

PEKING REVIEW

23

June 9, 1961

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Condemns U.S. Obstruction

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Yugoslav Agriculture on the
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報

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

FAMILY

by PA CHIN

The first autobiographical novel by the famous Chinese writer, Pa Chin, *Family* was written in 1931.

Family is the epitome of Chinese semi-feudal, semi-colonial society at the twenties of the 20th century. In it the author relentlessly draws back the curtain on a disintegrating feudal household, exposing the hypocrisy and sins of the feudal customs. Woven together are tragedies of love affairs and marriages, the struggles, groans and death of the luckless, also the worries, uncertainty, awakening and rebellion of the young people. Through the conflict of ideas between two generations, the author carefully delineates a young student who rebels against the old society, breaks away from his old family and moves towards freedom and the revolution.

The book has a number of Chinese-style illustrations showing the family life and social conditions prevailing at that time.

THE GODDESS

KUO MO-JO

The Goddess was the first collection of poems by the famous contemporary poet and scholar Kuo Mo-jo. First published in 1921, it exerted an optimum influence on the new "May 4th" literary movement in China.

In this collection of poems, the author showed a strong spirit of resistance to the oppression of imperialism and feudal forces and gave vent to his fervent passion for freedom.

This collection of poems includes volcanic eruptions of sentiment, beautiful scenes created in classical Chinese songs and poems and the virile breath of folk songs and lore. It is characterized by its weird imagery, unrestricted passion, gorgeous colour and lyricism.

The present selection contains two poetic dramas and 32 poems.

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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June 9, 1961 Vol. IV No. 23

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ROUND THE WEEK

Busy Season

The busiest season of the year has set in for the peasants all over the land. In area after area people's commune members are going out in full force to reap this year's crop of winter wheat. South of the Yangtse, harvesting is nearing completion. By last week wheat and rapeseed crops on half a million *mu* in the rural areas around Shanghai had already been brought in. The harvest tide is swiftly moving up to the basin of the Yellow River. Down south in Hupeh Province the reaping of barley and rapeseed is being completed and the harvesting of wheat is already in full swing.

As the golden fields of wheat disappear beneath the sickles, commune members in many places have started right away to plough up the stubbled fields to set out the semi-late rice seedlings, the seedlings of the second, intermediate rice crop of the year. As we go to press more than 70 per cent of the semi-late rice transplanting has been completed in Szechuan, a leading producer of this crop. Transplanting of semi-late rice seedlings is also going apace on the farms of Yunnan, Kweichow and Hupeh Provinces. In subtropical Hainan Island, where the peasants reap three crops of rice a year, farmers are working in an all-out effort to carry out a plan calling for the transplanting of semi-late rice on 400,000 *mu*.

In Shantung and Honan, which have been hit by a long spell of drought and a severe windstorm, hailstorm and an unexpected frost in April and May, the peasants are working might and main to make good the damage done by unfriendly nature. Shantung peasants are intercropping sorghum, maize and peanuts in wheat fields. In western Liaoning Province, which is also plagued by a drought, commune members are stepping up their work on irrigation while sowing sorghum and maize on an extensive scale.

Further north and in the northeast tending the spring wheat fields is the order of the day. As this crop of wheat enters the tillering stage, com-

mune members are doing a thorough job of weeding, top-dressing the fields with fertilizers, watering their young crops and spraying insecticides.

In the south, peasants in Kwangtung, Chekiang, Hupeh and Szechuan are knee-deep in field management work on farms growing early rice, for as they say, a good crop depends "30 per cent on planting but 70 per cent on field management."

Efficient Dockers

A key link in water transport is the man who gets the cargoes on and off the ships. China's dock workers in sea and inland river ports are raising their efficiency to a new high. Chungking on the Yangtse and many ports along the Sungari in the northeast have reported new records in loading and unloading. Last week, word came that Shanghai, biggest port in the country, had overfulfilled its targets for handling cargoes every month since the beginning of the year. Every docker there now handles an average of 23 tons of cargo in an eight-hour shift. This is four tons more than the previous highest record.

Shanghai dock workers made this possible by increasing mechanization, improving repair and maintenance work and streamlining management.

In old Shanghai, almost all cargoes were manhandled by "coolies," as the dockers were then called. It was one of the notorious sights of old Shanghai under imperialist and reactionary Kuomintang rule to see these men groaning under the huge weights which they carried on their sweating backs up and down the gangways of ships berthed along the Bund. And this was only part of the picture; on top of all the dockers suffered from the exactions of a corrupt government, ruthless employers, they were "squeezed" by dockland gangsters. Along with the other fundamental changes that have taken place in Shanghai since liberation, dockwork has been utterly transformed. Gone are the exploiters and deplorable working conditions. Mechanization is



Summer Harvesting

Sketch by Chiang Wen-pin & Lu Ying-cheng

gradually replacing manual labour. The dockers introduced 8,000 technical innovations last year alone. Heavy manual labour has been eliminated for good. Work at the Shanghai docks is now 75 per cent mechanized or semi-mechanized.

Early this year the Shanghai Harbour Administration sent work teams to work with the dockers to devise ways and means of raising efficiency in loading and unloading still higher. Where mechanization was still lacking technical innovation campaigns were launched. Among other things the workers widened dock space, roads and freightyards for easier, more efficient movement. Short distance railways were built and warehouses expanded or rebuilt so that machines carry cargoes straight into or out of the warehouses.

The dockers put great stress on maintenance work as a booster of efficiency. Machines are kept in good working order at all times. Since the start of the year the dockers have checked up and overhauled more than 3,000 mechanical devices and implements. A rough estimate in March showed that cranes, shovels and other major equipment handled about 13 per cent more goods per hour compared with January.

Continuous streamlining of management has also been an important factor in raising efficiency. This year the harbour administration reorganized the whole docker force to permit the greater specialization needed due to greater use of machines, as well as greater mobility in deploying labour under central direction.

Takla Makan Desert Blooms

An expedition organized by the Chinese Academy of Sciences has just

completed a general survey in the southern part of the Takla Makan, one of the world's biggest deserts, that makes up most of the central area of the southern part of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. The 26-member expedition, which is studying how to turn this great desert area to the service of man, made a special preliminary study of the topography, forestry and water and soil resources as well as sand and wind conditions of the newly reclaimed areas along the banks of the upper reaches of the Khotan River, which flows into the desert from the south.

Braving sandstorms and scorching desert temperatures, they surveyed the basins of the Kara Kash and the Yurung Kash, two tributaries of the Khotan. Both rivers have their source in the snow-capped Kunlun Mountains and join the Khotan at a point about 150 kilometres after entering the desert proper.

The Yurung Kash flows through the fertile Khotan oasis before hitting the desert where rolling sand dunes line its banks. The river basin is in places quite extensive. Fertile land rises from its banks in terraces in some parts and there are considerable expanses of wasteland dotted with marshes, grasslands and poplar forest belts. But for centuries past this has been a desolate area, inhabited only by wild life.

Last year, however, the people of the Khotan oasis reclaimed over 200,000 *mu* of farmland in these wastelands along the river. They planted wheat, maize, cotton and oil-bearing crops on a large scale and have brought into being a new oasis with criss-crossing irrigation canals and luxuriant fields. The expedition is studying ways and means to protect

this newly reclaimed area from the menace of windstorms, sandstorms and drought and alkalization.

Sandstorm and windstorm specialists of the expedition visited the Pishan area on the edge of the desert to make observations on the formation and the shifting of sand dunes and their threat to the reclaimed area.

Others, including forestry experts, have set up observation stations at a place 100 kilometres inside the edge of the desert to study afforestation problems and the proper felling of the poplar forests in this area. Local Uighurs have learnt to make the necessary scientific observations too and are giving valuable help to the scientists.

The expedition is now studying the results of its first findings. Afterwards it will go back to the desert to further size-up the Takla Makan.

Buddha's Birthday

On May 30 over 10,000 Tibetans in Lhasa flocked to the Dragon Lake behind the Potala Palace to celebrate the festival of the birth and Nirvana of the Buddha, which fell on the fifteenth day of the fourth moon of the Tibetan calendar.

Religious services were held in all the monasteries in the city where lamas offered prayers to the Buddha with the lighting of lanterns and the burning of incense.

Shortly after dawn, people dressed in their holiday best began visiting the picturesque park around Lhasa's Dragon Lake, bringing with them specially prepared food and wine to picnic in the open. Local Party and government leaders joined the people in their festivities.

Earlier, religious services for the Buddha's birthday were held in temples and monasteries elsewhere in China. In Peking, the Venerable Shirob Jaltso, President of the Chinese Buddhist Association officiated at the service held in the historic Kwangchiszu Temple.

In Shanghai, thousands of people visited the traditional big fair held on the occasion of the Buddha's birthday. The five-day fair was held in the vicinity of the Chingan Temple, an old monastery built in the 13th century. This traditional fair has been held annually for more than 80 years.

Foreign Minister Chen Yi Condemns U.S. Obstruction

In his statement made at the enlarged Geneva Conference on June 1, Foreign Minister Chen Yi, Head of the Chinese Government Delegation, condemned the United States for its armed intervention in Laos and its use of this as a pretext to obstruct the conference. He reiterated that the Soviet proposals should be taken as the basis of discussion at the conference and declared that if all showed sincerity the way to unanimous agreement could be found.

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

Comrade Chairman,

The Chinese Delegation is surprised at the fact that, when our conference is proceeding to substantive discussions, some delegates should have at yesterday's session evaded matters of substance and talked at length about the so-called question of cease-fire in Laos. As everyone knows, a de facto cease-fire has already been realized in Laos. Although some troubles have occurred, no fundamental change has taken place in the situation of the cease-fire in Laos. This is reflected in the reports of the International Commission to the Co-Chairmen dated May 20 and 27. But the U.S. delegate has deliberately distorted the reports of the International Commission and insisted upon raising this question at our conference to create complications. People cannot help asking what the purpose of the United States is in so doing.

It is understandable that troubles of one kind or another should occur at the front as no explicit cease-fire agreement has yet been reached among the parties concerned in Laos. But the local conflicts which have recently occurred in Laos are quite strange. The Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat are the victors in the Laotian war, and yet the areas in which these local conflicts occur are in the rear of the regions under the control of the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat and not in the rear of those under the control of the rebel Phoumi-Boun Oum clique. Since these areas have all along been under the control of the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat, how comes that problems should have cropped up following the cease-fire? In their statements yesterday, Mr. Quinim Pholsena and Mr. Phoumi Vongvichit have presented a great deal of well-established facts, proving that these conflicts were entirely provoked by the United States and the Phoumi-Boun Oum clique. The Americans, taking advantage of the fact that the forces of the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat stopped their military operations,

have air-dropped rebel troops and munitions direct to these localities to help the rebel troops grab territories. This is the root cause of conflict. The U.S. delegate spent much time in his statement yesterday in talking about the military conflict at Padong, but the conflict at Padong is exactly a vivid proof that the United States is the creator of these conflicts. Padong is not far from Xieng Khouang, it has all along been under the control of the Royal Government of Laos, and no problem ever cropped up there. It was only after the cease-fire that the United States airlifted large numbers of rebel troops and large amounts of munitions from Pak San, Vientiane and elsewhere to the Padong area to carry out activities. U.S. military personnel have also been introduced into this area to direct the operations of the rebel troops. Under these circumstances, it is fully proper that the forces of the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat should undertake self-defence under compulsion. However long may be the list of artillery rounds cited by the U.S. delegate, it will not be able to cover up the fact that the conflict at Padong is imposed on the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat entirely by the United States. How can this be disowned when U.S. military personnel directing the operations of the rebel troops have been captured in this area? This is a question of undisguised intervention by the United States, and not a so-called question of investigation. The United States, while unscrupulously airlifting rebel troops and munitions to areas under the control of the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat, has been clamouring for investigations in these areas and asserting that these areas are under the control of the rebel clique. Its aim is none other than to legalize American action and to turn these areas into disputed areas by making use of investigation by the International Commission. I invite you all to give this your thought: if the United States should be allowed to carry on such airlifting continuously, and if the International Commission should be compelled to conduct in-

vestigations continuously on the heels of U.S. aircraft, would not all the areas under the control of the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat be turned into disputed areas? Would this be tolerable? If only one gives this a thought cool-headedly, he will understand that of course it cannot be tolerated by the Laotian people.

