everywhere in China today the veterans in every field are passing on their know-how to the younger generation. This stands in striking contrast to the situation in old China, where a master craftsman guarded the secrets of his technical skill as his personal asset, to be passed on circumspectly to the immediate members of the family. This was understandable. In the old society technical skill was indeed an "asset" for earning a living, and earning a living wasn't easy in those days. In present-day China no unemployment problem exists. The mastering of technical know-how by more people means more production and wealth for society, with benefits to all. As the socialist outlook of the people has developed, those "in the know" have grown correspondingly eager to share their knowledge. There never has been any lack of teachers for literacy classes; traditional doctors have made known nostrums carefully guarded for centuries in their families. Encouraged by the Party the coaching of new hands by veterans is organized on an extensive and increasing scale in practically every field of work. The following are two recent examples:

In Industry. Shenyang's Machine Tool Works in the northeast is noted among industrial enterprises for its work in this line. In its No. 8 workshop veteran workers teach newcomers the techniques of lathe turning, milling and grinding in special classes. They also coach them on the job in reading blueprints and doing repair and main-

tenance work. Regular discussion meetings are arranged at which the experienced veterans and their apprentices together examine and improve the various new techniques developed in the workshop. Veterans also sign "contracts" with their young colleagues setting a fixed period in which the "master" undertakes to teach and the pupil pledges to learn certain specific techniques. Veteran workers also give demonstrations of their skills at open meetings.

Workshop veterans are sharing with others the "special secrets" they have discovered in tackling key technical problems. By last week old hands in the workshop had already passed on 124 "special secrets" to their young colleagues. The veterans also help them analyse their defective products, discover the causes of spoilage and ways of eliminating it. These measures have helped raise the efficiency of the young workers and set going a general rise in the shop's output and the quality of its products.

On the Farms. Chengdong People's Commune of Sungkiang County, Shanghai, is one of the many in the country where experienced farmers are giving lessons in farm techniques to young hands. Its ninth production team is a good example. Here 45 per cent of the work force are newcomers. To improve their skill, a campaign was recently launched among them to learn from the commune's experienced farmers. Veteran farmers like Yang Hsueh-kang and Yang Hsueh-chiao now each have a large group of "apprentices" attached to them. After barely a month, such field coaching was already paying off. A general improvement was noted in the quality of work done on the farms in nursing rice seedlings. Thanks to general application of the techniques used by Yang Hsueh-chiao and Pan Jen-teh, another crack farmer—seeds were moistened to hasten sprouting—and 90 per cent of the seeds so treated sprouted into lush green seedlings.

Bringing Up Young Artists

The new crop of young artists who are appearing in ever growing numbers on China's stages are earning golden opinions from theatre-goers. Particular praise used to go to the young artists of the Fourth Troupe of the China Peking Opera Theatre. Now the plaudits are being more widely dis-

tributed. Among the latest who have impressed critics and audiences alike are the youngsters of the Hopei Bangzi Opera Company which visited Peking recently and the young actors of the Youth Cantonese Opera Company in Canton. These and other young artists are bright blossoms in the rich flowering of China's post-liberation stage arts.

During the past decade China's art schools and colleges graduated some 7,000 young artists specializing in drama, music, the fine arts and cinema. In the field of drama alone, four-fifths of the leading actors and actresses in the country's thousands of theatrical companies today are post-liberation graduates of the art schools.

The 41 art schools and colleges spread around the country now have some 12,000 students in their various departments. Every province and autonomous region has its own art institutions. Students come from all the various nationalities in China; 44 per cent of them from worker and peasant families. Many of the members of the faculty of these art institutes are veteran artists with rich experience in their fields.

These institutes with four to five-year courses provide free tuition and supply all study materials free. They give an all-round education in addition to their specialties. Students are enabled to acquire a fundamental understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory as well as a comprehensive knowledge of their chosen art. Usually they begin to give their first public performances or participate in public exhibition during their third year. Their whole education is planned within the context of serving the people—"serving the workers, peasants and soldiers." To maintain this popular contact and understanding of the working people, they spend six weeks a year in factories or rural people's communes where they take part in suitable physical labour and other activities.

Moslem Festival

On May 26, Moslems of the Hui, Uighur, Kazakh and other national minorities in China celebrated their Corban Festival.

In Urumchi, capital of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region in north-

west China, tens of thousands of Moslems attended religious services in the mosques that day. After the services, the traditional holiday began, and they flocked to the parks, cinemas, theatres, clubs and cultural palaces for music, dancing and other entertainments. The people's council of the autonomous region marked the occasion with an evening get-together.

In Yinchuan in the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region, thousands attended services in the mosques. Despite the morning drizzle festive activities got off to a good start.

In Peking, Chinese Moslems were joined by diplomatic envoys and students from Islamic countries now in the capital at a service in a mosque in the eastern part of the city. Imam Haj Ma Shu-tien, who officiated at the service, read the first chapter of the Koran and delivered a sermon. Imam Khalil Chang Shu-tang spoke of the origin of the Corban Festival.

A special reception to celebrate the festival was given on May 28 by Burhan Shahidi, Chairman of the Chinese Islamic Association. Saifudin, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, was present. Diplomatic envoys of Islamic Asian and African countries were guests.

Extending greetings to Moslems all over the world, Burhan Shahidi said that friendship between Chinese Moslems and Moslems of the Asian and African countries had grown rapidly with the development of the struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa to win and uphold their national independence. Chinese Moslems, he said, greatly treasure this friendship and will do their best to consolidate and develop it.



Five Principles Proposed for Solution of The Laotian Question

Foreign Minister Chen Yi, Head of the Chinese Government Delegation, made a statement at the enlarged Geneva Conference on May 24. In his statement he set forth the following five principles for the solution of the Laotian question:

- 1) It must be based on the 1954 Geneva agreements.
- 2) It must respect the independence and sovereignty of Laos.
- 3) It must strictly ensure the neutrality of Laos.
- 4) It must draw a sharp distinction between the internal and the international aspects of the Laotian question. The internal problems of Laos can only be solved by the Laotians themselves. Any international agreement must in no way interfere in the internal affairs of Laos.
- 5) All the participating nations must take part in, and strictly abide by, the common agreement.

Following is the full text of his statement. — Ed.

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates,

The delegations of all the countries participating in our conference have made statements and enunciated their positions on the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. We are glad that most of the delegates have expressed a readiness to conduct consultations and reach agreement on strict assurance of the neutrality of Laos on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreements. Although individual delegations have taken an attitude at variance with that of the majority of the delegations, it is our hope that they will eventually alter their attitudes so that they may not become obstacles to a unanimous agreement among us.

All of us have heard the statement by the delegate of the Royal Government of Laos, Mr. Quinim Pholsena, and the statement by the delegate of the Neo Lao Haksat, Mr. Phoumi Vongvichit. They have analysed in detail the development of the situation in Laos since 1954, explained the causes of the present tragic state of affairs in Laos and put forth their propositions for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. They have reaffirmed the position of the Royal Government of Laos in adhering to a policy of peace and neutrality, asked the conference to provide definite assurance for the independence and neutrality of Laos, and given forceful expression to the aspirations of the Laotian people for peace, independence, neutrality and unity. The Chinese Delegation warmly supports these aspirations.

The Chinese Delegation supports the Soviet proposals and opposes the U.S. proposals.

Now, our conference will soon proceed to discuss concrete proposals for the settlement of the Laotian question. In this connection, Comrade Andrei Gromyko has, on

behalf of the Government of the Soviet Union, tabled two draft documents, the "Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos" and the "Agreement on the Withdrawal of Foreign Troops and Military Personnel from the Territory of Laos and on the Terms of Reference of the International Commission"; the U.S. delegate, Mr. Dean Rusk, has also presented outline proposals of the U.S. Government on the Laotian question. The Chinese Delegation supports the proposals of the Soviet Union, because the Soviet proposals are based on the 1954 Geneva agreements, they draw a clear line of demarcation between the international and the internal aspects of the Laotian question, and they conform to the Laotian people's national aspirations for peace, independence and neutrality. In contrast, the proposals of the United States are in contravention of the 1954 Geneva agreements, obliterate the demarcation between the international and the internal aspects of the Laotian question and are actually aimed at putting Laos under international condominium. The Chinese Delegation is opposed to the proposals of the United States.

From the definition of neutrality Rusk attempts to impose on Laos, it can be seen that the United States merely wants to continue its intervention and aggression against Asian and African countries in the name of ensuring neutrality.

The U.S. delegate has, in his statement, formulated a new definition for the neutrality of Laos. He holds that this neutrality "must go beyond the classical concept of non-alignment and include positive assurance of the integrity of the elements of national life (in Laos)." Accordingly, he maintains that this neutrality has to be

guarded not only against threats from without, but also against so-called "threats from within," against the so-called "subversion of the elements of the state which is organized, directed or assisted from beyond its borders." These words are not unfamiliar to many people, they are the language of the Southeast Asia Treaty. What then do these words mean? The U.S. ruling circles have always described the people's national and democratic movements in various countries as aggressive activities organized from without. By guarding against "threats from within" and against "subversion of the elements of the state" is actually meant suppressing the Laotian people's national and democratic movements and eliminating the patriotic forces in Laos. This constitutes a bare-faced interference in the internal affairs of Laos. The United States has failed to destroy the Laotian patriotic forces even though it has spent seven years in doing so, tried every possible measure, and even instigated a large-scale civil war in the end. Can it then achieve the same end by adopting a changed method of interfering in the internal affairs of Laos under the cloak of ensuring Laotian neutrality? I would advise the U.S. delegate to think it over well. As will be recalled, the late U.S. Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, once made the notorious statement that neutrality is immoral. It is now said that the United States is no longer against the neutrality of Asian and African countries. However, it can be seen from the definition of neutrality which Mr. Dean Rusk attempts to impose on Laos that the United States merely wants to continue its intervention and aggression against Asian and African countries in the name of ensuring neutrality. If this can be called neutrality at all, it is indeed an immoral neutrality imposed from without.

The Chinese Government firmly opposes the U.S. plot of enforcing international condominium in Laos. No nation with self-respect is willing to be a party to this dirty business of international condominium.

The U.S. delegate further proposed the establishment of some international bodies with supreme powers so as to impose on Laos the so-called neutrality as envisaged by the United States. The delegates of Britain, France, Canada and many other countries hold that the 1954 Geneva agreements should be maintained as basis, but the U.S. delegate pushed aside the International Commission for Supervision and Control set up under these agreements, made unjust criticisms against it, and attempted to create some new international bodies instead. As envisaged by the United States, these international bodies are to check so-called "threats from within" in Laos, to cut and reorganize the Laotian armed forces and to administer economic and technical aid to Laos. In his statement, the U.S. delegate came out undisguisedly with the point that the international machinery must be able to go at will to all parts of Laos without the need for the consent of the Laotian Government and the authorities concerned. He made no mention at all that the international machinery must be responsible to the participating nations of the Geneva Conference, and must function under the guidance of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. Obviously, this sort of international machinery designed by the United States, instead of upholding the

neutrality of Laos on the basis of respect for the independence of that country, is meant to carry out all-round intervention in the political, military and economic affairs of Laos without any restriction and place Laos under international condominium. Just as pointed out by the Indian delegate, Mr. Krishna Menon, this would be a "super-government or state within a state" in Laos. It is not difficult to see that this is in the same strain as the international condominium enforced in the Congo by the United States through the United Nations. As intervention by the United States itself has met with increasingly strong resistance, the United States has more and more tried to carry out its intervention and aggression against other countries by means of international condominium. In the Congo, we have already witnessed the tragic consequences of such international condominium. Naturally, the Laotian people, who have waged prolonged bitter struggles to win and safeguard their national independence, cannot possibly agree to this kind of international condominium and let their country become a colony once again. Just as the Burmese delegate has pointed out, "any solution which has the remotest appearance of having been imposed on Laos is doomed to failure." In accordance with its stand of consistently upholding the 1954 Geneva agreements and respecting the neutrality and independence of Laos, the Chinese Government is firmly opposed to the U.S. plot of enforcing international condominium in Laos. At the same time, we believe that no nation with self-respect is willing to be a party to this dirty business of international condominium. The Cambodian delegate in his statement has suggested with good reason that the U.S. delegate reconsider his views.

