

PEKING REVIEW

2

January 11, 1963

LENINISM AND REVISIONISM

How modern revisionists distort Leninism on the vital questions of imperialism, democracy and peaceful co-existence (p. 5).

How to Size Up Imperialism in the Light Of Revolutionary Dialectics

A *Hongqi* article expounding Mao Tse-tung's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers (p. 10).

Cordial Visits, Fruitful Talks

Mrs. Bandaranaike's and Dr. Subandrio's visit to China (p. 16).

Harnessing the Haiho River

(p. 18).

*Chinese Press Opinion, Photography
And Other Features*

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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THE SINO-INDIAN BOUNDARY QUESTION

(Enlarged Edition)

Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China
(October 24, 1962)

Premier Chou En-lai's Letter to the Leaders of Asian and African
Countries on the Sino-Indian Boundary Question (November 15,
1962)

(Appendices: Maps and Reference Maps)

Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China
(November 21, 1962)

Premier Chou En-lai's Letter to Prime Minister Nehru (November 7,
1959)

Note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of
China to the Indian Embassy in China (December 26, 1959)

More on Nehru's Philosophy in the Light of the Sino-Indian
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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

January 11, 1963 Vol. VI No. 2

CONTENTS

ROUND THE WEEK	3
Conference on Industry; Industry's Gains in 1962; Jubilee for Hunan School	
ARTICLES	
Leninism and Modern Revisionism — Hongqi Editorial	5
Revolutionary Dialectics and How to Appraise Imperialism — Shao Tieh-chen	10
Cordial Visits, Fruitful Talks — Mao Sun	16
Harnessing the Haiho River — Teng Tzu-chang	18
CHINA AND THE WORLD	20
Chairman Mao Receives Japanese Guests; Anniversary Greetings; Sino-Japanese Trade Protocol; China-Pakistan Trade Agreement	
CHINESE PRESS OPINION	21
U.S.-Diem Crimes in S. Viet Nam; Tribune Admits Forgery	
PHOTOGRAPHY	22
6th National Exhibition; Korean Play on Chinese Stage; Short Notes	
WHAT'S ON IN PEKING	23

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ROUND THE WEEK

Conference on Industry

Industry's gains in 1962 and its tasks in 1963 were discussed at a national conference held recently in Peking.

Review of 1962. Convened by the State Economic Commission, the conference took stock of the situation on the industrial front last year in the light of the Chinese Communist Party's decision to readjust the work of industrial departments in accordance with the policy of making agriculture the foundation of the national economy.

It found that, following the Party's policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards, suitable readjustments have been made in the nation's industrial production and capital construction, and the agricultural front has been strengthened. It also noted with satisfaction that the strengthening of those industries directly serving agriculture has led to an increase in the supply of farm tools and machines. The steel mills last year produced a bigger range of rolled steel for making agricultural machinery and engineering works turned out an encouraging amount of irrigation and drainage equipment, tractor-drawn implements and other farm machines and parts. To aid agriculture, chemical works produced 50 per cent more chemical fertilizers than in 1961.

The conference noted a further improvement in the relationships between heavy and light industry and within heavy industry itself. Compared to 1961, heavy industry last year produced larger amounts of those products most urgently needed by the state; it also supplied more raw materials and fuel than before to light industry, and the output value of light industrial goods using heavy industrial products as raw materials rose by more than 30 per cent. The quality of most industrial products was further improved; these included pig iron and open-hearth steel, cement, cotton yarn and piece goods. There was a greater variety of goods too. Some 1,800 new types of machines and 2,600 new varieties of steel were produced.

Tasks for 1963. While the general situation in industry last year was

encouraging, the conference drew attention to the need for sustained efforts to solve certain outstanding problems. In particular, much still remains to be done in carrying through the major task of readjusting the work of industrial departments in accordance with the policy of making agriculture the foundation of the national economy. The conference, therefore, urged industrial departments to make the necessary readjustments and arrangements in industrial production and capital construction in line with the nation's plans for the technical transformation of agriculture. They were also urged to concentrate a large part of their efforts on further increasing the variety and improving the quality of industrial products to satisfy, first and foremost, things needed in the technical transformation of agriculture as well as the needs of other branches of the national economy in general.