THEN, does it mean that supervision and control of the cease-fire by the International Commission in Laos is no longer necessary? No, supervision and control of the cease-fire by the International Commission in Laos is of course necessary, because it will help stabilize the cease-fire in Laos. However, only when agreement has been reached among the three sides in Laos through negotiations will a basis be provided for supervision and control by the International Commission. Otherwise, as is stated by the International Commission in its May 20 report, no conclusive results could be obtained even if investigations should be made. In this same report, the International Commission rightly pointed out that "the commission have examined these problems and consider that the present situation cannot be put right unless in parallel with the political negotiations the sides agree to establish a machinery to deal with questions connected with the proper maintenance of the cease-fire. Such an agreed procedure would enable the commission to exercise their supervision and control." Now, the representatives of the three sides in Laos already agreed in their negotiations at Ban Na Mon on May 26 that, simultaneously with discussions of the question of forming a coalition government in Laos, a military group composed of the representatives of the three sides would be set up to study and discuss matters connected with the cease-fire. In its May 27 report, the International Commission welcomed this development and expressed the hope that the negotiations at Ban Na Mon might proceed smoothly and that many of the problems facing the parties will be resolved. As stated by the International Commission in this report, smooth progress in these negotiations will help determine possible steps that the commission could undertake within its present terms of reference and with the co-operation of the parties; contrary to what the U.S. delegate has misrepresented, the International Commission has not been pessimistic about the prospects of its functioning. The terms of reference of the International Commission agreed upon in the May 5 directive of the Co-Chairmen are based on respect for the sovereignty of Laos, are clear and definite and meet the present requirements. They should not and need not be changed. We support the position of the Soviet Union on this question and hope that agreement would be reached by the Co-Chairmen.

In order to stabilize the cease-fire in Laos and seek a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, what is more important is to stop armed U.S. intervention in Laos. This is precisely the question of substance our conference is to discuss now. In his statement yesterday, the U.S. delegate repeatedly stressed that an effective cease-fire was the pre-condition of this conference. We have to point out that such an agreement or understanding does not exist at all. The Chinese Delegation holds that our conference must not accept this viewpoint of the United States,

otherwise our conference will be bogged down on the so-called question of the cease-fire in Laos raised by the U.S. delegate, and will not be able to make any progress. It will be recalled that our conference was prevented from opening as scheduled on May 12 by the United States using the pretext that cease-fire had not yet been realized in Laos. After our conference was finally convened, the United States repeatedly raised at the conference the question of the cease-fire in Laos in disregard of the report of the International Commission verifying the cease-fire. Now, everybody can see clearly that the United States, while supporting the Phoumi-Boun Oum clique to harass incessantly the areas under the control of the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat, is using this as a pretext to obstruct our conference from entering into substantive discussion of the question of ensuring the independence and neutrality of Laos. This is totally unjustifiable.

OUR conference has already made some progress and is proceeding to substantive discussions. But the United States has not yet given up obstructing the conference. This cannot but make people doubt the sincerity of the United States for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. I would like to point out frankly, should some people think that a prolonged standstill of our conference would be to their advantage, they will get the opposite result. The longer our conference drags out, the more the situation in Laos will be complicated. This will definitely bring no good to those who wish to benefit from dragging out the conference. We disapprove of such a course of action. Like many other delegations, the Chinese Delegation hopes that this conference will yield positive results. We consider that the more progress our conference makes, the more it will help stabilize the cease-fire in Laos. All of us should direct our efforts towards this end. We hope that the United States will stop interfering in Laos and obstructing our conference, and that it will join the other participating nations in a serious discussion of concrete proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

On the question of ensuring the independence and neutrality of Laos, the Soviet Union has already put forward concrete proposals. Yesterday, in his statement, the delegate of the Soviet Union further explained these proposals. In my statement of May 24, I already expressed the full support of the Chinese Delegation for the Soviet proposals. I wish to point out once again that the Soviet proposals have taken into account the interests of all the parties concerned and that they should be taken as the basis of discussion at the conference. France has advanced its proposals. And we would welcome the United States of America to table its own proposals too. The Chinese Delegation has set forth five principles for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, and in due time we shall further express our views about the various proposals. There is no harm that different views are expressed at our conference. Provided that all of us have sincerity for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, we shall eventually be able to find the way to unanimous agreement through full consultations.

Comrade Chairman, thank you.

On the Road of Peaceful Negotiations

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THIS week, both the enlarged Geneva Conference for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question and the Laotian tripartite talks held at Na Mon entered their fourth week. Some progress was made during the past three weeks, but many difficulties were encountered. The United States was the main source of these difficulties and there were many sharp struggles with it and its followers.

Record of the Conference

The conference began with a general debate spread over nine sessions up to May 24. Heads of all delegations made their first-round speeches. China's Foreign Minister made a second speech, then the first stage of the conference came to an end. In plenary session the conference decided to recess to give its participants time to study proposals made at the conference or prepare their own new proposals. Sessions were scheduled to resume on May 29 at the latest, but due to U.S. obstructions, they failed to do so. The next, 10th session was only held on May 31. After a session on June 1 there was another three-day recess. The conference entered its fourth week when it reconvened on June 5.

During the first stage of the conference, all the delegations gave their views and opinions on the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. The Soviet and French Delegations also put forward their specific proposals. The Soviet Delegation tabled the drafts of two documents: a "Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos" and an "Agreement on Withdrawal from the Territory of Laos of Foreign Troops and Military Personnel and on the Powers of the International Commission." The French plan also includes the drafts of two declarations on the neutrality of Laos, one of these to be adopted and made public by the Laotian Government and the other to be signed by the governments taking part in the conference. The Soviet plan is more complete and can serve as the basis for discussions at the conference. The French plan, as justly pointed out in the speeches made by the heads of the Delegations of the Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat, though containing some fine points, does not, taken as a whole, quite reflect the policy of the legal Laotian Government and the aspirations of the Laotian people, and is, therefore, far from complete. As for the United States, although it has made the most noise and the most complaints both in and outside the conference, it has so far failed to table a plan.

The conference shows that most countries share certain views on the principles for settling the Laotian question. These are: (1) The Laotian question must be settled in a peaceful way through negotiations. (2) It must be settled on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreements. (3) The neutrality of Laos must be guaranteed.

(4) When providing international guarantees for the independence and neutrality of Laos and carrying out necessary international supervision and control, a distinction must be made between the internal and international aspects of the Laotian question so that the sovereignty of Laos will not be encroached upon and its internal affairs will be free from interference. (5) An agreement must be reached by all participating countries and they must all abide by it. When delegates dealt with this last point, they obviously had in mind the historical fact that the United States refused to sign the Geneva agreements in 1954 and subsequently disrupted them.

Given the above-mentioned areas of agreement and the five principles for settling the Laotian question put forward by the Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi at the conference on May 24, it was reasonable to expect that when the conference resumed its sessions at the next stage, it would discuss substantive questions and through consultation reach an agreement on a concrete plan.

Things, however, did not turn out that way. When it was reconvened on May 31 after two days' delay, the conference did not get down to discussions of matters of substance. This was because the U.S. delegate Harriman raised the so-called question of an "effective cease-fire" to obstruct the conference. Although some delegations at the May 31 and June 1 meetings carried the discussion further on the substantive questions of guaranteeing the neutrality and independence of Laos, the attention of the conference was diverted. This obstructive tactic of the United States to sabotage the conference was severely condemned. At the June 5 session, both the Soviet and Polish delegates repeated the demand that the U.S. Delegation stop sidetracking and dragging out the conference and concentrate on discussions of matters of substance.

U.S. moves to obstruct and sabotage the Geneva Conference began even before it was convened. There have been three rounds in the struggle against these moves. Round one was when the United States attempted to block the convocation of the enlarged Geneva Conference. This ended with the actual convening of the conference and the participation of the Delegations of the Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat. Then came the first round of general debate during which the U.S. Delegation tried to establish an international condominium over Laos under the guise of defining the term "neutrality." This also came to a close with the United States suffering a serious political and moral defeat. The U.S. proposal was condemned by most of the participant nations and by world opinion in general. Round three was the U.S. attempt to obstruct the conference from entering into discussions of a substantive

nature and to win back some "chips" for further gambles under the pretext of so-called cease-fire violations. Specifically, the United States hoped to legalize the illegal occupation of areas seized by the Laotian rebel forces behind the positions of the Laotian patriotic forces after the cease-fire, to extend the areas occupied by the rebel clique, and, through requests for new directives to the International Commission for Supervision and Control, to smuggle through Rusk's outline for an international condominium over Laos. This attempt too was defeated and the plot fell flat. Thus, the United States, which at the end of May went all-out to spread an air of pessimism about the conference and even threatened to "withdraw" from it, made another volte-face under pressure of world opinion and announced that it would continue to take part in the conference and work for its success.

Tripartite Talks in Laos

At Na Mon, too, the tripartite talks made progress at a snail's pace because of U.S. obstruction. Under its instigation, the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique, while refusing to participate in the Geneva Conference, played the game of obstruction to the hilt at Na Mon.

The tripartite political and military conference began at Na Mon on May 14. On May 17, representatives of the three sides came to an agreement on the conference agenda, and the first item on it was the question of the formation of a provisional coalition government in Laos. However, when the next session came along (on May 19), the rebel delegates openly threw overboard the agreed agenda, fabricated the so-called question of "military conflicts" and demanded immediate discussion of the formation of a so-called "joint inspection team" to assist the International Commission in Laos to inspect the cease-fire. This was, of course, an out-and-out copy of the U.S. line and the Delegations of the Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat condemned it in no uncertain terms. But because of this perfidy on the part of the rebel clique, discussion of the first item could not proceed.

On May 26, through the efforts and accommodation made by the Delegations of the Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat, the three sides were able to come to a new agreement on the agenda. The main points of this are: the first item of the agenda will still be discussions on the formation of a provisional coalition government for Laos; at the same time, the conference will establish a military team formed of representatives of the three sides which will be responsible for studying and discussing rules and regulations for complete cease-fire and armistice, including the questions of the formation of a joint military inspection team composed of representatives of the three sides, and of the powers and tasks of the International Commission in Laos. On May 29, the tripartite conference further accepted the proposal of the delegate of Neo Lao Haksat to discuss first of all the tasks and programme of the coalition government. Simultaneously with this, the military team formed by representatives of the three sides held its first meeting.