As everybody knows, Laos is an independent sovereign state. Laos has long ago chosen its neutrality independently and on its own, a neutrality whose meaning is quite definite, and there is no need for Mr. Rusk now to give it a new definition. At the time of the 1954 Geneva conference, the Royal Government of Laos already declared that it would not conclude any military alliance with other states and would not allow the establishment of foreign military bases on Laotian territory. At the time, the Geneva agreements affirmed this neutral status of Laos and stipulated that the participating nations of the conference undertook to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Laos and to refrain from any interference in its internal affairs. The neutrality of Laos is based on respect for the independence of Laos by the countries concerned. All internal problems of Laos, including the formation of a national coalition government, the practice of democracy, the holding of general elections, the unification of territory and armed forces, and economic construction, are the Laotian people's own affairs, which should be administered by the Laotian people themselves and should not be subjected to any outside interference. Mr. Quinim Pholsena and Mr. Phoumi Vongvichit have told us in their statements that the Royal Government of Laos headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma and supported by the Neo Lao Haksat has consistently pursued a policy of peace and neutrality, while the United States has been consistently opposed, and is now still opposed, to this Government. The root cause of the Laotian problem is that the United States would not let Laos maintain the neutral status of its own choosing;

it is definitely not the lack of a new definition for the neutrality of Laos.

It is not necessary to reorganize the present international commission. The terms of reference of the commission should be properly readjusted in accordance with the new conditions. The principle of reaching unanimity through consultation must be followed in its voting procedure.

So far as the maintenance of the neutrality of Laos is concerned, the experience of the past seven years tells us that what is important is for the countries concerned, in the first place the United States, to strictly abide by the 1954 Geneva agreements and honour their undertaking about the independence and neutrality of Laos, rather than to set up some new international machinery. Can it be expected that, with an international machinery of another kind, the United States will no longer support the rebel Phoumi-Boun Oum clique? It would obviously be most unjust to blame the tragic situation in Laos today on insufficient efforts on the part of the commission. The Chinese Government is in principle in favour of necessary international supervision and control. We deem that it is not necessary to reorganize the present international commission. As for the terms of reference of the commission, they should of course be properly re-adjusted in accordance with the new conditions. In re-adjusting the terms of reference of the commission, a sharp distinction must be drawn between the internal and the international aspects of the Laotian question, and interference in the internal affairs of Laos is absolutely impermissible. Since Laos is a sovereign state, all work of the international commission can be carried out only with the co-operation of the Laotian Government. As for the voting procedure of the international commission, we hold that the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation is essential. Because only by practising this principle can the views of all the parties concerned be taken into account, and the aim of just supervision and control be attained. The commission is responsible to our conference and is working under the guidance of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. Since the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation is applied in the work of both our conference and the Co-Chairmen, why should not the same principle be applied in this working organization, the international commission? The U.S. delegate laid so much emphasis on the necessity and effectiveness of majority decision, but he forgot that at the 1954 Geneva Conference it was exactly the United States that was in the minority and that in the present conference the United States is not in the majority either. However, we have not accordingly held that the method of majority decision be adopted at this conference, but have still stood for jointly seeking avenues to a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question on the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation. The method of decision by majority vote cannot solve any problem here among us. For the present, there is a great divergence between us and the U.S. delegate on the definition of neutrality and the question of international machinery. However, we are after all sitting at the same conference table. Provided that

there is sincerity for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question and earnest discussion is conducted by setting forth the facts and reasoning, it is still possible to reach unanimous agreement.

The economic and technical aid to Laos should be arranged by the Laotian Government with the countries concerned through negotiations in accordance with the principles of sovereignty and equality; it should not be administered or controlled by any international body.

As for economic and technical aid to Laos, it is first of all for Laos to accept foreign aid independently and on its own by exercising its sovereignty. Both Mr. Quinim Pholsena and Mr. Phoumi Vongvichit have indicated at our conference that the Royal Government of Laos is ready to accept aid from all countries which sincerely wish to help Laos build the foundation of an independent national economy, including aid from countries of either of the two camps, provided that no political or military conditions are attached to it. It is fully proper that such aid should be arranged by the Royal Government of Laos with the countries concerned through bilateral negotiations in accordance with the principles of sovereignty and equality; it should by no means be administered or controlled by any international body. Such is the practice of the Royal Government of Cambodia, and we cannot see why the Royal Government of Laos cannot do the same.

China, the Soviet Union, and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are signatories to the 1954 Geneva agreements and have consistently been pursuing a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Laos. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has in his statement enumerated plenty of facts to show that the United States, Thailand and south Viet Nam have engaged in armed intervention in Laos and demanded that they stop such aggression. The Chinese Delegation resolutely supports this righteous stand of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The delegates of south Viet Nam and Thailand have repeated at this conference U.S. slanders against China, the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. However, these groundless charges can by no means cover up the iron-clad fact of the aggression against Laos by the United States and its followers. Can this be denied since U.S. military personnel commanding the rebel Laotian forces have already been captured?

The peace and security of Southeast Asia can be ensured only by putting an end to U.S. aggression and intervention and abolishing the SEATO military bloc.

The U.S. delegate has tried in his statement to present the question of peace in Southeast Asia, including Laos, as a question of preventing the threat of communism from the north, alleging that SEATO will wither away only if such threats disappear. These arguments for the U.S. policies of aggression and intervention are indeed nothing new. However, one cannot help asking the U.S. delegate why he has evaded and failed to reply to the mass of facts

about U.S. aggression and intervention in Laos, south Viet Nam and the whole of Southeast Asia cited by the delegates of many countries in their statements. The U.S. delegate has tried to trace the troubles in Asia to the communists. But we wish to ask, who should be held responsible for the recent overthrow of the Chang Myun clique in south Korea and the internal troubles of many other Asian countries under U.S. domination? If the U.S. delegate's concept of peaceful coexistence is for the socialist countries to issue a guaranty for the puppets of the United States, I am afraid we cannot issue such a guaranty. It is clear that, so long as the U.S. policies of intervention and aggression against the Asian countries do not stop, the peace and security of Asia will not be ensured. The threat to the peace and security of the whole of Southeast Asia, including Laos, stems precisely from the policies of aggression and intervention of the United States from across the Pacific Ocean, and from the SEATO military bloc. I wish to repeat, the peace and security of Southeast Asia can be ensured only by putting an end to U.S. aggression and intervention, abolishing the SEATO military bloc and replacing it by a peace area in Southeast Asia.

Mr. Chairman! The Chinese Government has consistently stood for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question on the basis of respect for the national aspirations of the Laotian people and observance of the principles of the 1954 Geneva agreements. We are glad to note that Premier Souvanna Phouma issued on May 8, 1961, on behalf of the Royal Government of Laos a six-point political programme which fully embodies the national aspirations of the Laotian people. The two draft proposals on the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question put forward by the Soviet Union both respect the independence and sovereignty of Laos and conform to the 1954 Geneva agreements. The Soviet proposals have won

the support of the delegates from Laos, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Poland and the appreciation of some other delegates. The Chinese Delegation holds that the Soviet proposals should be taken as the basis of discussion and agreement at this conference. The delegations of certain other countries have put forth their own proposals for the settlement of the Laotian question, and in the course of discussion and consultation we will give serious study and consideration to all those parts of them, which are constructive. We are of the opinion, however, that any solution of the Laotian question must not run counter to the following principles:

1. It must be based on the 1954 Geneva agreements.
2. It must respect the independence and sovereignty of Laos.
3. It must strictly ensure the neutrality of Laos.
4. It must draw a sharp distinction between the internal and the international aspects of the Laotian question. The internal problems of Laos can only be solved by the Laotians themselves. Any international agreement must in no way interfere in the internal affairs of Laos.
5. All the participating nations must take part in, and strictly abide by, the common agreement.

With regard to the question of the procedure of the conference, we are in favour of continuing the plenary sessions to discuss the question of ensuring the neutrality of Laos. The formation of committees for the technical discussion of specific documents will not, of course, be excluded when more or less agreed views have been reached at the conference.

Mr. Chairman! That is all I want to say. Thank you.

Kennedy's "Urgent Needs"

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

On May 29, "Renmin Ribao" published detailed extracts from U.S. President Kennedy's special message to Congress on urgent national needs. At the same time, it published a commentary on this "special message." A translation of this follows. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

ON May 25, U.S. President Kennedy sent Congress a "Special Message on Urgent National Needs," in which he sent out an S.O.S. and put forward a series of urgent measures.

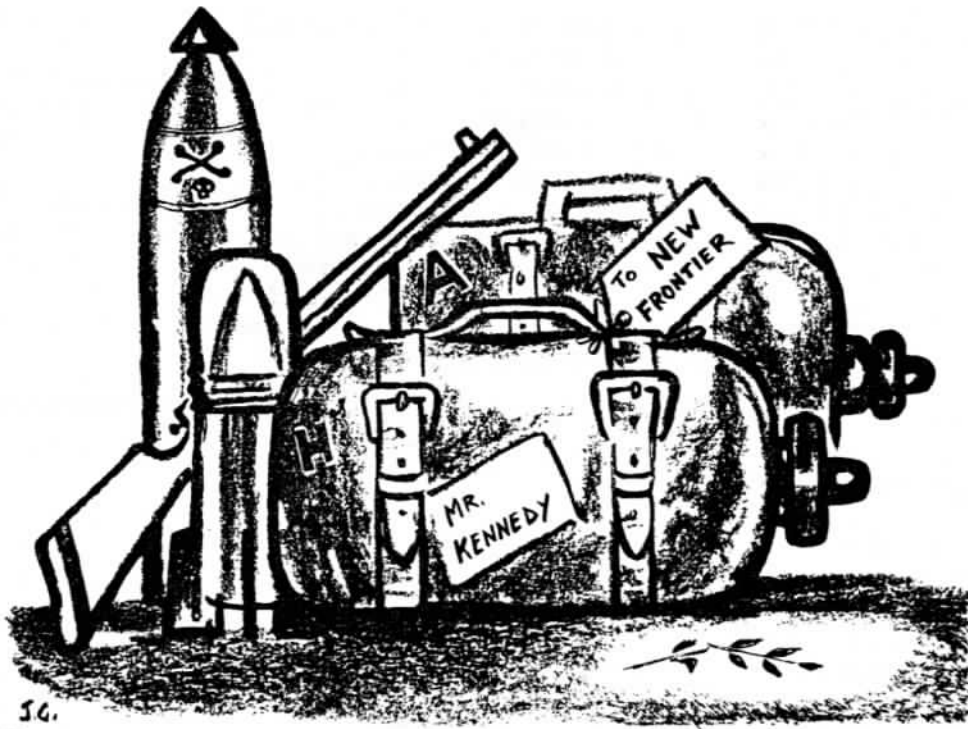
What has happened after all, to make the U.S. President find it necessary to take such special action? At a time when the enlarged Geneva Conference is seeking ways for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question and when talks between the Soviet and U.S. heads of

state will soon begin in Vienna, is it not really possible for Kennedy to be a little more cool-headed? What made Kennedy cry out in exceptionally agitated tones that "these are extraordinary times"? In a word, where does the reason for this "feeling of urgency" of Kennedy's lie?

Three Reasons for "Urgency"

Kennedy pointed out that the battleground of the United States "is the whole southern half of the globe—Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East—the lands of the rising peoples." There, he said, a "revolution, the greatest in human history," was taking place.

Indeed, a great revolution of the oppressed peoples fighting for national liberation is taking place in vast



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Baggage to the New Frontier

By Jack Chen

areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America. According to Kennedy, the United States would "support" this revolution of the various peoples "regardless of which political or economic route they choose to freedom." It is strange then that a revolution supported by the United States should constitute a challenge to it and make Kennedy so anxious.

Obviously, the facts are just the opposite of what Kennedy claimed. The United States, as the main bulwark of modern colonialism, has never ceased even for a single day to be hostile towards and to disrupt and suppress the national liberation movement surging in Asia, Africa and Latin America. However, what made it find itself helpless is the fact that neither its furious sabre rattling nor its painstaking scheming can stop the progress of the great national and democratic revolution in the world. U.S. intervention and aggression against the Congo has met with the resistance of the Congolese people and the opposition of the people of the world; its invasion of Cuba ended in ignominious defeat; in Laos it has "gambled and lost". . . . Kennedy dejectedly lamented not long ago that "the news has grown worse instead of better." This is precisely one of the reasons that made him regard the situation as "urgent" and find it necessary to send out a "special message."

But Kennedy has deliberately tried to cover up the essence of the matter and make people believe that what the United States opposes is not the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but the "concealed aggression" allegedly committed by the socialist countries in these vast areas. Thus, he slandered and attacked the socialist countries in a most vicious way. This, of course, cannot harm the dignity and prestige of the socialist countries because they have always taken a stand of firm support towards the national liberation movement. As to "aggression" and "enslavement," it can be seen clearly from events in the Congo, Cuba and Laos

that the real and biggest "adversary of freedom" is none other than U.S. imperialism represented by Kennedy. It is precisely the United States, the neo-colonialist, that has been perpetrating not only "concealed" but also "open" aggression against these countries.

This, of course, is not the whole reason for Kennedy's hatred for the socialist countries. There is no doubt that the growing strength of the socialist camp is an insurmountable obstacle to the U.S. imperialist plan of aggression and expansion. The ever-growing gap in the rate of economic development and in guided missiles and the increasingly shaky positions of strength of the United States—this is another important reason that made Kennedy find the situation "urgent."