In view of these circumstances, the conference decided that, while continuing the work of readjustment in various fields, the major tasks for 1963 are: (1) to increase the output of machines, tools and other means of production for the farms, light industrial goods for the market, and important raw materials; (2) strive for a big increase in the range of industrial products and a big improvement in their quality; (3) streamline the work of business accounting and increase capital accumulation; and (4) achieve an all-round improvement in the management of enterprises.

The conference finally called on everyone on the industrial front to take an active part in the emulation campaign to increase production and practise economy, and work hard for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of state production plans for 1963.

Industry's Gains in 1962

For the nation's industry, 1962 was another year of achievements.

Totting up their score-sheets, many industrial enterprises report that they fulfilled their production plans for the year ahead of schedule.



More Steel for Farm Machines

Woodcut in colour by Chiang Cheng-hung

Metals. The nation's steel industry rang the bell again in its drive for better steels and a greater range of products. Hundreds of new varieties of steel products were manufactured in 1962; most of these were for making agricultural and light industrial machines and equipment.

The Wuhan Iron and Steel Company in central China overfulfilled its 1962 targets for steel and billets. As early as December 5, the company announced that it had topped the year's quotas for steel and billets by 12 and 28 per cent respectively. One of the nation's major iron and steel integrated works, it further raised the quality of its steel products and increased its output of high-quality cast iron and low carbon steel. These latter items are in big demand for making farm machinery and tools, bicycles, sewing machines and other light industrial products.

The iron and steel complex in Anshan in northeast China also announced overfulfilment of its 1962 targets for iron ore, billets, rolled steel and ingots with better quality, lower costs and more varieties than in any of the previous years. This steel centre brought out 68 new steel products last year, characterized by high precision and better resistance to high temperatures or pressures.

Machines. More lorries were made last year to meet mounting transport needs. The No. 1 Motor Works in Changchun, northeast China, fulfilled its 1962 production quota ahead of schedule and produced an extra 700 lorries by December 19. Last year's models are of better

quality than those in 1961, capable of higher speeds and more economical of fuel.

1962 quotas for major items of agricultural machinery were also fulfilled ahead of schedule. They include tractors, tractor-drawn ploughs, harrows, seeders, and threshers as well as motors and water pumps. The big Loyang tractor plant in Honan Province fulfilled the state production plan on all counts by December 18. It produced more tractors and tractor parts than in 1961.

Consumer Goods. More and better consumer goods were produced last year too.

Peking's expanding light industry fulfilled last year's targets for 44 consumer items 20 days ahead of schedule. Many of these were produced in much larger quantities compared to 1961. The output of bicycle parts, synthetic detergents, aluminium ware and other items in daily use registered increases ranging from 100 to 500 per cent in the first eleven months of last year.

Kiangsu Province to the south reported that its enterprises had, by November 30, fulfilled their 1962 quotas as regards half of the 40 consumer goods items covered by the state plan. The output of many items increased considerably. Compared to the same span in 1961, output for thermos flasks increased by 27 per cent; enamelware, 16 per cent; sewing machines, 31 per cent; and polyvinyl chloride plastic shoe-soles, 150 per cent.

Industrial enterprises from Shan-tung on the eastern seaboard to Yun-

nan in southwest China reported similar successes. These achievements are a triumph for the Communist Party's policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards in the national economy.

Jubilee for Hunan School

The school where Chairman Mao Tse-tung studied and worked during the years 1913-22 has just celebrated its 50th anniversary. This is the Hunan No. 1 Teachers' School situated in the southern district of Changsha, capital of Hunan Province.

Students and staff celebrated the anniversary together with many old graduates, government officials and representatives from other schools in the city who came to present their best wishes. Among them was the veteran educator Hsu Teh-li. A Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Hsu taught in this school from 1913 to 1919.

"Our school," he said in his address to the students and teachers, "has a splendid revolutionary tradition. Let us all carry forward that fine tradition and work hard for the advancement of socialist education in our country."

The Hunan No. 1 Teachers' School was established in 1912. Many revolutionaries emerged from among its students and teachers. Some of them laid down their lives for the cause of the revolution; some, veterans of tough revolutionary struggles, are now at leading posts in the Communist Party and People's Government. It was here that the young Mao Tse-tung and other comrades began their revolutionary activities. The reactionary Kuomintang government looked on the school as a thorn in its side. It subjected it to constant surveillance and later to even more stringent measures of persecution, ending in the closing down of the school in 1927. When the school was reopened two years later, the reactionaries forced it to move from its old site in a vain attempt to cut it off from its revolutionary roots.