At the meetings on May 29 and 31, the delegates of the Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat put forward in principle proposals on the tasks of the

Laotian provisional coalition government, its domestic and foreign policies and rules for ensuring the cease-fire. At a meeting on June 2, the delegates of the Phoumi-Boun Oum clique agreed to these views in principle. But when the proposals were discussed item by item, they said that they could not agree with these proposals fully and argued about "difficulties in settling concrete questions." When the delegates of the Royal Laotian Government and Neo Lao Haksat asked them to state the specific issues on which they held different views, they shilly-shallied and merely replied that they would take the views of the two other parties back to Vientiane for study. This was repeated at every subsequent meeting but they still failed to put forward proposals of their own. Pressed by the delegates of the Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat for a reply and finding it difficult to answer, the rebel delegates could only request a recess after which they simply slipped away.

As a result of lack of sincerity on the part of the rebel clique, negotiations on the rules governing the cease-fire have failed to make any headway.

At the Na Mon conference table, the delegates of the Laotian rebel clique have used side issues to create complications. They are unwilling to conduct serious discussions on substantive, specific matters. They have never put forward any constructive proposals. Their performance at Na Mon is a replica of that of the U.S. Delegation at Geneva.

In sharp contrast with the attitude of the Laotian rebel clique which has put every obstacle in the way of the negotiations, the Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat have made sincere and consistent efforts for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. On June 5, Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the Royal Laotian Government, and Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat, arrived in Peking in the same plane on their way to Geneva to demonstrate to the participating countries at the enlarged Geneva Conference their sincerity and stand in seeking a way to the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question jointly with Prince Boun Oum, leader of the Savannakhet clique, on the basis of realization of genuine peace, neutrality, independence, democracy and prosperity in Laos. The two princes have gone to Geneva on the invitation of Prince Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, who has invited leaders of the three sides in Laos for talks in Geneva. The two princes had already on many occasions invited Prince Boun Oum to go to Xieng Khouang or Na Mon to discuss and settle Laotian internal questions. It is sincerely hoped that the journey of the two princes will be crowned with success.

The Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat have once again shown their sincere desire to negotiate a settlement. Now it is up to the rebel clique to show a like sincerity in approaching a solution to the Laotian question. The socialist countries have also made repeated and great efforts in negotiating at the enlarged Geneva Conference. The question now is whether the United States will give up its stalling tactics, sit down, and start serious negotiation so as to enable this next stage of the Geneva Conference really to pass on to discussions on matters of substance and make the sort of headway the peoples demand.

Kennedy Faces A Severe Test

Following is a slightly abridged translation of an editorial published in "Renmin Ribao" on June 1 on the eve of the Khrushchov-Kennedy talks. — Ed.

N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, and **John F. Kennedy**, President of the United States, will hold talks in Vienna on June 3. The Chinese people and other peace-loving people the world over hope that the talks about to start will yield positive results and help relax international tension.

The Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries have consistently followed a peaceful foreign policy, stood for peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and the settlement of international disputes through consultation and worked for the relaxation of international tension. The various efforts they have made for world peace have exerted an ever broader influence on the world and won the enthusiastic support of all peace-loving peoples and countries. The holding of the forthcoming talks between the Heads of Government of the Soviet Union and the United States is fresh proof of the sincere desire of the Soviet Union for peace and for improvement of relations between the two countries.

As regards talks between the Heads of Government of the Soviet Union and the United States, Kennedy has always held the view that he cannot negotiate with the Soviet Union from a position of a steady decline in national power. He stressed the need to negotiate from a "powerful" position of strength. He said even in February that "there are no plans for any meeting with Mr. Khrushchov." But before long, Kennedy himself sought a meeting with Khrushchov. Can it be that the position of the United States today is "powerful" compared with February? It is obviously not so. Why, then, does Kennedy now want to talk with Khrushchov? To answer this question, it is necessary to review briefly Kennedy's experiences since he took office.

As is generally known, Kennedy came to power at a time when the United States was in trouble both at home and abroad. As the Western press put it, Eisenhower left his successor "a hopeless mess." Speaking of the situation confronting the United States in his first State of the Union Message, Kennedy said that the United States was "in a time of rapidly deteriorating situations at home and especially abroad." To cope with this grave situation, Kennedy stressed the need to carry out that basic strategy for the years of the missile lag which he had always advocated. In other words, the United States should make "the most of all our remaining advantages" and make "the most of the enemy's weaknesses — and thus to buy the time and opportunity necessary to regain the upper hand." Kennedy stood for a more flexible use of peace and war tactics. In his own words, he would "give equal attention" to both olive branch and arrows. Concerning this, Kennedy's chief assistant, the present U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, in a research report on U.S. foreign policy written under his general editorship before he took office, said in clear

terms: "There are many things and many methods; but there are central aims and more or less co-ordinated methods. Military, political, economic and psychological means are employed alternately or in combination as the situation indicates."

For the last four months and more, Kennedy has, indeed, been holding the olive branch in one hand and the arrows in the other, using them alternately or in combination. On the one hand, he declared that in order to seek "peace" anew there should never be fear of negotiations; he made many demagogic statements on peace, advocated "quiet diplomacy," dispatched "peace corps" to many countries, peddled the "food for peace" programme, and urged the establishment of a so-called "alliance for progress." On the other hand, he took vigorous measures of arms expansion and war preparations, put forward an unprecedentedly large military budget, stepped up missile development, strengthened conventional forces and trained special forces, and in defiance of world condemnation even openly unleashed "brush-fire wars" in Laos and Cuba. But Kennedy failed to get the expected results from all these manoeuvres; on the contrary, he has landed himself in a more difficult position.

Kennedy has made the development of missile weapons and the earliest possible closing of the missile gap between the United States and the Soviet Union a key point in his "position of strength" policy. But the successful return to earth of the first Soviet manned spaceship shows that the United States has fallen farther behind the Soviet Union in the most advanced branches of science and technology. All the efforts Kennedy has made since taking office to consolidate the U.S. leadership in the "free world" have failed to lessen the contradictions between the United States and its Western European allies; on the contrary, these contradictions have further sharpened. Although Kennedy has tried to pose as a guardian of national independence and an opponent of colonialism, the daily awakening peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are not to be deceived. The stormy waves of opposition to U.S. imperialism and its stooges are lashing against the positions of the United States with ever increasing fury.

KENNEDY'S aggressive policy has met with particularly serious defeats in Laos and Cuba. As soon as he took office, Kennedy unhesitatingly took over Eisenhower's policy of intervention in Laos and vigorously instigated the Boun Oum-Phoumi traitorous clique to expand the civil war. This criminal line pursued by Kennedy has met with the firm rebuff of the Laotian patriotic army and people and has been severely condemned by the peace-loving peoples and countries the world over. This has put the United States in a very difficult and isolated position. The armed aggression against Cuba unleashed by Kennedy with U.S. mercenaries not only failed ignominiously, but also thoroughly exposed his true features as an imperialist.

The repeated setbacks suffered by Kennedy in his domestic and foreign policies have further deepened the

differences within the U.S. ruling circles. It is certainly not without reason that Kennedy is dubbed "the most bitterly attacked new president at home." Especially after the defeat of his armed aggression against Cuba, Kennedy was subjected to such all-round censure by various factions of the U.S. bourgeoisie that he was forced to come out himself and take the whole blame for the fiasco of the aggression against Cuba.

When summing up the first hundred days of the Kennedy Administration, many Western bourgeois newspapers and magazines pointed out either with regret or sarcasm that Kennedy's "political honeymoon" had come to a dismal end, that he had ruined his own name.

It was under such circumstances that Kennedy sought to meet Khrushchov. This is very clear even to many of the Western bourgeois newspapers. For instance, the U.S. *Chicago Tribune* said that Kennedy wanted to hold talks with Khrushchov because "foreign relations have not been faring well for Mr. Kennedy. First Cuba, then Laos. . . ."

The very fact that, from "no plan for any meeting with Mr. Khrushchov," Kennedy has now become willing to hold talks represents a victory of the world's peace forces, and so is anyhow a significant matter. This is one side of the picture.

The other side of the picture is that though the U.S. position is so weakened Kennedy still indicated that he would not "retreat a single inch" in the talks and on the eve of the Vienna talks he put forward a special message on so-called "urgent national needs," thereby pushing the all-out U.S. war preparation plan another big step forward. The U.S. propaganda machine is especially vociferous in claiming that Kennedy would take a "tough stand" during the talks, would indicate that the United States is "not to be slighted" and would show the "strength" and "determination" of the United States. At any rate, it is hard to bring all this into line with Kennedy's so-called "quest for peace."

The people the world over are watching closely to see what attitude Kennedy will take towards the Vienna talks. This will be an acid test for Kennedy.

Sino-Burmese Joint Press Communique on Transfer Of Border Area Territories

In pursuance of the provisions of the Boundary Treaty between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Burma designated their respective local officials who completed the formalities of the transfer of the following areas at designated places on June 4, 1961:

1. The area of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang was returned to China in accordance with Article I of the above-mentioned Boundary Treaty;
2. The areas under the jurisdiction of the Panhung and Panlao tribes were handed over to China in accordance with Article II of the above-mentioned Boundary Treaty;
3. The Yawng Hok and Lungnai Villages were handed over to China, and the Umhpa, Pan Kung, Pan Nawng

and Pan Wai Villages were handed over to Burma in accordance with Article III of the above-mentioned Boundary Treaty.

In accordance with Article IX of the above-mentioned Boundary Treaty, the Meng-Mao Triangular area (Nanwan Assigned Tract) to be turned over to Burma by China became the territory of the Union of Burma upon the coming into force of the above-mentioned Treaty on January 4, 1961.

The transfer of the above-mentioned areas was carried out in a most cordial atmosphere. The Governments of the two countries were highly satisfied with the smooth implementation of the relevant provisions of the Boundary Treaty and saw in this a full demonstration of the friendship and co-operation existing between the two countries.

(Hsinhua News Agency, June 5, 1961.)

Yugoslav Agriculture on the Capitalist Road

by LIAO YUAN

Following is a translation of an article published in "Hongqi" (No. 8, 1961), fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE Tito clique has constantly declared that it is building socialism in Yugoslavia in a "unique way." It claims that in agriculture it has chosen "the best road for building a large-scale, modern agriculture and for the socialist transformation of the countryside"; it boasts that the

"socialist agricultural organizations" it has set up have played a big role.

But what is the true picture?

In 1951, Yugoslavia had more than 6,800 agricultural producers' co-operatives, embracing 16.6 per cent of the country's peasant households and 21 per cent of the land. Since 1953, large numbers of co-operatives have been disbanded by the Tito clique. In March 1953, the Tito clique promulgated the "Law Concerning Property

Relations in the Co-operatives and the Reorganization of the Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives." Co-operatives were arbitrarily disbanded; permission was given for the free purchase and sale of land, the unrestricted renting of land and employment of hired labour. In his article "On Some Questions of Our Country's [Yugoslavia's] Rural Policy," Kardelj openly advocated that free capitalist competition should be practised in agriculture. He said that the first principle of Yugoslav agricultural policy is to "free agriculture from the element of administrative leadership and put agricultural development on a basis of free competition between various economic forces." In a speech made in April 1954, Tito declared that the Yugoslav Government's "policy from top to bottom must be one of support for the individual peasants." The Tito clique repudiates socialist agricultural co-operation and advocates the development of capitalist co-operatives and capitalist farms of the American type. In the same speech he said: "Various types of co-operation exist in the agriculturally developed countries and in the capitalist countries. These are also good for our [Yugoslav] society." In a talk in July 1955, Tito said that he and his clique would not give up the idea that the small farms in Yugoslavia would one day be merged together in one way or another and that they would search for a common way of life shared by the two opposing sides in this respect. This, he said, had already been done in the United States, and Yugoslavia must find ways and means of solving this question.