Moreover, a whole army of problems has arisen within the United States, the principal one being the fact that the shadow of economic crisis has all along been hanging over that country. Although Kennedy boasted in the "special message" that "the recession has been halted" and that "recovery is under way," he had to admit that massive unemployment still exists and will continue to exist. This is the third reason that made Kennedy find the situation "urgent."

Stepping Up Aggression and Expansion

Faced with this situation, what should President Kennedy do? He listed a series of "urgent" measures.

(1) To speedily "turn recession into recovery." Kennedy set forth a programme "to train or retrain several hundred thousand workers in new occupational skills over a four-year period" so as to bring about a change in the serious situation of unemployment and under-capacity operation in the United States. This is downright ridiculous. Is it really because of the lack of skill that large numbers of American workers are unemployed? Actually, Kennedy's magic wand in solving the question of the U.S. economic stagnation does not lie here, but in his much advertised measures of greatly increasing military spending, expanding the foreign "aid" programme, increasing "civil defence" expenditure and so on, measures which are tantamount to "spending all one's money to ward off disasters." It lies in his demand that the people tighten their belts. Please note how "urgently" Kennedy has appealed to the people to do as he has asked—"to meet the tax levelly and close the tax loopholes," to refrain from "pushing up wages and prices" and from making "harmful work stoppages," etc.

(2) To step up economic "aid" to "less developed countries." Otherwise, Kennedy said, it would cause "the bankruptcy of unstable governments."

As far as the United States is concerned, many "critical events" have indeed taken place recently. In the countries regarded as the "frontiers of freedom" by the United

States, from Iran, south Viet Nam right on to south Korea, the people have risen to struggle against tyranny and starvation and the puppet regimes fostered by the United States with dollars and shored up with bayonets are either tottering or have collapsed. This is entirely the result of the U.S. policy of aggression. The countries regarded by the United States as "most critical" are precisely those countries which have all along received the largest amounts of "aid" from the United States. Facts have borne out that U.S. "aid" to the ruling circles of the subservient countries was the root cause of sufferings of the peoples of these countries. Kennedy's clamour for stepping up economic "aid" is merely an attempt to save the reactionary rulers repudiated and bitterly hated by the peoples in order to maintain U.S. control and enslavement of these countries. This will only result in increasing, not alleviating, the sufferings and discontent of the people.

(3) To step up U.S. reactionary propaganda abroad as a means of "reaching millions of uncertain peoples." The bringing forward of this "urgent need" by Kennedy is obviously because he has found that the prestige of the United States is declining rapidly and he wants to confuse the people by stepping up deceptive propaganda.

(4) To strengthen the aggressive military blocs engineered by the United States. Why did Kennedy stress this point now? The reason is that the United States is dismayed by signs of "slackening" manifested in these military blocs — in the recent SEATO meeting in Bangkok and the NATO meeting in Oslo, and also in the abortive meeting of the Organisation of American States. In a bid to inspire their "will" in aggression and suppression of the peoples and to strengthen their "capability" in committing aggression and suppressing the people, Kennedy has asked that the appropriation for foreign military "aid" be increased to 1,885 million dollars. He has made it clear that the distribution of military "aid" "needs a new emphasis" and hinted broadly to the subservient countries that whoever wants more arms has to render better service.

(5) To expand the military strength of the United States. Kennedy has laid emphasis on further strengthening the conventional armaments of the United States, and on increasing the marines' effectives to 190,000 men. He has requested Congress to make an additional special appropriation of 160 million dollars to strengthen greatly the United States' capacity to wage "limited wars" and "sub-limited wars." All this is to intensify the suppression of the national liberation movement in various parts of the world. Kennedy has also, under the signboard of the "space development programme," requested Congress to make an additional appropriation this year of nearly 700 million dollars for speeding up the development of carrier vehicles — nuclear rockets, spaceships, space satellites. In the ensuing five years, the United States will spend an additional 7,000-9,000 million dollars on this. In fact, it has long ceased to be any secret that the so-called "space programme" of the United States is completely in the service of aggressive military aims.

What logical conclusions can one draw from the "urgent needs" set forth in Kennedy's "special message"? It is perfectly clear that Kennedy intends to take a series

of urgent measures at home and abroad to step up the execution of the U.S. policy of aggression and war in the military, political and economic fields and push forward a big step the all-round U.S. plan of war preparations which is already huge. This move of Kennedy stems from profound political and economic causes. It is quite clear that the U.S. monopoly capital groups which rely on arms expansion and war preparations to amass ill-gotten wealth and shake off the economic crisis have a mortal fear of a genuine relaxation of international tension. Thus Kennedy has assumed a completely bellicose posture.

Hypocritical Talk About Peace

Nevertheless, Kennedy does not want other people to have this impression. After giving out the signal for intensifying the cold war and speeding up arms expansion and war preparations, he did not forget to devote the remaining little space in his "special message" to expressing his desire for peace. He said that his "strongest desire" was "the creation of an orderly world where disarmament will be possible," and that "our patience at the bargaining table is nearly inexhaustible." He declared that "we seek only the day" when the nations would not "learn war any more." It should be said that these "appendages" are very pleasant to the ear. It is not without reason that the British paper the *London Times* should have the following to say about Kennedy's pleasant words. Commenting on Kennedy's "special message," the paper said on May 26: "The American eagle holds in his right talon an olive branch and in his left a bundle of arrows. In his State of the Union Message last January President Kennedy said: 'We intend to give equal attention to both.' It is a measure of the grimness with which he views the present state of the world that yesterday he felt it necessary to request substantial additional sums of money to enlarge the bundle of arrows and to engage in a race to the moon. However, the olive branch was not neglected."

People have seen that in the past four months Kennedy has indeed been faithfully carrying out this two-tactics policy. He adopts the tactic of peace when he considers that peace is in his interest, and adopts the tactic of war when he considers that war is in his interest. He uses the tactics of peace and war alternately or at the same time. Now, while Kennedy announces that he will go to Vienna to "seek peace," he submits in Washington a special message of "urgent needs" on armaments expansion and war preparations. From this living example, one can get a further understanding of Kennedy's double-tactics policy.

Anyone who carefully reads Kennedy's "Special Message on Urgent National Needs" and grasps the meaning of each section and each paragraph from its essence and not from the superficial words and phrases will understand that the "special message" is an urgent supplementary plan of the United States to step up its policy of aggression and expansion. Thus for all peace-loving people it is undoubtedly a highly valuable piece of teaching material by negative example which can help them to see clearly the true colours of the Kennedy Administration. This is why we are willing to devote our precious space to detailed extracts from the "special message" and recommend them to our readers.

The Peasant Question in The Socialist Revolution

by HSIAO SHU

Following is the second and concluding instalment of a translation of an article published in "Hongqi" (No. 6), fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The first instalment appeared in our last number. Subheads and bold-face emphasis are ours.—Ed.

The Class Line in the Co-operative Movement

Agricultural co-operation was a profound revolutionary movement. In the process of leading agricultural co-operation, the Party correctly solved the questions of whom to rely upon, with whom to unite and against whom to direct the attack. This was of decisive significance in arousing the broad peasant masses to struggle against the capitalist forces and successfully complete agricultural co-operation. In solving this question, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, applying the Marxist-Leninist method of class analysis and starting from the actual situation, made a scientific analysis of the classes and strata in China's rural areas following the land reform.

In the initial period of China's agricultural co-operative movement some comrades once held the view that the question of establishing the predominance of the poor peasants should not be raised. In their opinion, during the land reform it was necessary to establish the predominance of the poor peasants because they then constituted the great majority in the countryside, accounting for 50, 60, or even 70 per cent of the rural population whereas the middle peasants were a minority in the countryside; but now the situation had changed; most of the former poor peasants had become middle peasants, so it would be wrong to establish the predominance of the poor peasants in the co-operative movement. These comrades overlooked the poor peasants' keenness for socialism, did not make a concrete analysis of the middle peasants, and imagined that the middle peasants should be relied on in the co-operative movement. This viewpoint is entirely wrong.

The peasant masses consist of three sections, namely: poor peasants, lower middle peasants, and upper middle peasants (i.e., well-to-do middle peasants). Their attitudes towards socialism are not entirely the same. According to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions, in the co-operative movement, we must pay attention to the difference between the lower and upper middle peasants and distinguish between the new middle peasants (those former poor peasants who rose to the status of middle peasants after the land reform) and the old middle peasants (those who had always been middle peasants since before the land reform). This analysis of the middle peasants in the co-operative movement is of great theoretical and practical significance.

A section of the peasant masses who were poor before the land reform were still unable to change their poverty-stricken life even after they received land because they lacked draught animals, farm tools and labour power or because of other reasons. Their economic status remained, therefore, that of poor peasants. They had the deepest experience of suffering resulting from an individual economy and were therefore generally very keen about socialism. Furthermore, although the economic position of the lower middle peasants among both the old and new middle peasants improved somewhat compared with pre-liberation days, they were still not well to do. Although there might arise in them a desire to climb up to the position of well-to-do middle peasants, they were constantly and directly threatened in the process of polarization in the countryside. Therefore, their attitude towards co-operation came close to that of the poor peasants and differed from that of the well-to-do middle peasants. Generally speaking, they too were keen about socialism. This was especially true of the new lower middle peasants whose economic position was improved only through the land reform led by the Communist Party. They were therefore more responsive to the Party's call. These three sections—the poor peasants and the new and old lower middle peasants—made up together from 60 to 70 per cent of the rural population. They clung relatively less tenaciously to the system of private ownership of the means of production by small peasants and they more readily accepted socialist transformation. **To transform thoroughly the entire system of private property by small owners in a socialist spirit and by the socialist system throughout the rural districts, the working class and the Communist Party must rely on the broad masses of the poor peasants who were formerly the semi-proletariat (including the poor peasants and the new lower middle peasants who were formerly poor peasants).**

The well-to-do middle peasants had better farm tools and draught animals, their land was managed in a more meticulous way, their yields were relatively high or their income from sidelines relatively large; they were, therefore, better off. This economic position of theirs made them (especially the old upper middle peasants who received part of their income from exploitation before they joined the co-operatives) the representatives of the spontaneous tendency towards capitalism among the peasants. They were a stratum that vacillated in the process of socialist transformation. They made up from 20 to 30 per cent of the rural population. **The correct policy towards the well-to-do middle peasants in the co-operative movement is one of uniting with, educating and remoulding them. We should unite with them and at the same time struggle against their tendency towards capitalism. The method to be adopted in this struggle should consist**

chiefly of persuasion, education and criticism; the struggle being designed to achieve the aim of uniting with them.

In China before the land reform, the rich-peasant economy was very weak. In the land reform, the rich peasants' feudal and semi-feudal exploitation was abolished and their economic position was further weakened. Although new rich peasants began to emerge everywhere in the countryside, their development was limited because of the restrictions imposed by the Party's various policies after the land reform and the rapid progress of agricultural co-operation. In the process of agricultural co-operation it was the rich-peasant economy that was the target for elimination. With the upsurge in the co-operative movement, the Party switched its policy from restricting the rich peasants to eliminating them as a class. The rich peasants and the landlords who had been overthrown were the enemies who resolutely opposed and sabotaged agricultural co-operation. They sometimes openly, sometimes covertly supported the spontaneous tendency of the well-to-do middle peasants towards capitalism. Therefore, **vigilance towards the landlords and rich peasants must never be relaxed in the process of agricultural co-operation and blows must be firmly dealt against their disruptive activities.**

The co-operative movement was a serious struggle in the countryside in which the socialist road triumphed over the capitalist road. In China, because the rich-peasant economy was very weak and the well-to-do middle peasants were fairly powerful, the struggle between the two roads in the co-operative movement often found expression in the struggle with the well-to-do middle peasants. To be sure, the well-to-do middle peasants were different from the rich peasants as the former belonged to the category of the labouring people. It would be wrong if one failed to see the well-to-do middle peasants' tendency towards capitalism; but it would also be wrong if, instead of adopting appropriate methods in struggling against their tendency towards capitalism, we adopted the methods used in dealing with the rich peasants. Before they joined the co-operatives, the well-to-do middle peasants, by relying on their relatively more favourable conditions for production, often tried to excel in production over the organized poor and lower middle peasants. Behind these well-to-do middle peasants there actually stood the landlords and the rich peasants. At a time like that, the new-born co-operatives needed to bring the superiority of collective economy into full play and strive for greater increases in production. Only by so doing was it possible to extend the influence of the co-operatives continually. This peaceful competition was an important aspect of the struggle between the two roads.