After liberation the school began a new flourishing career. In the past 13 years, it has graduated more than 3,000 students—or 70 per cent of the total number of its graduates in all its 37 years before liberation—and has become one of the best and largest schools in Hunan.

Leninism and Modern Revisionism

The following is a translation of the editorial of "Hongqi," No. 1, January 5, 1963. Subheads and emphases are ours. — Ed.

LENINISM, the fundamental revolutionary principles of Marxism expounded by the great Lenin, which represents a new stage in the development of Marxism, is being assailed, distorted and adulterated by the modern revisionists more viciously than ever before.

The essential thing about Leninism is the fact that it has carried the teachings of Marx and Engels further, providing a scientific analysis of capitalism's sharpening contradictions in its development to the stage of imperialism, and further enriching the Marxist theory and tactics on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. The Great October Revolution achieved victory under the direct leadership of Lenin. Carrying on the cause of the October Revolution, the Chinese people and the people of many other countries have also won a series of victories. These are victories for Marxism, victories for Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism Grew in Struggle

Lenin once said that "this [Marxist] doctrine had to fight at every step in its course."* Similarly, Leninism developed in the course of struggle against the revisionism of the Second International. Every fresh proof and new victory of Leninism has unavoidably been accompanied by "one battle after another against political stupidity, vulgarity, opportunism, etc."**

The old-line revisionists of the Second International often used what they called "new data on economic development" to confuse the masses and cut the revolutionary soul out of Marxism and yet they displayed the false colours of "Marxism." History is repeating itself under different circumstances, in different forms. The modern revisionists, displaying the false colours of "Leninism" and talking glibly about being "faithful to Lenin," are actually repeating the same process of using certain "new data" on historical development to confuse people, undermine the revolutionary teachings of Leninism, assail the essentials of Leninism, i.e., Lenin's teachings on imperialism and his theory and tactics on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

"Supra-Imperialism"—That Revisionist Will-o'-the-Wisp. Like the revisionism-opportunism of the Second Interna-

* V.I. Lenin, "Marxism and Revisionism," *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 87.

** V.I. Lenin, "Letter to Inessa Armand," *Against Revisionism*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p. 351.

tional, modern revisionism is trying hard to cover up the contradictions of capitalism and imperialism and to deny that imperialism is moribund, decaying capitalism whose days are numbered. It has gone so far as to describe modern imperialism as "peaceful" and "democratic" "supra-imperialism." The modern revisionists represented by the Tito group of Yugoslavia have gone out of their way to make the imperialist monopoly-capitalist state machine look attractive. They describe the so-called policy of nationalization, state monopoly capitalism and state economic intervention in the imperialist countries and capitalist countries in general in such terms as "the growth of socialist factors," "the realization of planned economy," "the beginning of the process of socialist transformation" and so on. They prate about "gradual change," "the integration of revolution and reform," "entering deeply into the socialist era" and so on. But they never have a single word to say about the need, in the transition from capitalism to socialism, to make a revolution that will smash the bourgeois state machine and to replace bourgeois dictatorship with proletarian dictatorship. It is well known that the fundamental Marxist standpoint which Lenin took pains to expound was precisely one of the revolution smashing the bourgeois state machine and the replacement of bourgeois dictatorship by proletarian dictatorship. For without such a revolution, all talk about socialist transformation will be meaningless, and state monopoly capitalism will remain capitalism and nothing else. Lenin had well said that the existence and growth of monopoly capitalism, including state monopoly capitalism, can only demonstrate the maturing of the material prerequisites for socialism and the impending approach and inevitability of the socialist revolution, but cannot at all serve "as an argument in favour of tolerating the repudiation of such a revolution and the efforts to make capitalism look more attractive, an occupation in which all the reformists are engaged."*

How to Appraise Our Epoch. Herein lies a fundamental difference in the appraisal of our epoch. When Marxist-Leninists say that "the main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism which was begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia" (Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries, November 14 to 16, 1957), they base themselves on the viewpoint of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, and on the fundamental experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution. But the modern revisionists, shunning this viewpoint like the plague, distort the experience of the October Revolution and avoid

* V.I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 270.

referring to the road of the October Revolution as the common road leading to the emancipation of mankind. As a matter of fact, they regard our epoch as one of "capitalism growing into socialism peacefully."