Polarization Among the Peasants

The policy and measures adopted by the Tito clique have nearly brought about the total collapse of Yugoslavia's original agricultural producers' co-operatives. In the Yugoslav countryside at the present time, individual economy prevails on more than 90 per cent of the total cultivated land. Capitalism is growing and spreading on the basis of the small-scale peasant economy; polarization among the peasants has already got under way.

In Yugoslavia, because land can be freely bought and sold, the well-to-do farmers can legally swallow up the land of the poverty-stricken peasants; they may also sell their own relatively poor land to buy more fertile land. Many poverty-stricken peasants can't afford to manage their own land and they have no alternative but to sell it. The Yugoslav *Borba* of September 13, 1960, wrote that "in recent years, there has been a pretty brisk exchange of land among the individual farmers." "In some areas," it said, "more and more farmers want to sell their land."

The process of polarization in the rural areas can be clearly seen in the figures for land distribution. From 1952 to 1958, the number of individual peasant households rose from more than 1.96 million to more than 2.33 million, an increase of over 370,000. Of these, the number of well-to-do peasant households owning more than eight hectares of land increased by over 37,000 only, while the number of peasant households owning less than five hectares* increased by more than 268,000, seven times the above figure. In 1958, peasant households with

* According to *Jugoslovenski Pregled* of January 1959, peasant households owning less than five hectares of land are, as a rule, grain-deficient households.

holdings of less than five hectares accounted for 70 per cent of all individual peasant households, but owned only 38 per cent of the cultivated land owned by individual peasant households while the well-to-do peasant households with holdings of more than eight hectares made up only 13.6 per cent of the total number of individual peasant households but owned 39 per cent of the cultivated land owned by individual peasant households. These figures show that the great majority of the people in the Yugoslav countryside are being impoverished, holding only a small amount of land while only a handful of people can climb up to become well-to-do farmers, owning relatively more land. This is an inevitable phenomenon in the development of individual economy towards capitalist economy; it is an eloquent proof that the Tito clique has brought the Yugoslav countryside onto the road of capitalist development.

Well-to-do farmers can also enlarge their own cultivated land acreage by renting land from others. According to data printed in the November 1959 issue of *Jugoslovenski Pregled*, individual peasant households in 1956 altogether rented out 370,000 hectares of land. The reason why they did this was largely because they hadn't enough reserves, they didn't have enough manpower, draught animals and farm implements to cultivate their land. A great part of this land was rented by well-to-do farmers. *Borba* of February 13, 1960, says: "Certain agricultural producers cultivate almost twice as much land as the maximum limit permitted,"* and they have "in fact doubled the area of the land they themselves own."

A large proportion of Yugoslav peasant households do not have enough draught animals and farm implements. In the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for instance, 43 per cent of peasant households have no draught animals and 53 per cent have no ploughs. The better-off farmers owning more draught animals and farm tools can not only rent land from those peasant households who cannot afford to cultivate it themselves, but, for purposes of exploitation, can hire out their own draught animals and farm tools to the impoverished peasant households which do not have these means of production.

Increase in Hired Labour

Another distinct feature marking capitalist development in the Yugoslav countryside is the widespread increase in the employment of hired labour. According to a report of the weekly *Kommunist* of February 7, 1958, in 1956, 52 per cent of the peasant households in Serbia owning over eight hectares of land employed hired labour. Those subjected to this form of exploitation are agricultural labourers who lack means of production themselves.

In Yugoslavia, resorting to usury as a means of getting rich is no longer a secret. The *Oslobodjenje* of November 15, 1958, writes: "A number of former usurers have again made their appearance in certain areas." The paper gave the following example. From 1956 to 1958, a usurer named Luich lent 6 million dinars in cash, more than 5,800 kilogrammes of grain and more than 1,500

* The Tito clique has laid down that the maximum limit of land each private household permitted to hold is ten hectares. (In the case of lean land, it is 15 hectares.)

litres of wine at a rate of interest ranging from 10 to over 100 per cent. He raked in more than 5 million dinars in interest charges. More than 780 peasant households were in his debt. "If the debt is not cleared when due," the paper says, "he will sell the last milch cow of the peasant debtor at the door."

"Co-operation" in a Capitalist Way

The Tito clique, on the one hand, has disbanded large numbers of the original agricultural producers' co-operatives, and on the other hand, bragged about the part played by their so-called "General Farm Co-operatives" in the development of agricultural production. This sort of co-operative is in fact an agricultural organization run in a completely capitalist way, with profit-making as its aim.

Commercial transactions make up the biggest share of the business of the "General Farm Co-operatives." Taking advantage of the free market and free movement of price of farm produce, these co-operatives go in for racketeering on a big scale, fleecing the agricultural producers on the one hand, and the city consumers on the other. When, for instance, Yugoslav agricultural production dropped in 1958, the co-operatives and other trading organizations raised the selling price of farm produce. The next year there was a bigger harvest; the co-operatives then scrapped the purchase contracts which they had concluded with the peasants, reduced the amount of purchases and simply let the crops rot in the fields.

So-called "co-operation" with the individual peasants in production is another job of the "General Farm Co-operatives." They sign contracts with the individual peasants, ploughing, sowing, harvesting for them and providing them with transport, or they rent land from the individual peasants and take full responsibility for its cultivation. They are paid by the individual peasants according to the contract. This sort of "co-operation" is in a pretty bad mess. Large numbers of peasants have landed themselves in debt with their "co-operation" with the co-operatives. According to a report in the *Kommunist* of October 6, 1960, only some 500,000 peasant households "co-operated" with the co-operatives, but they owed the co-operatives debts to the amount of more than 13,650 million dinars. Over 7,000 million dinars were still unpaid when these debts fell due. For various reasons there have been a number of cases of co-operatives incurring losses. This, of course, runs counter to the wishes of the Tito clique and as a result of this the Tito clique's propaganda machine has openly advocated that the co-operatives should not co-operate with the poorer peasants but only with the better-off ones. *Borba* of September 10, 1960, took Osijek County, a grain-growing area in Yugoslavia, as an example. It wrote: "In Osijek County, 50 per cent of the peasant households own less than three hectares of land." "Facts have proved that total output of the great majority of co-operative farmers is just enough to feed their own families, they have no surpluses for sale nor have they any surpluses with which to repay their debts." Speaking in the tones of a mouthpiece of the rich-peasant class, this newspaper asked: "What results can be got by co-operating with producers who do not produce commodities? Is it necessary to guarantee their

livelihood free of charge on land which in any case could not give them a normal living? If this is done, who will be benefited?" The paper came to this conclusion: "Establishing co-operation with the relatively stable farmers [well-to-do farmers—*Author*], can be more profitable and is a better paying proposition."

The co-operatives also run their own farms and partly engage in agricultural production. But these farms too are wholly for profit-making. They hire workers to make profit for them, and purchase or rent land from the individual peasants on an extensive scale so as to enlarge their cultivated acreage. In 1959, the co-operatives employed more than 68,000 permanent workers. (In busy farm seasons they also hire large numbers of temporary hands.) There is fierce competition between the farms. Those who are economically weak and whose production costs are higher are no match for those which are economically strong. They frequently incur losses, close down or are swallowed up by the latter. The agricultural labourers live in very bad conditions. The *Privredni Pregled* of September 30, 1960, said that with the worsening of conditions on the farms, "a large proportion of agricultural labourers get only the minimum possible personal income." Many of them are so hard up that they are compelled to move into the cities to try and eke out a living there.

Rich Peasants Hold the Whip Hand

These co-operatives run in a capitalist way have created extremely favourable conditions for the activities of the rich peasants. Their managements have step by step fallen into the hands of the rich peasants. A book entitled *Economic Policy of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia* records that in 1956, peasants owning less than two hectares of land made up only 15.3 per cent of the members of co-operative management committees; while those owning over eight hectares made up 25 per cent. The *Weekly Information Gazette* of February 22, 1959, carried a report about "A Co-operative Which Lost Money." It turned out that every type of important job was held by the rich peasants. They were members of its management committees, book-keepers, cashiers, procurement personnel, etc. In six months time, they had made this co-operative lose nearly 60 million dinars.

Because of lack of support from the broad masses of the peasants, these "General Farm Co-operatives" are already in the throes of crisis. There has been a steady decrease in their number and a drop in membership. According to the *Jugoslovenski Pregled* of June 1959, there were 8,004 such co-operatives in 1950, with 3,540,000 members. By 1958, the number of the co-operatives had dropped to 5,197, and the number of their members to 1.37 million. According to a report of *Tanjug* on December 7, 1960, less than 4,800 such co-operatives were left in 1960.

The facts mentioned above clearly demonstrate that the policies and measures carried out by the Tito clique in the Yugoslav countryside in the past ten years have carried Yugoslav agriculture onto the road of capitalist development. This shows that the Tito clique's so-called "unique way" is in fact nothing but the capitalist road which runs completely counter to socialism.

The United Front—A Magic Weapon of the Chinese People for Winning Victory

by LI WEI-HAN

Following is the first instalment of a translation of an article published in the June 1, 1961 issue of "Hongqi," fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Subheads are ours. The concluding instalment will appear in our next issue. — Ed.

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung has constantly stressed that, if we are to defeat our exceptionally strong enemy and build up our country, we must, under the leadership of the proletariat and on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, unite with all the forces that it is possible to unite with and form a broad, people's democratic united front. The content and tasks of the people's democratic united front vary in different historical periods in our country. The entire historical experience of the Chinese revolution proves that the question of the united front must be handled correctly in our Party's political line, whether it is in the period of democratic revolution or of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Only thus can our revolution and construction succeed and develop.

Prelude to the Democratic United Front

The history of the Chinese people's democratic united front dates back to the May 4th Movement of 1919. That movement took place after the first imperialist world war and the October Socialist Revolution in Russia; it marked the turning point at which China's democratic revolution changed from a democratic revolution of the old type into a democratic revolution of the new type and became part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. The May 4th Movement was an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement. The cultural revolution it ushered in was uncompromisingly opposed to feudal culture, and the two great banners of its cultural revolution at the time were opposition to the old ethics and promotion of the new, and opposition to the old literature and promotion of the new. The May 4th Movement was the prelude to the Chinese people's democratic united front. "The May 4 Movement was in the beginning a revolutionary movement of the united front of three sections of people—the communist, the revolutionary petty-bourgeois and the bourgeois intelligentsia, the last forming the right wing of the movement at that time. Its weakness was that it was confined to the intellectuals and did not secure the participation of the workers and peasants. But as soon as it developed into the June 3 Movement, not only the

intelligentsia but also the broad sections of the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie took part, and it became a nationwide revolutionary movement. . . . In ideas and in cadres, the May 4 Movement prepared for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, and for the May 30 Movement and the Northern Expedition."*

The Chinese Communist Party was founded on the basis of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement in China. After its birth, the Chinese Communist Party concentrated its forces, first and foremost, on the workers' movement and led the first upsurge of the Chinese workers' movement in 1922-23. As a result of repressions by the reactionary regime which was armed to the teeth, this movement ebbed for a time. Led by the Chinese Communist Party, China's working class understood perfectly well that "although it is the class with the highest political consciousness and sense of organization, it cannot win victory by its own strength alone. To win victory it must unite, under various conditions, with all possible revolutionary classes and strata and organize a revolutionary united front."** At its Third National Congress held in 1923, the Chinese Communist Party decided to take positive steps to form an alliance with the Kuomintang led by Sun Yat-sen, thereby unfolding a broad revolutionary united front. It also decided that Communist Party members join the Kuomintang as individuals, and that the Party should at the same time maintain its independence organizationally, politically and ideologically. The Congress repudiated the "Left" deviation of closed-doorism which was represented by Chang Kuo-tao. Proponents of this deviation contended that only the working class could carry on the revolution and that it was impossible for the Kuomintang to become a democratic revolutionary alliance. For this reason, they turned down the revolutionary united front and opposed Communist Party members, workers or peasants joining the Kuomintang. The Congress also repudiated the deviation towards capitulation which was represented by Chen Tu-hsiu. Proponents of this deviation claimed that the bourgeois-democratic revolution should be led by the bourgeoisie and that the working class could only play the role

* Mao Tse-tung, *On New Democracy*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, pp. 63-65.