The analyses given above show that a concrete analysis must be made of the various strata of the peasantry, recognizing the keenness on the part of the great majority of poor and lower middle peasants for co-operation as well as the vacillation and disinclination on the part of the relatively small number of the well-to-do peasants towards co-operation. A concrete analysis must also be made of the dual character of the peasants as labouring people and private owners. The concept of private ownership was relatively weak among the poor and lower middle peasants whereas it was much stronger among the well-to-do middle peasants. If we were blind to the

keenness on the part of the lower middle peasants for socialism and did not bring their initiative into play, the poor peasants would stand alone and the social basis of co-operation weakened. If we discarded the poor peasants and talked of relying on the middle peasants, this would actually be raising the prestige of the well-to-do middle peasants in the countryside so that the lower middle peasants and even a section of the poor peasants would not be freed from the influence of the well-to-do middle peasants. This would only reinforce the tendency in the countryside towards capitalism and ruin the cause of socialism.

The right-deviationist views regarding the question of co-operation that once arose in our Party often manifested themselves as a lack of analysis of the various strata of the peasantry. These views reflected, in essence, the demands of the well-to-do middle peasants who tended spontaneously towards capitalism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's analysis of the classes and strata in China's rural areas after the land reform, especially of the various strata of the middle peasants, pointed out for us a clear class line for carrying out the socialist revolution in the countryside.

The degree of awakening of the various strata of the peasantry differs and it is not entirely the same even among peasants belonging to the same stratum. In leading the socialist transformation of agriculture, our Party adopted the method of proceeding step by step which made the process of co-operation also one of gradually raising the level of consciousness of the peasants so that that process became more readily acceptable to the great majority of the peasants. These steps, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung put it, "are designed to steadily raise the socialist consciousness of the peasants through their personal experience, to change their mode of life step by step and so minimize any feeling that their mode of life is being changed all of a sudden."*

Steps in Agricultural Co-operation

Agricultural co-operation in China was completed in three steps. The first step was to organize mutual-aid teams in agricultural production which contained certain germs of socialism. The second step was to organize, on the basis of the mutual-aid teams, small, semi-socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives characterized by the pooling of land as shares and unified management. The third step was to organize, on the basis of the small, semi-socialist co-operatives, large, fully socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives.

The mutual-aid teams were organizations of collective labour founded on the basis of individual economy (private property). The establishment of mutual-aid teams left the peasants' private property intact. But through collective labour, they helped to enhance the peasants' collectivist thinking, and by labour co-operation, helped to raise labour productivity. This form of organization was most readily acceptable to the peasants, hence it became the initial form of transition guiding the peasants to socialism. However, within the mutual-aid teams, contradictions existed between collective labour and dispersed management. Dis-

* Mao Tse-tung, *The Question of Agricultural Co-operation*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, p. 28.

persed management of land handicapped the rational use of manpower and the effectiveness of collective labour and also caused great difficulties for the rational utilization of land and the unified planning of production. As these contradictions within the mutual-aid teams developed day by day, and the peasants gradually became accustomed to collective labour and, as a result of living experience, came to understand its advantages, the mutual-aid teams were superseded by the semi-socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives which were more conducive to the growth of production.

The semi-socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives (i.e., the elementary co-operatives) instituted the pooling of land as shares and unified management and, to a certain extent, the distribution system of "to each according to his work." They also had certain amounts of public funds. In these elementary co-ops, there were greater possibilities for planting crops to best advantage according to soil conditions, and for carrying out more rational and planned division of labour; with their greater manpower and economic strength they were in a position to push forward technical reform, engage in capital construction and develop sideline production. As the elementary co-ops developed, the proportion of income from work increased and the proportion of dividends on land declined. This helped change the peasants' conception of private ownership and greatly encouraged the labour initiative of the peasants and their creativeness in production. It was an appropriate form for guiding the peasants to the more advanced, fully socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives. Our Party discovered this transitional form that was more readily acceptable to the peasants, and spread it extensively, thereby greatly accelerating the progress of the co-operative movement. In the elementary co-ops, however, there still existed contradictions between unified management and collective labour on the one hand and the private ownership of land and other means of production on the other. At a certain point, this became a fetter to further growth of the productive forces. So, with the further enhancement of the peasants' socialist consciousness and growth of production, the semi-socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives inevitably grew into fully socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives on the condition that an increase in the income of the overwhelming majority of the co-op members would be assured after the abolition of private ownership in land and other means of production.

In the **fully socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives (i.e., the advanced co-ops)** the main means of production—land, draught animals and farm tools—were no longer privately owned by individual members but collectively owned by all the members. In these co-ops, remuneration for land and other means of production was abolished and the socialist system of distribution according to work done was fully implemented. In this way, the agricultural productive forces were completely freed from the fetters of the peasants' individual economy. China's individual peasant economy was thus transformed into a socialist collective economy.

Co-operation Promotes Agricultural Production

Some comrades in our Party once held the view that rapid realization of agricultural co-operation would in-

evitably reduce agricultural production. So they advocated slowing down the pace of co-operation. The fact that agricultural production rose steadily while agricultural co-operation was being organized and after it was completed, refuted this right-deviationist view. **Experience has proved that as long as the steps taken to bring about agricultural co-operation rapidly were based on the needs of the growth of the productive forces, and the principles of voluntary participation and mutual benefit were firmly upheld, this would not only not lower production but assuredly make it possible to increase agricultural production.** The fact that the process of agricultural co-operation was divided into several steps as described above and proceeded step by step was precisely a guarantee for the steady increase in agricultural production. Our Party has always held that the fundamental criteria of a well-run agricultural producers' co-operative were that the peasant masses' initiative in production should be brought into full play, that both output and the income of co-op members should be increased, and that the peasants should regard the economic prosperity of the agricultural producers' co-operative as the main source of a constant advance in their material and cultural wellbeing.

The three steps for agricultural co-operation differed one from another and were at the same time linked up one with another. The preceding step prepared the necessary conditions for the following step and the latter was the inevitable culmination of the development of the former. Some comrades had once looked down upon the mutual-aid teams and the semi-socialist co-ops and did not regard them as necessary steps for the transition to fully socialist co-ops. Our Party criticized this view. At the same time, our Party also criticized the view that the mutual-aid teams were enough and that there was no need to advance to the co-ops or that the semi-socialist co-ops were enough and that there was no need to move forward to the fully socialist co-ops.

Every step in agricultural co-operation had to go through a certain process of development and consolidation and it was necessary not only to sum up experience, give the organizations a check over and consolidate them in between each step, but also to proceed by different stages and group by group in the process of taking each step. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Whenever a number of co-operatives have been established in a province or county, there must be a time when we can stop for a check over before we go on to set up some more. The idea of never allowing any pause, any rest, is all wrong."^{*}

Voluntary Participation and Mutual Benefit

Our Party got the peasants organized by stages and group by group at every step in the process of co-operation in accordance with the different attitudes of the various strata of the peasantry towards co-operation and the level of awakening of the great majority of the peasants.

For instance, when organizing the semi-socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives, the activists among the poor peasants and new and old lower middle peasants were organized first. Those among these sections of peasants who were not yet enthusiastic about joining were not dragged into the co-ops against their will. They were

^{*} *ibid.*, p. 29.

admitted into the co-ops only when their level of consciousness had been heightened and they had become interested in the co-ops.

As for the new and old upper middle peasants, only those who were socialist minded and were genuinely willing to join were accepted during the initial period of organizing the co-ops; the rest were not accepted, still less were they dragged into the co-ops against their will. On the one hand, greater efforts were made to educate them; on the other hand, the advantages of the co-ops were used to influence them. They were allowed to look on for some time and were only admitted into the co-ops after they were more fully awakened.

The method of getting the peasants organized by stages and by groups was in conformity with the voluntary principle and advantageous to the establishment of predominance in leadership of the poor and lower middle peasants and, to winning over and uniting with the middle peasants. This was advantageous to the growth and consolidation of the co-ops in their initial period.

The landlords and rich peasants were allowed to join the co-ops by stages and groups only when the co-ops had become consolidated and these people had long given up exploitation, engaged in labour and observed government law and order. Their reform was continued in collective labour.

At every step of co-operation, it is necessary to uphold firmly not only the principle of voluntary participation but also that of mutual benefit. Only on the basis of mutual benefit is it possible to realize voluntary participation. By mutual benefit we mean chiefly mutual benefit between poor and middle peasants. There is not the slightest doubt that the interests of the poor and lower middle peasants must be firmly safeguarded at every step in the advance of co-operation; at the same time, the poor peasants should be made to understand that they must not encroach upon the interests of the middle peasants, and not benefit at the expense of the middle peasants. It is also absolutely necessary to give due consideration to the reasonable interests of the well-to-do middle peasants on condition that the fundamental interests of the poor and lower middle peasants do not suffer. For instance, the co-ops adopted the policy of paying in annual instalments for the large farm tools and draught animals pooled by the well-to-do middle peasants. By so doing, the well-to-do middle peasants felt that they were not losing anything. This was advantageous to developing the co-ops' production and therefore also to the interests of the poor and lower middle peasants.

Unity with the Middle Peasants, While the Poor Peasants Have the Decisive Voice

The "Decisions on Agricultural Co-operation" adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party emphatically explain the question of unity between poor and middle peasants. They say: "The middle peasants are the permanent allies of the working class and the poor peasants. Good relations should be maintained with them both inside and outside the co-operatives. Their interests should never be infringed upon nor should their property be

taken from them. The backward ideas of the middle peasants, particularly the tendency towards capitalism of the well-to-do middle peasants, should be properly countered by convincing arguments, not dealt with by arbitrary administrative methods. The purpose of criticism must be to achieve unity. It must never be used as a pretext for attacking the middle peasants."

Our Party firmly implemented the policy of uniting with the middle peasants and held that it was only by relying on the poor peasants, establishing the predominance of the poor peasants, by the work done by the poor peasants among the middle peasants, that the middle peasants could be united with, and the revolution extended steadily day by day until final victory. This line applied at the time of the land reform and the struggle against the landlords; it applied also at the time of the gradual socialist transformation of agriculture and the struggle against the rich peasants and other capitalist forces.

Leadership in the co-ops must be in the hands of the poor peasants. This is a question of fundamental principle on which the success or failure of agricultural co-operation depends. In the co-operative movement, our Party specially stressed that the main leading cadres of the co-ops must be poor peasants (including those new lower middle peasants who were formerly poor peasants); that the management committee of the co-op must absorb old lower middle peasants and some of those representative new and old upper middle peasants who had a relatively high level of consciousness. These people constituted about one-third, and the poor peasants, about two-thirds, of the committee members. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The co-op management committees must see to it that the present poor peasants and the new lower middle peasants have the decisive voice in their councils, with the old lower middle peasants and the well-to-do middle peasants — whether old or new — serving as a subsidiary force. Only thus can unity between the poor and middle peasants be attained in accordance with Party policy; only thus can the co-ops be strengthened, production increased, and the socialist transformation of the entire countryside be correctly accomplished. Otherwise, there can be no unity between the middle and poor peasants, the co-operatives cannot be strengthened, production cannot increase, and the socialist transformation of the entire countryside cannot be achieved."*

The policies, steps and measures adopted by our Party are based on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism; they conform to China's specific conditions, and are permeated by a general spirit — the unity of the class line and the mass line. Our Party takes into full account the keenness for agricultural co-operation shown by the overwhelming majority of the peasants; it is also fully aware of how hard it is to transform the peasants' private economy into a socialist collective economy. Our Party has always made the interests and demands of the peasants its starting point and at the same time paid attention to enhancing their awakening constantly and, by relying on the peasants' own action and strength, carrying

* Editor's note on "How Control of the Wutang Co-operative Shifted from the Middle to the Poor Peasants," *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Eng. Ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1957, p. 235.

the great cause of agricultural co-operation step by step to completion.