The Class Character of Democracy

Marxism-Leninism has always attached importance to the struggle for democracy. In countries where the bourgeois-democratic revolution has not yet achieved victory, the proletariat must mobilize the masses, make every effort to lead the bourgeois-democratic revolution and fight for its victory. In countries where bourgeois democracy exists, the proletariat should utilize the democratic rights already won to fight for more democratic rights in order to educate, arouse and organize the masses to fight the bourgeois system of exploitation and violence. After the seizure of power, the proletariat should solidify and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and at the same time give effect to widespread democracy under highly centralized guidance. In other words, it must enforce dictatorship over the enemy and practise people's democracy within the ranks of the people in order to ensure the successful building of socialism and communism. Democracy invariably has a class character. Marxist-Leninists have always treated the problem of democracy in its historical context and have never talked about "democracy in the abstract" or "democracy in general."

Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship. Lenin emphasized that under the conditions of capitalism, the proletariat can retain its independence only if it makes its struggle for democracy serve its overall objective of proletarian dictatorship.* He went on to point out that the replacement of bourgeois dictatorship by proletarian dictatorship means an extension of democracy which is of worldwide historic significance; it means a change from bogus democracy to genuine democracy; and it means to deprive the exploiting few of democratic rights and enable the working people, the overwhelming majority, to enjoy democracy. To think that the dictatorship of the proletariat implies the rejection of democracy is a degenerate "liberal and false assertion" which loses sight of the class struggle.**

Like the old-line revisionists, the modern revisionists use every kind of pretext to obliterate the class character of democracy and the difference between bourgeois and proletarian democracy. In championing "democracy in general" or "democracy of the whole people," they are actually making a fetish of bourgeois democracy, i.e., of bourgeois dictatorship. Proceeding from this viewpoint, they do their utmost to confound revolution with reform and to limit and confine all their work to the scope permitted by bourgeois dictatorship.

Sheer Nonsense. Lenin had long ago repudiated this extremely wrong point of view. He said: "It would be sheer

* V.I. Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, N.Y., Vol. V, p. 273.

** V.I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 40, 48-57.

nonsense to think that the most profound revolution in human history—one which for the first time transferred power from the exploiting minority to the exploited majority—could be performed within the old framework of bourgeois, parliamentary democracy, without drastic changes, without the creation of new forms of democracy and new institutions conforming to the new conditions for applying democracy, etc.*** This proposition of Lenin's has proved correct in relation to the October Revolution and also completely correct in relation to the victories subsequently won by a number of countries in the world in their socialist revolution. Yet what the modern revisionists persist in is precisely the absurd theory which Lenin had refuted. **Under the conditions of socialism, the modern revisionists, again on the pretext of "democracy in general," deny the class character of democracy and strive to achieve step by step their objective of eliminating the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to facilitate the restoration of capitalism step by step in a certain form.**

Adulteration of Leninism on Questions of World Peace and Peaceful Coexistence

On the question of the fight for world peace and peaceful coexistence, too, the modern revisionists have vulgarized Leninism in the extreme and have completely adulterated it.

A Major Task. Ever since the first socialist state made its appearance in the world, all Marxist-Leninists, from Lenin onward, have considered it a major task for socialist countries to work for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war. The Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always held that disputes between nations should be settled by peaceful means and not by force. This view of the Chinese Communist Party is not only constantly reiterated in our statements but is firmly expressed in our policies and actions. All the world knows that the People's Republic of China was an initiator of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and has steadfastly put them into practice. All the attempts of the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists to try to obliterate these facts are in vain.

There Can Be No Ignoring Contradictions. Of course, the policy of peace pursued by the socialist countries has not nullified the various contradictions objectively existing in the world, namely, the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist countries, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist countries, the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations, the contradiction between the imperialist powers and the contradiction between the various monopoly groups inside each imperialist country. Marxist-Leninists take the view that, whether in the past, present or future, there can be no ignoring or covering up these contradictions, as such political philistines as the modern revisionists are trying to do, if world peace is to

* V.I. Lenin, "Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship Presented to the First Congress of the Communist International," *Against Revisionism*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p. 494.

be secured and peaceful coexistence between the socialist countries and countries with different social systems is to be achieved.