** Mao Tse-tung, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 41.

of an aide. Therefore, they maintained that all work should be turned over to the Kuomintang. As early as July 1919, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had expressed the idea that the basic way of saving China was through the great unity of the masses of the people. At the First Party Congress and in the various periods that followed, Comrade Mao Tse-tung stood for the Party's correct ideas and combated the two erroneous deviations mentioned above.

The First Kuomintang-Communist Co-operation

The predecessor of the Kuomintang was the Tung Meng Hui which led the Revolution of 1911. This was a loose alliance of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois radicals, bourgeois liberals and anti-Manchu landlords. After the Revolution of 1911, the greater part of the Kuomintang lost its revolutionary vigour and sank into a state of inaction. The bourgeois democrats headed by Sun Yat-sen persisted in the struggle, but repeated setbacks left them in desperate straits. The October Revolution in Russia and the new revolutionary struggles taking place in China after the October Revolution, particularly the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, attracted the attention of Sun Yat-sen and brought him new hope. Sun Yat-sen, "in the depths of despair . . . welcomed the October Revolution, welcomed Russian help to the Chinese and welcomed co-operation with the Communist Party of China."*

Thanks to the efforts made by the Chinese Communist Party, the left wing of the Kuomintang headed by Sun Yat-sen held the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924, put forth the three cardinal policies of "alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communists and assistance to the workers and peasants," redefined the Three People's Principles and reorganized the Kuomintang. The right wing of the Kuomintang, representing the landlord and comprador classes and the right wing of the national bourgeoisie, opposed co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party from the very beginning and sabotaged the Congress' resolutions. After Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925, their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist activities became more rabid, and they teamed up in the so-called Western Hills Conference Clique and Tai Chi-taoism. The Communists, on the other hand, through co-operating with the left wing of the Kuomintang, uniting with the middle-of-the-roaders, and waging sharp struggles against the right wing, strove to put the resolutions of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang into practice. This is the well-known first co-operation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang in the history of the Chinese revolution. Through this co-operation, our Party launched and led the Great Revolution of 1924-27. During this period, not only did the workers' movement and the revolutionary struggles of the urban petty bourgeoisie rise to a national upsurge centring round the "May 30" strike of 1925, but extensive peasant movements also developed in several southern provinces. The united front, therefore, had the worker-peasant alliance as its basis and became a national

united front of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and of all sections of the people. On this basis, the Kuomintang developed into a national democratic revolutionary alliance. It was on this basis that the Kwangtung revolutionary base was set up, that the victorious Northern Expedition was launched in 1926-27, that large areas along the Yangtse and Yellow Rivers were occupied, the northern warlord government was defeated, and the people's struggle for liberation was initiated on a scale unprecedented in Chinese history. "In the national revolution to which Dr. Sun Yat-sen had devoted himself for forty years and which he had left unaccomplished, tremendous success was scored within the short span of two or three years."*

Weakness of United Front in Great Revolution

But the revolutionary camp at that time was not yet consolidated. Although the revolutionary united front had a relatively broad base among the masses, yet because of the fact that our Party was still in its infancy at the time, that it did not understand the extreme importance of armed struggle in the Chinese revolution and of controlling the army, and neglected the work of winning over the army during the Northern Expedition while placing a one-sided emphasis on mass movements, this united front still did not have as its central pillar revolutionary armed forces led by the proletariat. The result was that once the Kuomintang turned reactionary, all the mass movements collapsed. As the worker and peasant movements surged forward, the middle-of-the-road section, which comprised the majority of the national bourgeoisie, became increasingly frightened and wavered more and more in its attitude. The Kuomintang right wing, which represented the landlord and comprador classes and the right wing of the national bourgeoisie, still occupied important positions of strength, with many organs of state power and the army under its control. When the Western Hills Conference Clique suffered setbacks, members of the Kuomintang right wing found new representatives headed by Chiang Kai-shek; from 1926 on they went in for all kinds of new underhand activities against the revolution in an attempt to usurp its leadership and sell out the revolution from within. In these circumstances, only by firmly relying on the workers and peasants and arming them could the middle-of-the-road section be kept steady and the revolutionary united front be consolidated to beat back the attacks of the reactionaries. Of course, the enemy was very strong, because it was made up not only of the landlord and comprador classes, but also international imperialism which supported them. However, if the Communist Party had at that time adopted such a resolute revolutionary policy, it could have averted or at least mitigated the subsequent defeat.

At this crucial stage in the revolution Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the various classes in the society of that period, successively published his *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society* and *Report of an Investigation into the Peasant Move-*

* Mao Tse-tung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, pp. 413-14.

* Mao Tse-tung, "The Urgent Tasks After the Announcement of Kuomintang-Communist Co-operation," *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1954, p. 79.

ment in Hunan; he clearly indicated who were the true friends of the revolution and who were its real enemies, and he enjoined the Party to unite with these true friends to attack the real enemies. He particularly enjoined the Party to give full appraisal to the role of the peasants in the revolution, resolutely lead the peasants in the struggle, arm them and establish revolutionary state power in the rural areas so as to strengthen and consolidate the basis of the revolution. But the Chen Tu-hsiu capitulationist elements which at that time controlled the Party's leading organs rejected the correct views of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and other comrades, and adopted the right opportunist policy of "all alliance and no struggle" in the united front. Not only did they not dare to rely resolutely on the worker and peasant movements and energetically arm the workers and peasants, but, instead, they held back the worker and peasant movements; in particular, they held back the raging peasant movement to compromise with the landlord and capitalist classes, and thus handed the leadership of the revolution over to the right wing of the Kuomintang. In this way, the national united front of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and all sections of the people which stood for the cause of the Chinese people's liberation was disrupted and all its revolutionary policies were nullified by the Kuomintang authorities, with their treacherous anti-popular policy of party purge and massacre. The revolution suffered a serious defeat.

The Second Revolutionary Civil War

After the defeat of the revolution in 1927, the Chinese revolution entered the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War from 1927 to 1937. In the years 1927-31, the national bourgeoisie sided with the counter-revolutionary Chiang Kai-shek clique, so only the Communist Party and the workers, peasants and other petty bourgeoisie led by the Communist Party, and those who adhered to Sun Yat-sen's three cardinal policies remained in the revolutionary united front which was seriously battered and suffered serious losses. But the heroic Communist Party and revolutionary people "were not intimidated, subjugated or exterminated. They rose to their feet again, staunched their wounds, buried their fallen comrades and carried on the fight."* The Communist Party quickly overcame Chen Tu-hsiuism, launched the "August First" uprising in Nanchang, carried out autumn harvest uprisings in Hunan, Hupeh and Kiangsi and, led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, went deep into the rural areas, closely relied on the peasants, launched the war of the peasants' land revolution, built the Red Army and established revolutionary bases, thereby enabling the worker-peasant alliance to obtain a secure political basis and armed support. The people's armed forces and revolutionary bases led by the Chinese Communist Party constituted the main forms of the worker-peasant alliance in China's democratic revolution. At the same time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that, after the big bourgeoisie had betrayed the revolution, the Chinese revolution still remained, so far as its nature was concerned,

a bourgeois democratic revolution, that contradictions still existed between the national bourgeoisie and the imperialists, that the national bourgeoisie still differed from the comprador-capitalist class, while in the villages the rich peasants also differed from the landlords and that we must correctly and in every possible way unite with or neutralize the various intermediate classes. Comrade Mao Tse-tung, therefore, laid down and carried out in the revolutionary bases the line for the land revolution, which was to rely on the poor peasants and farm labourers, unite with the middle peasants, protect the small and medium-sized industrial and commercial enterprises, eliminate the landlord economy, make suitable economic arrangements for the rich peasants and also see to it that the landlords had a way open to them to make a livelihood. Comrade Mao Tse-tung also laid down and carried out the economic policy of promoting and encouraging private economy while simultaneously making every possible effort to develop state-owned economy and cooperative economy and striving for the realization of the hegemony of state-owned economy over private economy. All this facilitated the victorious development of the revolutionary armed forces and revolutionary bases which had the worker-peasant alliance as their basis; this greatly inspired the people of the whole country, brought them hope and showed them the way to victory, thereby becoming the main factor in promoting a new revolutionary upsurge and creating important conditions for rallying allies on a still broader scale and anticipating a new revolutionary upsurge.

In 1931, taking advantage of the Chiang Kai-shek government's reactionary policies of non-resistance to foreign aggression and intensification of its campaigns to "annihilate the Communists" and suppress the people, the Japanese imperialists created the September 18th Incident and occupied China's northeastern provinces. The attack made by the Japanese imperialists caused the contradiction between the Chinese people and the Japanese imperialists to become the main contradiction, while the contradiction between the various classes within the country began to be reduced to one of secondary importance: a new grouping took place in the relationship between the various classes in China. The anti-Japanese movement of the workers, peasants and students surged forward rapidly; the national bourgeoisie and other middle-of-the-road political forces which formerly sided with the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique also gradually inclined towards resistance to Japanese aggression. Some anti-Japanese elements even emerged within the Kuomintang and its army. After the September 18th Incident, the Chinese Communist Party was the first to advocate armed resistance; it actively led the anti-Japanese movement among the people throughout the country and the anti-Japanese guerrilla war of the people in northeastern China. In January 1933 the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army declared that on the three conditions that attacks on the Red Army should cease, that the people's democratic rights should be safeguarded and that the masses should be armed, it would enter into an agreement for jointly resisting Japanese aggression with that section of the Kuomintang willing to co-operate with it in fighting the Japanese invaders. However, owing to the fact that

* Mao Tse-tung, *On Coalition Government*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 11.

"Left" opportunism ruled for the third time in the Party, our Party was not able to make use of the favourable political situation in the country at that time to organize a national anti-Japanese united front to promote the advent of a new revolutionary upsurge. In the years 1927-35 during the Second Revolutionary Civil War, "Left" adventurism held the leading position in the Party on three occasions; its adherents all opposed Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct line and adopted the policy of "all struggle and no alliance" towards the entire bourgeoisie and even towards the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie. The "Left" adventurism which developed to a peak on the third occasion even placed opposition to the national bourgeoisie and opposition to the landlord and comprador classes on an equal footing, denied the existence of a middle-of-the-road camp and a third force in the Chinese revolution, and even regarded the middle-of-the-roads, who had contradictions with the Chiang Kai-shek regime and who at the time were becoming active, as "the most dangerous enemy." The rule of this third "Left" adventurist deviation resulted in a series of adventurist and closed-door policies politically, militarily and organizationally; it lasted four years, and brought about the isolation of the revolutionary forces and great losses to the revolutionary cause. At this critical historical juncture, thanks to the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Tsunyi Conference of the Party held in January 1935 corrected the "Left" adventurist line, saved the Party and preserved the leading cadres of the Party and the Red Army who formed the central force of our Party in victoriously leading the national anti-Japanese united front and the anti-Japanese war in the days to come. The Tsunyi Conference was epoch-making in the history of the Chinese Communist Party; it affirmed Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leading position throughout the Party. From that time on, under the correct leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese revolution has rolled on, marching from victory to victory.