New Stage in Worker-Peasant Alliance

Under the correct leadership of the Party and energetically assisted by the state power of the proletariat, the socialist co-operative movement of more than 500 million peasants swiftly developed and was victorious, thereby bringing into play the boundless power of the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class. Facts have conclusively proved that **after the worker-peasant alliance has gone through the stage of basing itself on the anti-feudal democratic revolution, it must develop further to a new stage and base itself on socialist industrialization and agricultural co-operation. Only by so doing can it be continually consolidated and strengthened.**

The leadership of the Party and state assistance played a decisive role in the cause of the socialist transformation of agriculture. Co-operation is in the interests of the peasant masses and has to be carried out by relying on the awakening of the peasant masses themselves. But it cannot be brought about without the leadership of the proletarian Party and state assistance. Lenin said: "Every social system arises with the financial assistance of a definite class. There is no need to mention the hundreds and hundreds of millions of rubles which the birth of 'free' capitalism cost. Now we must realise, and apply in our practical work, the fact that the social system which we must now assist more than usual is the co-operative system."*

After the land reform, the state led by the working class linked the small commodity economy of the individual peasants with the state economy by developing state and co-operative commerce. The state organized credit co-operatives in the countryside and granted loans to the peasants, mainly the poor peasants, who lacked draught animals, farm tools and other means of production and instituted the unified purchase and supply of grain and other major agricultural products. All these steps helped the poor and lower middle peasants and made it impossible for the rich peasants, usurers and speculative merchants to do as they liked. Adoption of these steps restricted to a certain extent polarization in the countryside and promoted the mutual-aid and co-operative movement. The state gave large amounts of financial aid to the mutual-aid teams and co-operatives. After the founding of the People's Republic, in the seven years between 1950 and 1956, the state spent more than 1,280 million yuan for the popularization of good strains of seeds, new-type farm tools, improving agricultural production techniques, prevention and cure of plant diseases and pest control in addition to its financial outlays on water conservancy, aid to areas struck by natural calamities and other relief designed to help the peasants develop production. In the same period, the state also made low-interest loans to the peasants amounting to over 8,000 million yuan. These expenditures and loans were mainly to support the mutual-aid teams and co-operatives. Upon joining the co-ops many poor peasants paid in their shares with the help of state loans. The rapid development of the agricultural co-opera-

tive movement would have been impossible without energetic aid from the state, preferential treatment and assistance from the supply and marketing and credit co-ops and the co-operation of the agro-technical stations and other institutions.

* In the agricultural co-operative movement, the Party formulated and put into effect a series of correct policies; it continuously strengthened the politico-ideological education of the peasants, sent large numbers of cadres out to the countryside to lead and help the agricultural co-operative movement, and trained up large numbers of cadres from among the peasants in the movement. Politico-ideological work was of extremely great significance in the co-operative movement. Political work must be constantly strengthened not only while establishing the co-operatives but also after a socialist collective economy has been established. The tendency towards capitalism was very marked among a section of the well-to-do peasants. Even when inside the co-ops they still tried to influence by capitalist policies the direction in which the co-ops developed. For this reason, struggles between the two roads still had to be waged repeatedly over a fairly long period of time. Once political work inside the co-ops was relaxed, the tendency towards capitalism ran rampant. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Opposition to selfish, capitalistic spontaneous tendencies, and promotion of the essence of socialism—that is, making the principle of linking the collective interests with the interests of the individual the standard by which all words and deeds are judged—these then are the ideological and political guarantees that the scattered, small-peasant economy will gradually be transformed into a large-scale co-operative economy."* Precisely because of this, the co-operative movement would lose its direction if it departed from Party leadership. Our Party went deep among the peasant masses and did politico-ideological work concretely and painstakingly in accordance with the peasants' living experience. This work was done in conjunction with economic work and this guaranteed the healthy development of the co-operative movement.

Correct Handling of Relationship Between Ownership by the Whole People and Collective Ownership

After the completion of agricultural co-operation, it became highly necessary to handle correctly the relationship between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership in order to develop and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance continually. This relationship is essentially a question of relationship between the workers and peasants.

The economy based on collective ownership is closely connected with the economy based on ownership by the whole people. All its important economic activities and its consolidation and development are inseparable from the leadership and assistance of the state and the economy based on ownership by the whole people. In enterprises owned by the whole people, the means of production and products are the property of the whole people whereas in agricultural producers' co-operatives based on collective

* V.I. Lenin, "On Co-operation," *Selected Works* in 12 vols., Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1938, Vol. IX, p. 404.

* Editor's note on "A Serious Lesson," *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, p. 302.

ownership, the means of production and products belong to the peasants' collective. The state can directly dispose of only the products of enterprises owned by the whole people. As for the products of the agricultural producers' co-operatives, only the co-ops can dispose of them as their property. Apart from performing such duties as paying taxes to the state, the co-ops transfer their products to the state only through commodity exchange. This relationship of commodity exchange is acceptable to the peasants and in the interests of both the peasants and the state as a whole. Our Party and the state have fixed reasonable prices for industrial and agricultural products and formulated other policies relating to the development of commodity production so as to link up closely through commodity exchange the economy based on ownership by the whole people and the agricultural economy based on collective ownership, and thereby promote the development of industrial and agricultural production.

In a socialist society where ownership by the whole people and collective ownership exist side by side, firm upholding of the principle of exchange of equal values constitutes an important aspect of the correct handling of the relationship between the state and the collective, between one collective and another, and between the collective and the individual and of the relations between workers and peasants and among the entire labouring people. Our Party has always held that the fruits of the peasants' labour should not be expropriated. This is true of the peasants' collective property after the completion of co-operation as well as of the private property of the peasants when bringing about agricultural co-operation. Faithful implementation of the principles of exchange of equal values and distribution according to work is necessary in bringing the peasants' productive initiative into full play, for the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and for the development of the collective economy and the national economy as a whole.

The socialist economy comprises also the economy based on collective ownership and it develops in a planned, proportionate way. The state leads the agricultural economy based on collective ownership in a planned way mainly by doing all kinds of political work and setting the planned targets for major agricultural products. This leadership is also realized by means of unified purchase of farm produce, quota purchases and forward purchases by contract. The system of contracts extensively used between the state and the co-ops also assures that commodity exchange will be carried out in a planned way. This gives leeway for the agricultural economy based on collective ownership to develop production flexibly in the light of local conditions; at the same time it assures that this growth of production proceeds according to the state plan.

By applying the principles and methods described above, our Party correctly handled the relationship between these two types of ownership. At the same time, the Party has constantly educated the peasants to respect public property and correctly understand the relationship between personal interests, collective interests, and those of the state. In this way, appropriate arrangements have been made for the interests of the workers and peasants, for the interests of the individuals and collectives, and for the interests of the collectives and state, so that both the economy based on ownership by the whole people and

that based on collective ownership can develop rapidly and continuously and the worker-peasant alliance be further consolidated.

Today, socialist industry and the entire economy based on ownership by the whole people are energetically supporting agriculture in order to bring about agricultural mechanization step by step and meet the demand advanced by the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung to effect a "minor solution in four years, an intermediate solution in seven years and a major solution in ten years." By gradually bringing about farm mechanization, raising labour productivity in agriculture and greatly developing agricultural production, agriculture will be enabled to supply industry with sufficient grains, raw materials and an extensive market, promote the further growth of industry and the national economy as a whole, thereby steadily improving the livelihood of people both in the cities and in the countryside. This shows that China's worker-peasant alliance has begun to advance to a new stage, a stage based on farm mechanization.

The Rural People's Communes

The system of collective ownership is also constantly advancing. With the growth of agricultural production and the heightening of the peasants' level of consciousness, the organizational form of the agricultural producers' co-operatives could no longer meet fully the needs of the growth of the productive forces. Illuminated by the Party's general line for building socialism, another great social change took place in the countryside in 1958 — the setting up of people's communes throughout the vast countryside inhabited by more than 500 million people.

China's people's communes were founded on the basis of the advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives. For a fairly long period of time they will remain on the basis of socialist collective ownership. The fundamental system of the people's communes at the present stage is a three-level system of ownership with the ownership of the production brigade as the basic one. So far as the system of distribution is concerned, the people's communes still observe the principles of "to each according to his work" and more income for those who work more. At the same time a partial supply system has been instituted enabling the peasant masses to enjoy a reliable social insurance. The people's communes are of a much larger size than the former advanced co-ops. Government administration and commune management are combined in one and industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs as well as farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery are integrated. In the practice of the past three years the people's communes have increasingly demonstrated their great advantages; they have powerfully promoted and are continuing to promote the development of agricultural production and of the rural economy as a whole. The rural people's communes will bring about farm mechanization step by step. In a fairly long period of time, the present three-level system of ownership will develop further, in accordance with actual need, into a collective economy based on ownership by the commune, and later, into socialist ownership by the whole people. The unbounded vitality of the communes fills us with confidence; we see before us the brilliant prospects of a socialist countryside.

Tsinghua University—Fifty Years Old

by LIANG NIEN

TSINGHUA, one of China's leading universities, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary at the end of April this year. It looked lovelier than ever on that occasion in festive garb, its trees and lawns fresh with the green of early summer. Colourful banners decorated its main roads from the southern and western gates to its centre where flowers in full bloom lined the broad pavements; balloons carrying huge streamers floated over the meadow in front of the auditorium. They gave a warm welcome to thousands of guests and alumni who joined the nearly 20,000 students, faculty members and workers on the campus to mark the anniversary.

Tsinghua had much to celebrate. After fifty years, it has now become one of China's leading polytechnic institutes, graduating more than a thousand students of engineering and technology every year for the nation's growing socialist construction. Anniversary speakers paid tribute to its work today and also to the revolutionary tradition of its students and faculty in pre-liberation days. In the old days, they could always be found in the forefront in the struggle against the foreign imperialists and domestic reactionaries. Since liberation, they have done a thorough job under the leadership of the Communist Party in transforming Tsinghua from a bourgeois institute of the old semi-colonial, semi-feudal China into a modern socialist university.

Today and Yesterday

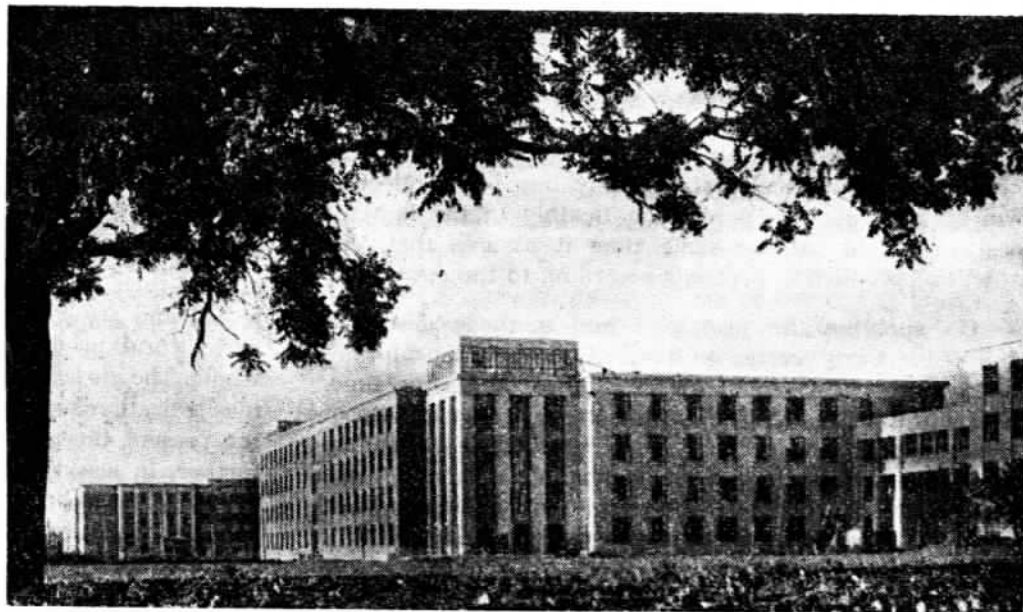
In the 12 years since it became a university of the people, Tsinghua has been striding forward in seven league boots. Those who only knew the old Tsinghua will find it hardly recognizable today. They can still find the old low, H-shaped buildings built in traditional Chinese style by the lotus pond. The gymnasium and the dormitories near the football field, the library, the science building, and the auditorium with its round dome—the more solid of the old buildings are still there. But even these have taken on a new look in the new surroundings. The rest has changed almost beyond recognition. South of the old science building are two new buildings. To the left of the auditorium, a large, new hydraulic engineering building has been built. The old *xinzhai* has

been turned into a dormitory for the growing number of girl students; to its north and east, nearly a score of other new dormitories have been built.

Tsinghua has grown so fast since liberation that it has burst through its old surrounding stone wall—which has practically disappeared today—and developed towards the east. A whole stretch of the Peking-Changchiakou Railway has been re-routed further eastward to make room for new university buildings. A wide paved road running beside the stream from the old gate leads to the new quarter of the campus where tall new buildings, classrooms, workshops, laboratories and offices have been built. When the new projects are completed here, the main centre of university activity will have shifted to this new *dongqu* (eastern district), with a new main gate at Wutaokou, where Tsinghua adjoins the Institute of Mining, Institute of Geology and Institute of Petroleum. These and five other institutes now form a new centre of higher learning in the capital's northwestern suburbs.

U.S. Cultural Encroachment

Tsinghua College was established fifty years ago. It was a product of U.S. cultural encroachment on China. After the Yi Ho Tuan Movement, or the "Boxer" rising as the West called it, was brutally suppressed in 1900 by the invading armies of eight imperialist powers, the Ching imperial government was forced to pay the invaders a huge war indemnity. The United States later used a small part of its share of this blood money to set up Tsinghua



A Wing of the Radio Electronics Building, Tsinghua



Tsinghua Students Making Pulse Oscillographs

as a preparatory secondary school for training students before they were sent to the United States for further education. Tsinghua, in other words, was planned by the United States as a base for the cultural penetration of China. Apologists for U.S. imperialism have, of course, not failed to describe the establishment of Tsinghua as a testimony to the "traditional friendship" of the United States for China. Former U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson, for one, said unctuously that the building of Tsinghua was one of the "many [U.S.] acts of good will over a period of many years. . . ."