Towards the Anti-Japanese United Front

After making the Long March, the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party reached northern Shensi in triumph in October 1935. The Japanese imperialists were then stepping up their attacks on northern China, the whole nation's anti-Japanese movement developed further and the revolutionary situation, as indicated by the December 9th Movement in 1935, mounted again to another upsurge. As the Japanese imperialists continued their intensified attacks, there arose the situation in which the contradiction between China and Japan became ever more marked and acute, while the contradiction between the British and U.S. imperialists on the one hand and China on the other as well as the contradiction between the various classes within the country became correspondingly less acute. Not only did the national bourgeoisie and other middle-of-the-road forces incline in ever greater numbers and with ever greater energy towards resistance to Japanese aggression, the camp of the landlord and comprador classes and the Kuomintang itself also began to disintegrate gradually into a pro-Japanese faction which

favoured surrender and a pro-British and United States faction which to a certain degree inclined towards resistance to Japanese aggression. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party quickly raised aloft the banner of the national anti-Japanese united front, called on the broad masses of the people and led them to struggle resolutely to "end the civil war and unite against Japanese aggression." Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "The task of the Party is to form a national revolutionary united front by co-ordinating the activities of the Red Army with all the activities of the workers, peasants, students, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie throughout the whole country."* This meant the establishment of a national anti-Japanese united front led by the Chinese Communist Party and with the people's revolutionary armed forces as its central pillar, including all those who refused to become traitors to the country. Comrade Mao Tse-tung went on to say: "The special feature of the revolution at present is the existence of a well-steeled Communist Party and a well-steeled Red Army. . . . The Communist Party and the Red Army are not only the initiators of the National Anti-Japanese United Front, but will inevitably become the powerful mainstay of the future anti-Japanese government and anti-Japanese army, capable of preventing the Japanese imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek from carrying through their policy of disrupting the national united front.** In order to establish a national anti-Japanese united front, it was necessary to overcome the closed-doorism and sectarianism that had existed in the Party for a long time. At that time and in later periods, Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Comrade Liu Shao-chi systematically accomplished this task. To force the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang to change its reactionary policy of capitulation to foreign aggression while carrying on an anti-popular civil war, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, following its "August First" 1935 Declaration, went a step further and addressed an open telegram in May 1936 to the Kuomintang, proposing the cessation of hostilities, the opening of negotiations for peace and concerted action against Japanese aggression. Following this, it reached an agreement on cessation of hostilities with the Northeastern Army headed by Chang Hsueh-liang and the Northwestern Army headed by Yang Hu-cheng which at that time were in northwestern China attacking the Red Army; subsequently, it brought about the peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident. In this way, after efforts continued for more than a year and particularly through the peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident, the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang was finally forced to stop the counter-revolutionary civil war which it had been carrying on for ten years. After the outbreak of the July 7th Incident in 1937, there arose the situation in which the national anti-Japanese united front was formed and the whole country united in resistance to Japanese aggression.

(To be continued)

* *On the Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 22.

** *ibid.*, pp. 30-32.

How the Chinghsi Colliery Keeps Ahead

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

FROM a group of modern pit-head buildings in the undulating mountains to the west of Peking, trains loaded with coal wind their way daily to the capital. This is the Chinghsi Colliery. The people call it the "jewel on the rim of the capital"; it sends its "black gold" for factories, people's communes and the residents of Peking as well as for other cities and towns in neighbouring provinces.

The Chinghsi Colliery, with its seven pairs of shafts, looks like many other collieries in the country, but it is outstanding in the way it has kept up the drive of the general line, going all out and aiming high, and getting greater, faster, better and more economical results in a consistent advance month after month, year after year. In 1960, the Chinghsi miners fulfilled their annual production plan a month ahead of schedule. They produced 26.6 per cent more coal than in 1959, and over 5 per cent more than their total output for the whole of the First Five-Year Plan. Their 1960 coal output was nearly 250 per cent more than in 1957, the year before the big leap forward began, while labour productivity more than doubled. They also cut costs of production and consumption of props by 50 per cent. This year they are still ahead in the van, fulfilling their monthly production plans ahead of schedule and achieving a triple victory: increasing output, keeping quality high and reducing costs.

Mass Movements — A Key Factor

Many things went to make these achievements possible. One of the important factors is the excellent way the mass movement has been led by the Communist Party organization at Chinghsi. Whether in boosting output, carrying out technical innovations or conducting scientific research — all of which finally pay off in more efficient and greater production — the Chinghsi Colliery has put a big effort into organizing mass movements which give full rein to the initiative and creativeness of workers and staff.

When you ask about mass movements in Chinghsi, you are certain to hear the experience of the Datai shafts cited. The Datai is a comparatively young mine. Its pair of shafts was commissioned only after the big leap forward year of 1958. Yet despite its modern equipment, previous to 1960 it barely managed to fulfil its monthly quota. Many of its workers were new at the job and lacking in production experience. More often than not the Datai found itself lagging behind the other shafts of the colliery.

A bit chagrined at first, the Datai miners determined to make good. All agreed, after discussion, that the best way was to launch a mass, socialist emulation campaign which would embrace the whole work force, give full play to each worker's initiative and spread the best experience around.

That was at the beginning of 1960. Since then, one mass movement after another has carried Datai output steadily upward.

In their battle for higher output, the Datai miners introduced many ingenious and effective methods of emulation. The tunnelling brigade, for instance, initiated a kind of emulation which they call a "production tournament." After the fashion of a sports meeting, targets were set for winners, runners-up and others who placed. The idea caught on and gave zest to the workers. Results were quick and remarkable. Tunnelling for the first month after launching this mass movement outstripped that of the preceding month by more than 40 per cent. This provided more working-face for the extraction of coal.

This effective emulation method, which everyone liked, soon spread to other sections of the Chinghsi Colliery. This and other methods carried the Datai workers on to fresh successes. They tackled the problem of improving extraction methods. Getting coal from thin seams, for example, generally presents more difficulties than from thick seams; moreover, the coal from these seams is of a lower quality. The Datai miners got their more skilled and experienced mates at other shafts in the colliery to give demonstrations and teach them better methods of tunnelling and extraction in thin seams. With this help they succeeded in extracting more coal of a higher quality from the thin seams and improved production at the thick seams too. In May last year, for instance, they chalked up a monthly record of 10,000 tons of coal from a thin seam working-face.

Working in the mass way, step by step, the Datai worked its way to the front ranks in Chinghsi. Ever since the beginning of last year, it has been overfulfilling its monthly quota, and before the end of October — 65 days before the year ended, to be exact — it was already working on its 1961 quota.

The Datai way of mass advance is typical of the manner the whole Chinghsi Colliery has forged ahead. Last year a dozen ways of organizing emulation were evolved and tried out. Some helped mobilize the miners to go in for mechanization or semi-mechanization by modern or

indigenous methods, others rallied them to put through technological reforms and merge or shorten work processes; still others were connected with improvements in tools, etc. These emulation campaigns were conducted sometimes between pits, sometimes between production groups and sometimes on a worker to worker basis. Some were especially aimed to draw administrative personnel into their scope. These are some of the factors that have helped keep Chinghsi in its position in the van of the nation's collieries.

Old Chinghsi Memories

As early as 1872, mechanical hoisting was used at the Chinghsi Colliery, but the most primitive mining methods were in use in the pits during all the 77 years before liberation. Foul air, cramped working areas, lack of even the most elementary safety precautions were a constant threat to the miners' security and health. Working hours were excessively long; tools, primitive—the axe, pick, shovel and basket. Accidents were frequent; wages were barely enough to live on.

More than half of the miners at Chinghsi know personally what exploitation under the imperialists and bureaucrat-capitalists was like. All can see the contrast between the appalling past and the present: the vast differences in working conditions, wages, housing and general livelihood and, not least, political and social status.

Li Chiu-teh, a young veteran of Chinghsi, has a typical story. Still only 29 years old now, Li Chiu-teh spent the best years of his boyhood in the bowels of the earth, in the dark, damp and dust-laden pits of his insatiable masters. He started work in the mine at 13, lugging heavy sacks of coal from the underground working-faces to the surface. It was backbreaking toil. He and his mates, children like himself or even younger, worked all day long in the dark underground with hardly a morsel of food or even a sip of clean water. To quench their thirst they had to drink the water dripping down the walls of the pit. Long years of such wretchedness seriously impaired their health. Many of his mates died underground. Li, tough in mind and body, was lucky enough to survive these ordeals.

Liberation literally brought Li Chiu-teh up into the light of day. With irrepressible joy he says of his new life: "Now I am my own master at last! I'll do my best for the country." He is as good as his word. Today he is a member of the Communist Party and a miner known all over the land for his consistently excellent record both at study and at work. A model worker since liberation, he has never taken a day off throughout the years. He was a delegate to the national conferences of young builders of socialism and of outstanding groups and workers on the economic front; he received an award from the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League of China. Wholeheartedly devoted to his work, he never rests content merely with doing his own part of the work well but always keeps a lookout to see how he can help his mates. He is very much a "team" man. While cutting coal, for instance, he looks out for suitable



A Discussion Down the Pit

Sketch by Hsu Chi-hsiung

sites for props, and is always ready to help his mates drive them in. An ingenious and patient inventor, he has introduced many improved tools and initiated advanced methods of drilling. Since the big leap forward in 1958, he has put forward scores of innovation proposals and regularly overfulfilled his monthly production quota. He is a popular pace-setter in Chinghsi who has inspired many others to follow his fine example.

Technical Innovation — The Mass Way

Taken over by the people's state after liberation, Chinghsi Colliery was soon well on the way to transformation. Modern equipment—pneumatic picks and hammers, electric drills, coal-cutters, conveyers, etc.—was introduced together with many modern techniques. Modern working conditions were instituted as befitted a socialist mine. Output began to soar. This was the background for the enormous enthusiasm which the Chinghsi miners have shown in their efforts to boost output for socialist construction.

Chinghsi's miners soon realized that one of the surest ways of raising output is by the introduction of new technology.

Chinghsi launched a mass campaign for technical innovations and technical revolution, centring round mechanization and semi-mechanization, automation and semi-automation. It advances on a practical basis, dealing first with the most immediate needs of the mine. When a bottleneck is spotted, a pooled effort is concentrated to solve it by using either modern or indigenous methods. This continuous process of improvement has resulted in raising the colliery's level of production technique all-round and output has soared.

Over the years since liberation, miners at the Muchengjian shafts of the colliery, for instance, have developed a comprehensive system of advanced mining techniques which in 1959 the Ministry of Coal Industry recommended for popularization in coalmines throughout the country. In 1960, the Muchengjian miners

improved on this still further. More than 400 of them put forward a thousand and more proposals to further improve mining techniques. The Communist Party committee of the colliery organized a mass discussion of these. The best were sifted out and introduced on an experimental basis; other units in the colliery gave their advice; adjustments and improvements were made until finally a new and better method of extracting was developed. This not only streamlined work processes, reduced the number of props used with no lessening of the safety factor and reduced labour intensity, but also boosted productivity. The output of coal increased by more than 37 per cent. From January to October 1960, the miners throughout the Chinghsi Colliery put forward nearly 70,000 rationalization proposals; they turned out nearly a thousand small machines which helped to end or ease heavy manual labour.