But others have been more outspoken. In 1907, Arthur H. Smith, an American missionary, revealed the real purpose of using the "Boxer" indemnity to build Tsinghua. In *China and America Today* he wrote: "We are under as much obligation to see that this money [the indemnity] is so used as to make similar outbreaks [such as the anti-imperialist Yi Ho Tuan rising] in future more difficult. . . ." Edmund J. James, President of the University of Illinois, also made no bones about what the United States' real aims were. "The nation," he wrote, "which succeeds in educating the young Chinese of the present generation will be the nation which for a given expenditure of effort will reap the largest possible returns in moral, intellectual, and commercial influence . . . we should today be controlling the development of China in that most satisfactory and subtle of all ways,—through the intellectual and spiritual domination of its leaders. . . ."

Through the establishment of Tsinghua, U.S. imperialism did succeed in training a few Chinese intellectuals whom they could control and utilize for their own purposes, but these were only a handful. Long before liberation, the overwhelming majority of Tsinghua's graduates, like millions of other intellectuals throughout the country, broke loose from these spiritual shackles and turned against the foreign enslavers of the Chinese people.

Tsinghua's revolutionary tradition is writ in light. Its students participated in the anti-imperialist patriotic movement of May 4, 1919. In 1926, a Communist Party branch

was established in the university and continued from then on to lead the students in their struggle against foreign and domestic reaction. After Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution in 1927, Tsinghua became an important centre of the students' patriotic movement against Kuomintang reaction. Its students took an active part in the great students' demonstrations on December 9, 1935 and later, protesting against Japanese aggression and the Kuomintang's policy of capitulation and selling out the country. In the years that followed, the great majority of its students joined the ranks of the patriotic democratic movement. Many of its well-known professors exposed and opposed the schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their puppets, the Kuomintang reactionaries, to turn China into a U.S. colony. One of them was Wen Yi-to, famed poet and scholar and a graduate of Tsinghua in its early years, who angrily faced the Kuomintang pistols and died rather than submit. The U.S. imperialists' scheme to use Tsinghua as a base for cultural aggression against

China and "intellectual and spiritual domination of its leaders" went awry.

Tremendous Achievements

With its liberation, Tsinghua's students and faculty rallied round the Chinese Communist Party. Twelve years of rapid and successful changes have followed. The ideological remoulding movement carried out shortly after liberation helped students and faculty to establish the viewpoint of placing themselves in the service of the people, to fully recognize the invidious role that its American founders had mapped out for it, to prepare the ground for educational reforms in the university. The reorganization of its colleges and departments in 1952 turned Tsinghua into a full-fledged polytechnic institute. The educational reform that followed and the implementation of the Communist Party's policy on education transformed Tsinghua into a genuine socialist university.

Tsinghua had only about 2,000 students in the peak pre-liberation year. Now it has more than five times as many. Girl students—a small minority in the old days—now number more than 2,000, while the percentage of students of worker or peasant origin has greatly increased. The number of teachers has registered a 360 per cent increase. In the 12 years since liberation, more than 9,800 students have graduated. This is two and a half times as many as in all the 38 years from 1911, the year Tsinghua was founded, to 1949.

The new Tsinghua has far outstripped the old one in technical equipment. The floor space of newly-built classrooms, dormitories, workshops, laboratories, etc. is 2.4 times as much as the floor space of the old pre-liberation buildings. In 1949 Tsinghua's engineering college had only six departments. Now it has 12 departments and 38 specializations. They offer many courses which meet the needs of modern science and technology.

But the fundamental change is that Tsinghua has been transformed from a bourgeois university into a socialist polytechnic institute training engineers with a high level of political consciousness for the building of socialism. Tsing-

hua's successes are inseparably linked with implementation of the Party's policy that "education should serve the politics of the proletariat and that education should be combined with productive labour." This linking of theoretical training with practical productive labour has become an essential part of Tsinghua's educational system. It has been of immense assistance in raising the standard of teaching and study and in promoting scientific research. It has embarked the university on a new road of development.

Participation in productive labour has proved to be of enormous benefit to the students. Not only does it help them to develop a working-class outlook on life, but it is an excellent way to facilitate their learning and give it a firm grounding in practice. Tsinghua's experience over the past few years proves that education gives the best possible result when combined with productive labour. The high standards reached by the students so trained is the final proof of this.

All-Round Education

Tsinghua students today receive an all-round education that was impossible in pre-liberation days. In training engineers, for instance, the university has a comprehensive curriculum, aimed to meet the requirements of China's rapidly expanding industries and designed to enable its graduates to tackle work on a high technical level. This was quite impossible in the old China. At that time, Tsinghua's general set-up, courses and teaching methods were modelled on American universities. Much was far removed from the realities in China, and the result was that its graduates required a comparatively long period of training before they could take up practical work. Old China, moreover, had little industry to speak of. Most machines were imported. In the past, Tsinghua's department of mechanical engineering was therefore heavily inclined to training personnel for assembling and repairing machines bought from foreign countries. This was only one way in which Tsinghua catered to the needs of a semi-colonial market for the dumping of imperialist surpluses. Liberation did away with all this. The change in New China's economic system has called for a corresponding change in its educational system. With the country's industries developing at a speed undreamt of in the past, Tsinghua has had to reorganize and adapt itself to the mounting requirements of a rapidly advancing economy. Tsinghua's departments and specializations have all been set up to serve the nation's booming industrial construction.

In closely combining its teaching with production, the new Tsinghua has trained and sent thousands of qualified personnel to work in factories, power stations and construction sites all over the country. Its graduates are doing a fine job, shouldering important engineering and technical tasks with a confidence and efficiency that is the result of the comprehensive and practical training they have received at college. Their graduation designs, for instance, are all linked with actual problems put forward by various industrial departments. This is an innovation introduced only after liberation. It helps the students cultivate a sense of responsibility and the ability to do their work independently, and gives them a comprehensive all-round engineering training.

Recent graduation designs of Tsinghua students give a good idea of the standard reached by graduates today. In 1957, graduates of the department of power machinery took part in the designing and trial-manufacture of the *Hongqi* (Red Flag) sedan car. Last year, graduates designed baby cars which are both economical and easy to drive. In 1958, under the guidance of their teachers, graduates in hydraulic engineering completed, in six months of their study time, the designing of 13 reservoirs with a total capacity of 5,000 million cubic metres, able to irrigate six million *mu* of land, and with a power generating capacity of 150,000 kilowatts.

In 1959, there were more than 90 graduates in architecture. Soon after leaving Tsinghua, some were participating in the designing of many important projects in cities in Hopei, Shansi and Kansu Provinces. Several took part in designing large factories for the fraternal socialist countries. Last year's graduates took part in designing the magnificent Revolutionary Historical Museum on Tien An Men Square. While still at college, they designed some 50 building projects with a total floor space of 450,000 square metres; work on a half of these buildings has already started. They also did research work on theatres under the guidance of their teachers. In designing theatres, they visited many of China's large cities and studied the plans of over 300 theatres and auditoriums. The collections of architectural designs of auditoriums and theatres in China and foreign countries which they made during this study have since been published.

These achievements throw light on the mettle and calibre of present-day Tsinghua students who are inspired

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by the ideals of socialism. They are not out to acquire status or to build a career for themselves; their primary concern is to serve the people to the best of their ability.

In this spring of socialism, even the older Tsinghua generation is filled with a youthful vigour. Eighty-year-old Professor Ma Yueh-han (John Ma) is happy to be able to give his services to the people today. He says he hopes to be working for the cause of socialism for another twenty years. Tsinghua's Vice-President Liu Hsien-chou, who is 71 years old now, in addition to teaching and

administrative work, finds time to work on his *History of Mechanical Engineering in Ancient China*. He is also working together with Professors Chang Tse-kao, Liang Sze-cheng and Shih Chia-yang on a history of engineering inventions in China. There are many others like them. Professor Chang Tse-kao has well said: "In spring even old trees put forth flowers."

So Tsinghua grows. Its fiftieth birthday marks the beginning of a new stage of still more vigorous development in days to come.

Pen Probes

BUILT-IN CRIME WAVE

THE rapid growth of juvenile delinquency is causing national concern in the United States.

Youngsters in gangs bearing bizarre names terrorize whole metropolitan districts in New York and other big cities. Children in their teens are going in for robbery, dope peddling, assault and battery. Since 1948, says President Kennedy in a call for Congressional action, court delinquency cases and juvenile arrests have more than doubled. "If the present trend continues, up to four million children will come before the courts in the next decade."

The teen-age crime wave is expanding to small towns and rural areas. *U.S. News and World Report* complains that in Montgomery County, Maryland, "a stronghold of the middle and upper-middle class," 55 per cent of all those arrested for major crimes in 1960 were juveniles — an increase of 36 per cent over the previous year. In Westchester County, a "prosperous New York City suburb," police found that 250 youths were involved in the sale and use of narcotics. Most were from well-to-do families and many were college students. In New Jersey, 17 youths, all fairly well-off, amassed \$10,000 in burglaries "because it was thrilling." "Girls are playing a larger part than ever before" even in "aggressive crimes of robbery and violence," says Senator Dodd, whose Senate Subcommittee is investigating youthful crime.

It's got so that even college basketball teams are "fixing" matches to make sure money on bets. Cheating at exams is getting so bad that one lawmaker is proposing fines and jail sentences for cheating.

But why pick on the kids? They are only following the example set by their elders in the capitalist jungle of the U.S.A. today.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, the U.S. secret police outfit, reports a new spurt in serious adult crime. In U.S. cities in 1960, there were 18 per cent more robberies than in 1959, 15 per cent more burglaries and 11 per cent more larcenies. There was an overall increase of 14 per cent in serious crimes for cities with populations of up to 250,000. Urban crime went up another 10 per

cent in the first three months of 1961. The big cities reported 28 per cent more murders than last year. In New York City, there were 33,445 criminal offences during this period, or an average of more than 370 per day.

In February, 29 of the biggest electrical companies in the United States, including such giants as General Electric and Westinghouse, were caught conspiring and rigging bids (supposedly secret) to divide up orders worth \$1,750 million. Such underhand price-fixing in so-called free enterprise America is now acknowledged by the U.S. Attorney General to be "far more widespread than most people realize. . . ." Similar scandals are being disclosed in pharmaceuticals, bakeries, meat packing, milk and building materials.

These guilty status seekers, top tycoons of the monopolies, rake in billions of dollars a year. If they set the pace by going in for robbery in broad daylight, why blame the kids? And what about that biggest juvenile delinquent of them all — Jack Kennedy of Cuba, Laos and Congo "fame"?



By Jack Chen

CULTURE & RECREATION

Children's Day Entertainments

As we go to press, children throughout the length and breadth of China are celebrating International Children's Day. Some holiday activities got going weeks ago. In the "Red Scarf Month" organized in honour of June 1, the keynote was to encourage children to learn from the old revolutionaries and prepare themselves to become a truly socialist generation mentally and physically. There were readings from *The Story of Lenin* and other books, revolutionary story-telling sessions, essay competitions, chess contests and scientific forums on many different subjects. One forum discussed "Why Gagarin has been able to make his space flight" and the significance of space travel. There have been special film shows for children at next-to-nothing prices. School meetings on the eve of the festival featured amateur performances by pupils from every class. Many presented songs, plays and dances, written or composed by themselves.

The adults—parents and teachers, writers of children's books, editors and publishers, film workers and dramatists, staff and active supporters of the one thousand and more Children's Palaces, youth clubs and children's centres in the nation's cities and county seats—have rallied round as usual with their best to make a memorable day of this June 1. The list of gifts they got ready for the children is too long to cite, but here are a few items.

Books. The Youth and Children's Publishing House in Shanghai, the country's largest publishers of children's literature, has put on sale such new titles as new abridged editions of the translated Ostrovski's *How the Steel Was Tempered* and other Chinese and international classics specially prepared for children; among the modern revolutionary tales are *An Old Red Army Man*, *We Settled Down in the Countryside*, *How We Became Worker- and Peasant-Scientists*, and *Mother and Son* which, like that firm favourite of the young readers, *My Family* by Tao Cheng, is another memoir written by a revolutionary

mother, this time by Sze Hsiao-mei, a cotton mill hand in Shanghai.

Present-day youngsters have an absorbing interest in things scientific. In this field new titles include *Tales Told by the Fields*, *Mathematics Made Interesting*, and *A Hundred Thousand Whys*. The last is in five volumes, two of which, dealing with a wide range of phenomena related to physics and chemistry, were on sale before June 1.