Workers in Management

The Chinghsi miners, like those throughout the country, participate directly in the management of their mines. While many have been promoted to leading posts in the colliery, representatives of the rank and file hold a regular meeting once every three months to sum up working experience, discuss proposals for improvement in production and administration and map out production plans for the next quarter.

At the same time, around the 20th of every month, miners of each production group get together to discuss the next month's production plans. They send the results of these discussions to their leadership and here they are carefully considered as the opinions of the men on the spot. Suitable adjustments are made to the overall plans. These are then given back to the miners for further discussion. When general agreement has been reached through such consultations between rank and file and leadership, the final plans and targets are fixed and appropriate steps devised to ensure the fulfilment and overfulfilment of quotas.

How the miners take part in mapping out production plans is well illustrated by the story of the search for coal by miners of Chinghsi's Dahua pit. Early last year, the Dahua miners were faced with the fact that, according to available surveys, their pit had all but exhausted its coal deposits. What was left was not enough even to fulfil an average six months' quota. Some said that the mine should be abandoned, but there was a confident rank-and-file contention that quite a considerable amount of coal really remained to be mined in the old workings. Under the leadership of Chiang Lien-sheng, head of the pit and vice-secretary of the Party branch, everyone was mobilized to reassess the resources. By calling on the knowledge of veterans like Lu Teh-ching, who knew conditions in the colliery well, and by conducting intensive scientific prospecting, enough coal was discovered to continue mining for more than a year. A production plan was mapped out accordingly. By the spring the Dahua miners had overfulfilled their quarterly plan by more

than 41 per cent. And by November they had overfulfilled their yearly plan by 30 per cent.

In the Chinghsi Colliery, every production team has men whose responsibility it is to check up on the way its production plan is being fulfilled, on the movement of costs of production, on the quality of coal mined, on safety measures and other aspects of work. They are at the same time workers and administrative personnel, giving big help to the regular administrative personnel and the colliery leadership. With everyone shouldering part of the responsibility in this way, it is no wonder that many good rationalization proposals are constantly being put forward and an all-round leap forward of the whole mine has resulted.

With the workers participating in the management, great success has also been achieved in ensuring safety at work. The Ma Tien-shan team in the Chengzi shafts, for instance, as a result of the timely adoption of good proposals, has maintained a remarkable record: not a single accident in 93 months.

Leading Cadres Among the Masses

Chinghsi's success in keeping its output graph pointing always up is inseparably connected with the fact that its leading cadres keep in close touch with the masses. They get down regularly to the working-faces and other key points of production and discover and solve problems in good time. Many of the leading cadres here are either seasoned revolutionaries or advanced workers promoted to their present posts since liberation. Twenty per cent of Chinghsi's cadres went to work with the rank and file during the whole twelve months of last year, living, eating, working and discussing problems together with them. In addition to this, many leading cadres make it a regular practice to go down to the pits from time to time to see how coal production is getting along, hold conferences with technicians and veteran miners and tackle problems on the spot.

Recently, the colliery administration transferred more than 30 section chiefs and cadres from higher levels to lead production brigades and strengthen the leadership at the primary level. "Underground production headquarters" have also been set up in the various pits to keep work going smoothly. These headquarters not only direct the work on the spot but are equipped to get small repairs done there underground, so saving a lot of time that was formerly wasted getting jobs up from underground to pit-head workshops. Such measures have been warmly approved by the miners.

The colliery administration has special offices to look after the welfare of its miners, but leading cadres still take turns to work in the kitchens and see to it that the miners not only work well but also eat well and enjoy proper living conditions.

The Chinghsi miners overfulfilled their production plans for the first five months of the year, and they are out to chalk up new records. It is clear we shall be hearing more good news from Chinghsi soon.

Freedom for Whom?

A GROUP of American students, Negro and white, decided to ride together in a bus in the southern states of the U.S.A. They determined to exercise their constitutional right to safe travel in face of the illegal segregation which these states maintain on their bus routes. Arrived in Birmingham, Alabama, these Freedom Riders were attacked and beaten by a mob of white racists. Amid other incidents of beatings, bus burnings and bomb tossing, another group of Freedom Riders arrived in the state capital of Montgomery. They were set upon here, sixteen to one, by a howling mob of racists. Though warned beforehand of impending violence the state police arrived conveniently late on the scene to find most of them lying unconscious on the sidewalk.

Racial discrimination and racist outrages are so familiar a feature of the "American way of life" that this fresh outbreak outrages, but causes little surprise to anybody except that the attitude of the U.S. Government in this latest matter is no less outrageous.

John Patterson, Governor of Alabama, not surprisingly, lay the blame on the Freedom Riders as "rabble rousers . . . trouble-makers." A state judge obediently issued an injunction forbidding the Freedom Riders to continue their journeys, and the police lay in wait to arrest them. So it turns out that in Alabama there is no freedom to exercise a citizen's rights under the U.S. Constitution, not to speak of according to ordinary civilized behaviour, but ample freedom to beat up black and white people who wish to ride or eat together.

Racist Patterson, by the way, was the first southern governor to endorse John Kennedy for President. He was no gambler. As the riots boiled, Kennedy himself stepped into the picture. But did he leap forward, shining sword in hand as "leader of the free world," champion of the rights of man, of freedom and equality without reference to race or colour, in the style of his election speeches? Well, hardly. He "would also hope that any person, whether a citizen of Alabama or a visitor there, would refrain from any action which would in any way tend to provoke further outbreaks." In other words, it was "apartheid" as usual.

To "keep order," Kennedy directed his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy to send 400 federal marshals to the spot. They were for all practical purposes under the orders of the local National Guard command, notorious for its racial discrimination. The Freedom Riders rode under armed guard. Racist outrages naturally increased. A dozen swastika-wearing bully boys sent by "fuehrer" George Lincoln Rockwell of the American Nazi Party arrived in New Orleans, Louisiana, in a "hate bus" on a publicized campaign against racial integration and communism. The U.S. Justice Department said that they had no power to stop them. But when 27 Freedom Riders arrived in Jackson, Mississippi, they were promptly arrested by the local police and jailed on bail of \$1,500 each. Soon three score more were in jail there. On June 2, a Federal Judge banned all Freedom Rides for 20 days

under threat of imprisonment. This was a signal for more beatings of Negroes and racist demonstrations organized by the Ku Klux Klan.

The U.S. State Department is worried by the way such incidents are bedeviling U.S. relations with the African countries which it is courting so assiduously and the insults to which African diplomats are subjected in Washington in housing, shopping and restaurants. So, as the hot summer approached, officials decided to build a ten-acre seashore playground on the beaches near Washington to enable diplomats of African countries to enjoy "discrimination-free" weekends. It seemed a bright idea until someone pointed out that this was just a "holiday ghetto," on the segregated Maryland coastline. It becomes all too clear that such eyewash won't work. This sickness goes too deep.

As the *New York World Telegram and Sun* wrote in an article entitled "Democracy for Whites Only": "The malignancy of prejudice and hate goes deep into the vitals of our society . . . its questing, insatiable cells have invaded every tissue of our society."

Following the Alabama incidents, Attorney General Kennedy called for a "cooling-off" period and demanded that the supporters of racial integration should temporarily suspend their probes into the south, but Uriah Fields, chairman of the integration group in Montgomery, has sent him a telegram saying, "had there not been a cooling-off period following the civil war, the Negro would be free today . . . is not ninety-nine years long enough to cool off, Mr. Attorney General?"

The fight against segregation is mounting. How long will it take the *Klan*, Mr. Patterson and President Kennedy to realize that the Freedom Rides will go on until not only its roads, but all America is free?

— HO CHUNG



Waiting for the Freedom Riders

"I hope nothing happens to them before they get here."

CULTURAL EXCHANGE

"Kabuki" Stages Peking Opera

The famous Zenshinza Troupe of Japan has recently staged a version of the *Wild Boar Forest*, a Peking opera, in its own *kabuki* style with great success. It calls its production *Water Margin*. An article in Peking's *Guangming Ribao* (May 13) by Seichiro Takase, the *kabuki* actor, describes how this was done. Takase is again in Peking learning another opera for his troupe, this time *The Tiger Hunters*, also based on the celebrated Chinese 14th-century novel, *Shui Hu* (*Water Margin*). In his article, Takase recalls the tour the Zenshinza Troupe, to which he belongs, made a year ago to China. The troupe, led by Chojuro Kawarasaki, brought a splendid repertoire including such classics as *The Contribution Book* and *Shunkan*. Its tour was a notable theatrical event in China. Takase describes the emotion and enthusiasm of the troupe on seeing with their own eyes "the much-discussed miracles of People's China's big leap forward." He calls the staging in Japan of *Water Margin* one of the fruits of this China tour. He continues:

STORIES from *Water Margin* are said to have found their way to Japan's capital Edo (present-day Tokyo) more than a hundred years ago. At that time people used to come together at street corners and squares to enjoy them either in the form of drama, or stories told, sung or recited. We still have them down to the present but these versions fail to present the heroes of the Liangshan Mountains from the standpoint of the working people, as men who fought against their oppressors. They therefore more often than not leave us with the impression that they are lacking in strength and resolution. Sometimes they are even tinged with pessimism and gloom.

Such being the case, it is little wonder that the moment we saw the performance of the *Wild Boar Forest* based on a script by Li Shao-chun of the China Peking Opera Theatre, we

were immediately captivated by its tremendous power, its exceptionally lucid style and all-pervasive optimism. The *Water Margin* we have staged in Japan follows this line. The emphasis is on the characterization of Lin Chung and how he reacted spiritually and mentally as, step by step, circumstances compelled him to join the Liangshan rebels. Our thanks are due to the Chinese theatrical circles whose great help and guidance made possible the staging of this play in Japan.

At the invitation of the Union of Chinese Dramatists, three of our troupe, including myself, arrived in China last fall to learn and rehearse the *Water Margin*. We worked with the China Peking Opera Theatre daily and we soon arrived at a much better understanding of the profound conception and great artistry of this play. We threw ourselves heart and soul into a study of this highly refined classical production. First we heard lectures in which the warm-hearted Chinese artists gave us a thoroughgoing introduction into the play's theatrical conception, historical background, style and special features, as well as the significance of the various roles in the play as typical characters. Special arrangements were made to enable just the three of us to see performances. This indeed was an unforgettable experience. The superb artistry of the actors, the magnificent scenes left us feeling that our eyes were not quick enough to see everything. Here was a living demonstration of the great strength of socialism and deep friendship.

Apart from opera, there is generally no singing in other forms of drama in Japan. Our main attention therefore was concentrated on the movements which are characteristic of Peking opera: body movements, acrobatics and postures in the climactic scenes. It can well be imagined what great patience was needed to teach us every movement, and we were deeply moved by the painstaking efforts made by those who taught us. Some actors worked with us for nearly a month. The warm reception which the theatre's leadership gave us and their solicitous concern greatly encouraged us in our studies.

We found that there were similarities in the techniques of Chinese

opera and *kabuki*. Our "mie" (assuming a posture on entering the stage) is the same as the "liang xiang" of Peking opera. Then we both have the "painted-face" make-up. Our recitative is characterized by richness of intonation, rhyme and rhythm which, though different from the singing of Peking opera, is similarly melodious. This is also an indication of the depth and range of the thousand-year-old cultural exchanges between our two countries. Despite these similarities, in our attempt to create a new *kabuki* play it was clearly not enough merely to make a faithful copy of a Peking opera and put it on the Japanese stage. This was why, after returning to Japan with a full cargo of friendship from our Chinese friends, we concentrated our efforts on an act of artistic re-creation—the creation of a *kabuki Water Margin*.