New titles intended for children in kindergartens or the first and second forms of primary school include several colourful picture-books like *Three Posters*, *Five Letters*, *Murals from a Commune Wall*, *A Little Bowl*, *Two Kindergartens* and *San Mao, Today and Yesterday*. San Mao is a homeless orphan made popular over the years in the drawings of Chang Lo-ping, his creator. San Mao had a tough time in the old society, but witty, ingenious and resilient, he always came up smiling. A whole generation of pre-liberation children learnt to love him. A new post-liberation generation is eagerly following his doings today as an elder brother.

The People's Fine Arts Publishing House and other publishers have also put out a long list of new picture-books. There are few homes with young children, school libraries, reading rooms for children in the streets, squares and public parks, cinema lobbies and even trains, that haven't laid in a stock of these new attractions.

Films. More than a score of puppet and cartoon films, science films and special children's features, fairy tales, legends or tales of old revolutionaries and Young Pioneers are now being shown at urban cinemas all over the country, or by mobile cinemas visiting the rural people's communes. In Peking, Shanghai and Tientsin where there are cinemas showing stereoscopic films, children are seeing *Medal for an Athlete*, their first colour puppet film in this form. This tells the story of how a conceited donkey, an all-time champ, is defeated in a cross-country race by Little Panda and Piggie. Progress in puppetry enables these puppets to show an astonishing agility in pole jumping, football and gymnastics on the vaulting horse. Copies of this film have been made for

ordinary screening as well. Other new puppet films include *The Wood-Cutter Girl* based on a fairy tale and *The Shepherd and the Princess* adapted from a legend of the Pai nationality.

Some time ago we mentioned in these columns a successful attempt to transplant the Chi Pai-shih style of ink and water colour painting on to the screen. Now a complete film in the traditional brushwork style of China's late great painter has been made—*Tadpoles Looking for a Mother*. It has been generally released. The beautifully composed scenes make up a most unique album of pictures of frogs, tadpoles, goldfish, crabs, hens, and chicks painted with all their lively charm.

Another cartoon film now being shown for the children and much appreciated by adults too is *The Timid Little Oriole*. This too draws on the technique of traditional Chinese painting, song and melodies. It also comes from the Fine Art Film Studio. A glance at the list of new film productions shows that every film studio is catering for young audiences. Among them is the new Chukiang (Pearl River) Studio which is making its debut in children's films this week with *New Members of the Young Pioneers*.

China Children's Theatre. The China Children's Theatre, exactly five years old this June 1, is celebrating its birthday as well as Children's Day with a new comedy, *City of Craftsmen*. Together with young dancers of the Peking School of Dancing, it has also organized an evening performance of



Seedlings

Papercut by Shen Pei-nung



Small Readers

Woodcut by Wen Chuan-yuan

music and dancing specially for children.

An exhibition showing the progress made by the theatre has attracted crowds of young spectators. In its five years, the theatre has staged 77 different plays to audiences totalling 1,669,000 children. Besides performing at their own theatre in Peking, they have toured people's communes, mining centres and many cities including Huhehot in Inner Mongolia, Harbin in the northeast, Sian in the northwest and Loyang in central China.

Children's Palace

The Children's Palaces organized many special events for June. Peking's palace had a grand meeting at which veteran revolutionary comrades invested new Young Pioneer members with their red scarves. In Shanghai, Tientsin and other cities, the palaces arranged gala get-togethers.

Children's Palaces have a firmly rooted place in the life of today. Countless incidents illustrate this. Here in Peking, everyone who takes an interest in sports knows that Chuang Tse-tung, who won his way to the world's singles championship title at this year's 26th World Table Tennis Tournament, got his real start

in table tennis at the Peking Children's Palace.

When children of the palace's scissor-cut group got the news of Chuang Tse-tung's victory, they rushed to the sickbed of their tutor, the well-known paper-cut artist Shen Pei-nung, to tell him. Shen Pei-nung immediately made a cut-out of two little pingpong players. This he called *Seedlings* and gave to the group with a message: "Work with a will and scale the heights of art!" Such a message from Shen is an inspiration. He himself is a living example of grit and determination. Tied

to his bed for the past 13 years by acute arthritis, Shen not only keeps on creating new papercuts to the great delight of his public, but is also a devoted tutor to a new generation of scissor-cut artists at the palace.

The Peking Palace is housed in the beautiful Chingshan Park, in the heart of the city. This was formerly an imperial park, now it has been turned over to the children. Its Chingshan (or Coal Hill) not only provides the best vantage point for a bird's eye view of the whole capital, but is also an ideal place for hide-and-seek and "mountaineering."

A group of palace halls clusters at its foot. The main hall, Shou Huang Tien (Longevity Hall), is now the Youth Auditorium of the Children's Palace. It is here that children from all over the city come to celebrate their festivals, see free film shows, stage plays and other performances, meet model workers and combat heroes, attend lectures by scientists, artists and writers and hold exhibitions.

The other halls are assigned to groups totalling more than 3,100 children carrying on 42 different kinds of activities: music, dancing, singing, painting, chess, wood and metal work, engineering, making radios, aeroplane models and much else. Part of the area

has been set aside as a farm with market garden plots, pigs, goats, a couple of cows and other pets cared for by the children themselves. Any child under 15 can apply to join, but only those who maintain a certain standard in their studies and behaviour are accepted. Most groups meet once or twice a week in after-school hours.

The palace runs football and basketball games and table tennis. For the younger children there are playgrounds with miniature motor-cycles, a giant stride, trapeze, rings, climbing ropes and what not.

The older children go in for complicated stuff. One group has just turned out a "machine" which they describe as having "nine tubes and nine uses." It hasn't got any other name as yet. It can be used as an ordinary radio, as a telephone, or a transmitter and... This was planned by 15-year-old Tsui Ying-hsi. Another teenager is busy working on an electronic tracer for detecting faulty spots in radio sets.

These palace activities foster the interests of a considerable number of talented young people. Last year, for instance, more than 70 children succeeded with its help in passing the entrance examinations of the Central Conservatory of Music, the Peking School of Dancing, the Central Song and Dance Ensemble, and other institutes. More than 30 went to art schools.

In addition to these smaller group activities, the palace reaches out to much larger numbers of children through its mass activities. These attract thousands of children to bonfire rallies, get-togethers of many kinds with well-known revolutionary workers, scientists, artists, actors, poets, musicians; theatrical performances, exhibitions and summer camps. Last year alone more than 200,000 children took part in such open activities at the Peking palace. More than 250,000 saw its various exhibitions. More than 400,000 children from primary and middle schools took part in the Red May Song Contest the palace sponsored. It also acts as a guide and adviser of children's extra-curricula activities in many schools, smaller children's centres and Young Pioneer groups. These activities are typical of those carried on by other Children's Palaces which, in the words of the children, are their "homes away from home" and "schools out of school."

SIDELIGHTS

On the East Sea Coast. Twenty years ago people warned Li Peng that the land along the East China Sea coast was so poor he would never wrest a living from it. The soil there was so impregnated with salt that it stunted or killed all normal vegetation. But land is land, no true tiller of the soil could bear to see it lying waste when one needed it so desperately to make a living. Li Peng brought his family of six children and old parents here. Every walking member of the family toiled on the land; every cent they had went into buying fertilizers to fatten the land up. They fed on the seaweeds which his son Hai Ta collected by the seashore. At the end of three years, broken and defeated, Li Peng looked out at his barren fields. Silently the family took down the house and moved away.

Yet today, a sea of green wheat stands in this same place. On its far edge shines that other sea. At the newly built office-cum-clubroom a group of young fellows are playing cards, jesting and joking or listening to the radio. It's a rest day. These then are the miracle workers, the team of young dare-devils sent by the people's commune who had not only made wheat grow here but also paddyrice and watermelons; they have planted fruit trees and are breeding fish. . . . How had they done it, what difficulties did they meet? "Well," said one young fellow, "when we first came nobody could swallow the food because it was cooked with salt water. So we cut a channel and brought the waters of a nearby river here." It sounded as easy as child's play. But the land, how did they tame the land? "The land? It hadn't got a chance. We had tractors, we had all the fertilizers we needed; the commune sent them to us. We studied books on how to improve the land and wash it clean of salt—but you'd better ask Hai Ta, our team leader, for details." Hai Ta? It rang a bell. Sure enough, it was the son of Li Peng, that peasant who, poor and alone, had fought against nature, and lost, and he has come back.

Round-the-Clock Service. The canteens of the Big Fish Island Production Brigade are earning lots of praise from fisherfolk these days. With the spring fishing season at its height in Shantung, the brigade's canteens have set up round-the-clock service so that the fishermen can get piping hot food any time they come home. There is now more variety in the meals, too—noodles in soup or porridge as a starter for those who want something hot first, and then fish and prawns from the brigade's catches, fresh vegetables, rice, bread, flatcakes and a variety of ways of making dough and corn flour foods that the Shantung folks are so fond of. These are some of the recent efforts made by the canteens' management and cooking staffs to better their service. Elected by the commune members themselves, they make monthly reports on their work; they also often go around soliciting criticisms and suggestions from members, and in general do their best to fulfil the members' expectations of what commune cooking can do. They have succeeded so well that the majority of the 2,000 brigade members are now taking their meals at the canteens.

Where Confucius Lived. At Kufow, Shantung Province, a centre of interest for visitors from far and near is the temple, house and grounds, and tomb of Confucius, world-famous scholar of ancient China (551-479 B.C.).

Colourful glazed tiles gleam on the roof of the palatial temple. The seven rows of rooms which were Confucius' residence are in excellent order. Flowers blossom in the back garden with its rocks and ponds. In the cemetery where Confucius and his descendants are entombed, centuries-old trees tower to the sky. All this is the work of a special state commission, one of many in charge of the preservation and restoration of the nation's historic sites and relics, which New China takes great pains to protect. The place was in a sorry state at liberation—weeds

had sprouted among the glazed tiles on the roof of the temple. The house and cemetery, too, were in disrepair, monuments to the customary neglect of the KMT rule. Since it took charge, the commission has instituted major repairs and supervised day-to-day maintenance, and also taken extensive research into Confucian relics and archives.

Jungle-Bound. The jungles of southern Chinghai Province with their teeming wild life are the destination of a team of zoologists formed by the Ministry of Forestry, the Chinghai branch of the Institute of Zoology of the Academy of Sciences and the Agricultural Bureau of Chinghai Province. They will make further studies of the many rare animals found in this part of the Yushu and Kolo Tibetan Autonomous Chou. Many of these are not only of scientific but also economic interest. Among others are a species of deer with white lips, musk deers and valuable lesser pandas. The mountains and grasslands of the area shelter such rare animals as bharal (blue sheep) and gaurs (Indian wild oxen).

Four-in-One Happiness. That stork brought woman commune member Tan Hsueh-ying three boys and a girl—on a single visit. Now weighing a total of 29 lbs., the quadruplets and their mother are getting the best possible care, all expenses paid by the state, in Anhwei Province's Fuyang County Hospital. A special corner has been set aside in the maternity ward to hold the many gifts pouring in, among them the traditional brown sugar and eggs for a mother after childbirth, milk powder and many other things, from the state and the commune, relatives and friends, and even unknown well-wishers. The happy mother recalls the time before liberation, 15 years ago, when she gave birth to her first baby. Hers was a poor peasant family then and the first meal of unadorned noodles she had after childbirth was made with borrowed flour. Three days later she was out scouring the hills for wild vegetables to eat. She gave birth to three babies before liberation. But those were bad days for the babies of the poor; two died soon after they were born.



Papercut by Shen Pei-nung

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Socialist Cultural Ties

The past week witnessed the forging of many new cultural links between China and the other socialist countries:

A Sino-Soviet agreement on broadcasting and television co-operation was concluded in Peking. S.V. Kaftanov, Chairman of the State Committee for Broadcasting and Television of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, who headed a Soviet delegation visiting this country, signed the agreement on behalf of the Soviet Union. While in Peking, he was received by Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi.

* * *

A Sino-Soviet parachuting contest has just been held at Tushino Airport, Moscow. It included, in events for both men and women, a 1,000-metre precision landing, 1,500-metre individual and group combined jumps and parachuting stunts. This is the second year in which the two countries have held such a tournament.

* * *

A delegation of Chinese mountaineers is now visiting the Soviet Union. Led by Shih Chan-chun, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Mountaineering Federation, the delegation includes such famous members as geologist Wang Fu-chou and the Tibetan soldier Gonpa, both of whom scaled Mount Jolmo Lungma, the world's highest peak, in 1960.

* * *

A group of Chinese tourists consisting of staff members and members of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association recently returned from a visit to the Soviet Union. They attended the May Day celebrations in Moscow, then toured Stalingrad, Baku, Tbilisi and other Soviet cities.

* * *

China and Bulgaria have signed their 1961 executive plan for cultural co-operation.

* * *

A Polish cultural delegation headed by Z. Garstecki, Vice-Minister of Culture and Art, is touring this country.

* * *

The well-known Chinese scholar, Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, was recently elected an academician of the newly founded Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Afghan Independence Day

China extended warm congratulations to Afghanistan on the occasion of the latter's Independence Day. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi sent special greetings to the state leaders of Afghanistan.

Speaking at a Peking reception given by the Afghan Ambassador Abdul Samad, Vice-Premier Hsi Chung-hsun expressed China's support for Afghanistan's policy of peace and neutrality, and the joy of the Chinese people over the success scored by the Afghan people in developing their national economy and building their country. Hailing the growth of Sino-Afghan friendship which, he said, was based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit, the Chinese Vice-Premier declared: "The conclusion of the Sino-Afghan Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression has ushered in a new phase in friendly co-operation between the two countries and provided yet another example of peaceful coexistence among Asian countries. In the course of their common efforts to promote Afro-Asian solidarity and safeguard world peace, this friendly co-operation will surely witness still further growth in the days to come."

Cuban Agrarian Reform Delegation

A six-member delegation of the Cuban National Institute for Agrarian Reform recently completed a visit to China. As guests of the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture, Major Rene Vallejo Ortiz and others toured Peking, Chengchow, Loyang, Shanghai and other parts of the country. Everywhere, they were accorded a warm welcome. Premier Chou En-lai received them in Peking. General Chang Ai-ping, Dep-

uty Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and the China-Latin American Friendship Association gave banquets in their honour.

Support for South African People

Popular organizations in China have voiced all-out support for the people's movement in South Africa directed against the unilateral establishment of a so-called republic by the colonial authorities in that country.

In a message to the South African people, forwarded through the United Front of the Union of South Africa, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity said that the Chinese people have at all times cherished a deep sympathy for, as well as resolutely supported, the South African people's struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination and for democratic rights. They fully endorse the Chinese Government's decision of July 1960 to sever all economic and trade relations with the Government of the Union of South Africa. They are confident that with the powerful support of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world against imperialism, and with unity and persistence, the heroic South African people are certain to overcome all difficulties, smash the reactionary rule of the South African colonial authorities, drive out the imperialist forces headed by the United States and achieve final victory. "We, 650 million Chinese, will always stand by the fraternal people of South Africa in the common fight against imperialism and colonialism," the message declared.

Success at Canton Fair

China's 1961 Spring Export Commodities Fair closed in Canton after a month of brisk business. Altogether transactions totalling more than 315 million yuan (over 45.7 million pounds sterling) were concluded. The Cuban Trade Delegation, the Brazilian Economic Delegation and the Argentine Trade Delegation were among the more than 3,000 guests and businessmen from over 50 countries and regions who visited the fair and signed contracts. Chinese trading companies also signed import contracts.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

U.S. Military Provocations In Laos

Brigadier-Generals Kong Le and Phoun Sipaseut, Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Laotian National Military Council, issued a statement on May 25 exposing and condemning U.S. preparations for new military adventures in Laos. Citing detailed and irrefutable evidence, they showed that the United States has been stepping up military assistance to the Laotian rebel clique, and that under its instigation, troops of the rebel clique and units of the forces of Thailand and of the Ngo Dinh Diem gang in south Viet Nam are being deployed in southern Laos for an attack against areas controlled by the armed forces of the Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat.

Commenting on this statement, a *Renmin Ribao* editorial (May 26) writes: "This U.S. plot for new military provocations in Laos poses a serious threat not only to the proceedings of the enlarged Geneva Conference, but also to peace in Laos, Indo-China and Southeast Asia. This is a serious situation which calls for the closest attention of all peace-loving countries and peoples the world over."

Phoumi Vongvichit, Head of the Neo Lao Haksat Delegation at the Geneva Conference, the editorial recalls, has already exposed the ulterior moves of the United States in his speech of May 18. The past few days, however, have shown still more clearly that the United States does not really want to see a cease-fire in Laos. On the contrary, it is only engaging in this cease-fire trickery to gain a breathing space to mount new attacks. While the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique, with U.S. blessing, is continuing to boycott the enlarged Geneva Conference and is attempting to bring about U.N. intervention to undermine the efforts of the Geneva Conference, inside Laos, because of the sidetracking manoeuvres of the representatives of the rebel clique, the tripartite talks at Na Mon have so far failed to make any headway. All this is inextricably linked with the murky designs of the

United States on Laos. Quite obviously, what the United States and its lackeys want is to keep the situation in Laos perpetually "unstable" and make the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question impossible.

The United States is playing the game of the thief crying "Stop thief!" notes the editorial. To cover up their criminal moves, U.S. officials and spokesmen of the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique have of late made a continuous clamour about so-called "cease-fire violations" by the Royal Laotian Government forces and troops of the Neo Lao Haksat. But this U.S. trick is as clumsy as it is despicable. As a Chinese proverb puts it, "unless you stop doing it, there is no way of keeping other people from learning about it." The Cambodian National Radio already pointed out on May 22 that the refusal of the Phoumi-Boun Oum clique to attend the Geneva Conference "is directed by its masters. This means that they want to restart the war and pave the way for their future repudiation of the resolutions passed by the Geneva Conference. Once they have enough weapons and troops, they will show their disregard for these resolutions."

Kuomintang Remnants in Laos

Writing on May 27, *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator further calls attention to the fact that the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique has recently incorporated into the Laotian rebel army the remnant Kuomintang units which fled into the Naun Tha and Muong Sai areas in northern Laos, and that an advance unit of this force is pushing towards the Muong Sai area, controlled by the Royal Laotian Government and the fighting units of the Neo Lao Haksat. This, he points out, is a component part of U.S. intrigues.

In the spring of this year, Commentator recalls, the United States and the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique employed the remnant Kuomintang units to extend the Laotian civil war. This was sternly condemned by the Royal Laotian Government and the

Neo Lao Haksat as well as by all the peace-loving countries and peoples. Under pressure, the United States then resorted to the phony evacuation trick. The U.S. Government assured the Soviet Government that except for small individual groups which went into hiding in the jungles, almost all the remnant Kuomintang troops had withdrawn from Laos.

But facts show that it is not "small individual groups" but large bands of remnant Kuomintang troops which still remain in Laos. According to an A.F.P. dispatch from Vientiane on May 24, a Western correspondent saw remnant Kuomintang troops on the northern border of Laos and said that they were being "absorbed" into that border region and were settling down. "The eye-witness account of this Western correspondent and the recent moves of the remnant Kuomintang troops in northern Laos once again give the lie to the U.S. Government," Commentator stresses.

He concludes: "To stop the United States using the remnant Kuomintang troops to intervene in the internal affairs of Laos and threaten the security of its neighbours, these Kuomintang troops, along with troops and military personnel of the United States, Thailand and south Viet Nam, must clear out of Laos. This is an important condition for assuring the independence and neutrality of Laos."

To Uphold Congo Independence And Unity

The Chinese people firmly support the struggle being waged by the legal Gizenga government to exercise the Congo's state sovereignty and uphold national unity, declares *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator, writing on the May 15 decision of the Congolese Government to revive the normal activities of the Congolese parliament and its appeal for support from friendly nations. "It is well known that the Congolese parliament has been prevented for the time being from continuing its legitimate activities only because of intervention and sabotage by the U.S. and Belgian imperialists and their stooges. The Central Government headed by Acting Premier Gizenga is the sole legal Government of Congo. The revival

of parliamentary activities is entirely within its rights," he adds.

U.S. imperialism is intensifying its plot to swallow the Congo, Commentator points out. The U.S. imperialists, together with the Belgian colonialists, stage-managed the Tananarive "Round Table Conference" to carve up the Congo and split it into a series of imperialist spheres of influence. Later on, to edge out the Belgian colonial forces and achieve exclusive domination of the Congo, the United States further rigged up the Coquilhatville Conference during which its stooge Kasavubu arrested Tshombe, the Belgian lackey and the head of the rebel clique in Katanga. Simultaneously with this, U.S. imperialism is directing the spearhead of its efforts against the Congolese people and the legal Congolese Government. Thus, Kasavubu, who had all along opposed and obstructed the convening of the Congolese parliament, suddenly announced on May 12 that he was ready to convene parliament. This was a step to usurp the legal position of the Gizenga government and overthrow it.

The U.S.-controlled "United Nations authorities," the Kasavubu and other rebel cliques are also putting military pressure on the Congolese Government. Not long ago, on the pretext of preventing "civil war," "United Nations forces" started to disarm Congolese government troops in Kasai Province. In Katanga, too, they are expanding "U.N." military occupation so as to threaten government-controlled Kivu from the south.

The Chinese people, Commentator concludes, have always stood, are standing now and will in the future stand by the Congolese people in their fight against imperialism. "It is our firm belief," he says, "that led by the legal Gizenga government, the Congolese people, persisting in their struggle, will eventually drive out the colonialists, old and new, and gain independence and achieve the unification of their homeland."

Thai Puppets Court Disaster

"You can't cover a dead elephant with a lotus leaf." *Da Gong Bao* in its commentary of May 25 quotes this Thai proverb to expose what is behind the recent mass arrests of Thai patriots by the Sarit Thanarat government and its slan-

ders against China and Viet Nam in order to whitewash these outrages.

These arrests took place on the eve of U.S. Vice-President Johnson's arrival in Bangkok. This was no coincidence, the paper notes. Johnson, on a tour of Southeast Asia, went to Bangkok to discuss with the Thai Premier plans for intensified intervention in Laos and increased repression against the Thai people. The results of their talks show that Sarit is opening wide the doors of his country to his U.S. masters. He is tying Thailand even more firmly to the U.S. war chariot.

The Western press has disclosed that the United States plans to station troops in Thailand. It hopes in this way to prop up Sarit Thanarat's tottering puppet government and turn Thailand into a major U.S. military base for aggression in Southeast Asia. The *Sunday Times* of London reported that Johnson had assured Sarit that the U.S. would continue to station its marines close to Thailand, increase the supply of F-86 jets and use the Gulf of Siam as a regular base for the U.S. Seventh Fleet. UPI also quoted U.S. military sources as saying that "Thailand would serve as the primary base of operations for any American land or air force used in Laos."

In selling out the national interests so brazenly and serving as a willing cat's-paw of U.S. imperialism, the Sarit government is leading Thailand from disaster to disaster, the paper states. This cannot fail to kindle widespread discontent and provoke the resistance of the Thai people. To put down this resistance, Sarit resorts to repression at home and mouths slanders against China and Viet Nam. He also seeks to cover up his own traitorous acts and clear the way for further U.S. domination. But these crude schemes will get nowhere.

The patriotic activities of the Thai people are an inevitable consequence of the traitorous crimes perpetrated by the Sarit government. They cannot be fomented at will by any outsider. Nor can they be stamped out or checked by any force. The reactionary measures of the Sarit government, which toes the U.S. imperialist line, will only serve to arouse still greater resistance on the part of the Thai people who will in the end sweep their

country clean of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, *Da Gong Bao* concludes.

Intrigue Against People's Friendship

An unseemly incident against friendship between the peoples recently occurred in Ecuador. A visiting Chinese youth delegation was illegally detained there for five days and then compelled to leave that country. Invited by the Ecuadorian Union of Revolutionary Youth, the Chinese delegation was on a visit to promote mutual understanding and friendship between the Chinese and Ecuadorian peoples. Its members had valid visas. From the moment of their arrival in Ecuador on May 12, they received an enthusiastic welcome from the youth of that country. Then, on May 15, the Immigration and Foreign Office of Ecuador suddenly put them under detention without any justification whatsoever. This crude measure taken by the Ecuadorian authorities aroused widespread protests from student, women's, peace and other popular organizations in Ecuador. Many issued statements denouncing this arbitrary act as a violation of Ecuador's national spirit and damaging to its international prestige.

Voicing the Chinese people's protest against this extremely unfriendly act towards the Chinese people on the part of the Ecuadorian authorities, Commentator writes in *Renmin Ribao* (May 25): "It requires little insight to see that the U.S. imperialists are the wirepullers behind this despicable provocation. It is now an open secret that Washington has been trying to obstruct by every conceivable means the development of friendly relations between the Latin American people and the people of the socialist countries. But the attempts of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will be of no avail. No U.S.-made iron curtain can block the development of friendship between the Chinese and Latin American peoples and between the Chinese and Ecuadorian peoples. The fact that the Chinese youth delegation received so warm a welcome from the Ecuadorian youth, and that this churlish action of the Ecuadorian authorities stirred up widespread indignation and protests from the youth and all fair-minded people in that country are convincing proof of this."



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