While borrowing freely from the theatrical techniques of Peking opera, we made a searching study of our own *kabuki* tradition with a view to merging the two together. Not only would this enrich the art of *kabuki*; it would at the same time make the performances easier for the Japanese audiences to understand and accept. Since we don't sing in *kabuki*, we have done our utmost to make our already melodious recitative still more musical. For musical accompaniment, we used throughout music composed by the eminent musician, Ikuma Dan. For special effects we also adopted the big and small gongs and drums of Peking opera. In decor, we learnt much from the Peking production of this opera which is characterized by its expressive power and richness of colour. Our acrobatics, of course, are far from approaching Peking opera standards of agility, but on the whole, once we had mastered their techniques the results were not too bad. Every actor of the Zenshinza Troupe worked hard to make this performance a worthy product of co-operation between the Chinese and Japanese theatres. Chojuro Kawarasaki as Lin Chung and Kan'emon Nakamura as the Monk Lu carried on with their rehearsals amidst a busy schedule of daily day and night performances. Often they worked late into the night. It was in this way that they were able to complete their rehearsals in so short a time.

The result was an unprecedented success. The first public performance was given on December 1, 1960, in a theatre lined with a multitude of banners, flags and flowers, gifts to our troupe from our supporters, sympathizers and friends. A radiant beauty was added to the performance by the gorgeous costumes — as many as 724 items, counting garments, small stage props, boots and headdresses — singularly Chinese in artistic style, which had been presented to us by the Union of Chinese Dramatists. We found that our audiences were soon emotionally caught up in the powerful and complicated plot and when finally Lin Chung, deeply entrapped by those who had plotted against him, made his exit along the traditional Japanese "Flower Path" running through the audience, we sensed that our audience was indeed involved with the fate of this righteous man and had fully grasped the meaning of the play.

The performances of *Water Margin* have been very warmly received in Japanese theatrical circles as well as by the general public. Newspapers have vied with one another in carrying reviews and photographs of scenes from the play. They praise it as a "moving performance"; they admire its sumptuous mounting, elaborate theatrical techniques and its well-developed theme showing how Lin Chung, an upright man, grew in the course of the struggle. Some have rated this fresh and captivating play among the most outstanding achievements of the year in the Japanese theatre.

Our Zenshinza Troupe has constantly been discriminated against in one way or another. In recent years it had been prevented from appearing in Tokyo's leading theatres. However, in this case, contrary to the usual practice, we were able to stage our new production at the Shinbashi Theatre. This was truly a significant event. As one drama critic pointed out: "The Zenshinza Troupe, which in recent years has been refused entry to the great theatres in Tokyo's busy centre, was able to celebrate its thirtieth anniversary with a magnificent performance. This was indeed a triumphant home-coming."

Our success was not limited to Tokyo. We got an equally warm re-

ception in Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe and Nagoya. By the end of March, we had already given 107 performances of this play to audiences in Japan totalling over 155,000 people.

The unstinted help given us by our Chinese colleagues was, of course, an important factor in this tremendous success. But there were also other reasons. As you know, 1960 was the year the Japanese people expressed their resolute determination to fight against the so-called Japan-U.S. Security Agreement and they have fought with a will for the annulment of this Japanese-U.S. military alliance. In this struggle, like Lin Chung in his time, the Japanese people have shown great steadfastness and a dauntless spirit. It was natural, therefore, that the staging of *Water Margin*, a sign of the friendship and cultural exchange between the Chinese and Japanese peoples, should evoke a very strong response.

Then, again, there is the desolation and confusion in Japanese cultural life, especially in the traditional theatre. The colonial culture the U.S. imperialists have brought to Japan, a culture that leads people to gangsterism and wantonness, is struggling to squeeze out classical art, *kabuki* and other forms of traditional entertainment and art long cherished by the Japanese people. It was precisely in this situation that the Zenshinza Troupe, inspired with a love of national independence and patriotism, presented the Chinese classical drama *Water Margin* which is so deeply imbued with the spirit of a militant patriotism. This conformed to the desire of the Japanese people. The warm welcome they have given it is therefore quite understandable.

Water Margin, rooted deep in the soil of China, is flowering today in Japan. In response to the eager hopes of the Japanese people, our troupe is now planning to stage the sequel to *Water Margin*. Once again at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs and



Chojuro Kawarasaki as Lin Chung and Kan'emon Nakamura as the Monk Lu in the "Kabuki" production of "Water Margin"

the Union of Chinese Dramatists, we have come to China, this time to learn another Peking opera *The Tiger Hunters*, also adapted from the classical novel *Water Margin*. We are deeply grateful for the solicitude which our Chinese colleagues have shown us. Such magnanimous assistance as they have given us is, I believe, something unheard of in the history of dramatic exchanges between countries. It is our hope that this play, which sings the praises of the rebellious spirit of the people, will inspire the Japanese people with yet greater determination in their struggle and daring enough to hunt down real tigers.

CURRENT EXHIBITIONS AND ENTERTAINMENTS

Chekiang Province Traditional Chinese Paintings and Graphic Arts Exhibition. At Beihai Park. Till June 18.

Art Exhibition of the Canton Institute of Fine Arts. At Artists' Union Gallery. Till June 11.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin." A modern drama adapted from Harriet B. Stowe's novel by Ouyang Yu-chien. Produced by the Experimental Modern Drama Theatre of the Central Drama Institute.

Circus. Horsemanship, acrobatics, etc., performed by the Circus Company of the China Acrobatic Troupe. At Tungtan Square.

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Vietnamese People's Struggle

The current struggle of the Vietnamese people against intensified U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression in their country has the full support of the Chinese people. One after another, popular organizations in China have voiced this sentiment in statements and messages to their counterparts in fraternal Viet Nam.

"The Chinese people," declared the statement of the China Peace Committee, "consistently back the heroic Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for the peaceful unification of their land. We fully support the solemn statement issued by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 21 against the United States stepping up its military intervention in south Viet Nam. We sternly condemn the criminal activities of U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam. The Chinese people will always, hand in hand with the fraternal Vietnamese people and the peace-loving peoples of the world, wage a common struggle to stop and crush U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention in south Viet Nam and Laos, to ensure the implementation of the Geneva agreements and safeguard peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia."

Between Fraternal Parties

A delegation of the Indonesian Communist Party led by Comrade Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian C.P., arrived in Peking on June 5 for a visit to China. On June 6, leaders of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Comrades Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Chen Yun, Teng Hsiao-ping, Tung Pi-wu and Peng Chen met with the delegation and gave a banquet in its honour.

A Martinique Communist Party delegation recently completed a tour of China. Led by Comrade George Mauvois, Secretary of the Central Committee and Member of the Political Bureau, the delegation visited Pe-

king, Wuhan, Canton, Hangchow and Shanghai.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has sent messages of warm fraternal greetings to the recently held 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Netherlands and the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel.

A message of condolence has been sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Communist Party of Northern Ireland on the passing away of Comrade Sean Murray, Chairman of its Executive Committee.

Between China and Ceylon

China is sending the famous Buddha tooth relic to Ceylon where it will remain for a time among Ceylonese Buddhists. The relic will be escorted by both a Chinese Buddhist delegation led by the Venerable Shirob Jaltso and Chao Pu-chu, President and Vice-President of the Chinese Buddhist Association, and a Ceylonese delegation led by W.P.G. Ariyadasa, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ceylonese Ministry of Industries, Home and Cultural Affairs.

The Ceylonese delegation, which had come to Peking especially for this purpose, received a very warm welcome. Besides meeting Chinese Buddhists, its members visited the Buddhist Theological Institute, the Central Institute for Nationalities and the new pagoda in the Western Hills where the relic is to be enshrined. (This pagoda was built after liberation with the help of the People's Government. The original pagoda, where the tooth relic was discovered, was destroyed in 1900 by the forces of eight invading imperialist countries.) And, on the eve of their departure, the members of the Ceylonese delegation were personally received by Premier Chou En-lai.

Speaking at a reception for the Ceylonese delegation, Hsiao Hsien-fa, a leading official of the Bureau of Religious Affairs, expressed the hope that with the tour of this sacred relic and the exchange of visits of the two delegations, friendship between the two countries will be further promoted. Buddhists of the two countries, he recalled, played a useful role in the friendly contacts and cultural ex-

changes between their lands dating back 1,500 years.

The Ceylonese delegation brought with it as a gift to China a bo-tree sapling from Ceylon's sacred city of Anuradhapura.

Ties with Africa

The first Chinese Ambassador to the Somali Republic, Chang Yueh, arrived in Mogadiscio, capital of the Republic, on May 29. He has presented his credentials to the Provisional President of Somali, Aden Abdulla Osman. China recognized Somali last year, as soon as that country became independent.

During a recent official visit to Morocco, Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Lu Hsu-chang was received by His Majesty Hassan II, who said that his country would soon appoint its ambassador to China.

Continuing its goodwill tour in West Africa, the delegation of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association headed by its President Liu Chang-sheng, visited Senegal and Togo.

In Dakar, capital of Senegal, members of the delegation called on government ministries, visited noted sights and had friendly meetings with leaders of trade union, youth and women's organizations.

In Lome, capital of Togo, Acting President Paulin Freitas gave a reception for the delegation. Earlier, he also received the delegation members to whom he expressed thanks for bringing to Togo the goodwill and friendship of the Chinese people.

Wu Chuan-heng, member of the Secretariat of the Chinese Women's Federation, has just completed a friendly visit to Tunisia as guest of the Union of Tunisian Women. She attended the Tunisian National Day reception given by President Bourguiba. She also called on Premier Abbas Ferhat of the Algerian Provisional Government and Madame Abbas during which she conveyed the greetings of the Chinese women to the heroic Algerian people.

Li Ping-chuan, a Chinese journalist, attended the recent Conference of African Journalists in Bamako as an observer from the All-China Journalists' Association.



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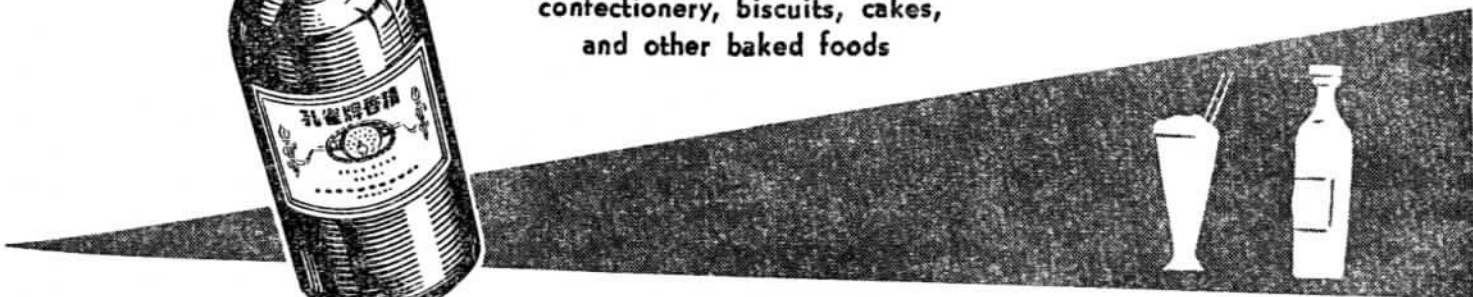
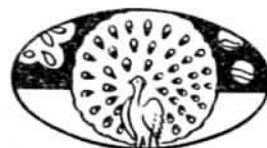


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