Two Different Kinds of Question. Marxist-Leninists, including the Chinese Communists, have always held that peaceful coexistence between the socialist countries and countries with different social systems can be attained, and the world war which the imperialists are seeking to kindle can be prevented, provided the socialist countries persist in their policy of peace, provided the people's revolutionary forces in various countries and all the peace-loving countries and people of the world unite in resolute and effective struggle against the imperialist forces of aggression and war, manacle the imperialists in various ways and narrow down their sphere of operation. At the same time, Marxist-Leninists have consistently held that the strivings for peaceful coexistence between the socialist countries and countries with different social systems on the one hand, and the class struggle within the capitalist countries and the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles of the oppressed nations on the other, are not in the same category but are two different kinds of question, and the former cannot substitute or negate the latter. The struggle waged by the oppressed people in the capitalist countries and the struggle of the oppressed nations are helpful to the strivings for world peace and for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. The attempt of the modern revisionists to restrict, weaken and even negate the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people and oppressed nations by hypocritical appeals for "peace" and "peaceful coexistence" fits in entirely with the wishes of the imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries and is most damaging to the struggle for peace and for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

Attacking Leninism Under the Pretext of Opposing Dogmatism

Just as the old-line revisionists attacked Marxism under the pretext of opposing dogmatism, the modern revisionists also use the same pretext to attack Leninism. As far back as the beginning of the 20th century, Lenin wrote that the reformists and revisionists in the working-class movement in various countries "all belong to the same family, all extol each other, learn from each other, and together come out against 'dogmatic' Marxism."* Has not the picture which Lenin drew 60 years ago reappeared today in new historical conditions? The only difference is that the modern revisionists are more unscrupulous in their attacks on Marxism-Leninism. For example, some persons indulging in sheer fabrication say that the "dogmatists" want "to demonstrate the superiority of socialism and communism over capitalism by means of war." What is this if not an extremely absurd slander levelled at Marxist-Leninists and a contemptible attempt to curry favour with imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries?

The Question of Compromises. Moreover, the modern revisionists give voice to pure inventions such as that the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, whom they call "dogma-

tists," "reject" certain necessary compromises. We would like to tell these modern revisionists that no serious-minded Marxist-Leninist rejects all compromises indiscriminately. In the course of our protracted revolutionary struggle, we Chinese Communists had reached compromises on many occasions with our enemies, internal and external. For example, we came to a compromise with the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique. We came to a compromise, too, with the U.S. imperialists, in the struggle to aid Korea and resist U.S. aggression.

For Marxist-Leninists, the question is what kind of a compromise to arrive at, the nature of the compromise, and how to bring about a compromise. Lenin had rightly said that "to reject compromises 'on principle,' to reject the admissibility of compromises in general, no matter of what kind, is childishness, which it is difficult even to take seriously."* **Just as Lenin had also told us, a statesman who desires to be useful to the revolutionary proletariat must know how to distinguish compromises that are permissible and in the interests of the people's cause from those compromises that are impermissible and are an expression of treachery. It is precisely in accordance with Lenin's teachings that we Chinese Communists distinguish between different kinds of compromise, favouring compromises which are in the interests of the people's cause and of world peace, and opposing compromises that are in the nature of treachery. It is perfectly clear that only those guilty now of adventurism, now of capitulationism, are the ones whose ideology is Trotskyism, or Trotskyism in a new guise.**

Mao Tse-tung on Compromise. In April 1946, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote in his article "Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation" that it was possible for the socialist countries to reach agreement with the imperialist countries through peaceful negotiation and make necessary compromise on some issues, including certain important ones. Comrade Mao Tse-tung holds that "such compromise ... can be the outcome only of resolute, effective struggles by all the democratic forces of the world against the reactionary forces of the United States, Britain and France." He then adds, "Such compromise does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions."** This analysis advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is scientific; it is a Marxist and Leninist analysis. The policy of us Chinese Communists in relation to international affairs has all along been formulated according to this proposition of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's.

However, the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the modern revisionists always attempt to do us harm through every kind of slander. We should be aware that there has never been a revolutionary party in history which was not vilified by the enemy and his agents. The great Bolsheviks were subjected to countless enemy calumnies. "They fulminated against the Bol-

* V.I. Lenin, "Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 359.

** Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 87.

sheviks who were consistently described as 'sectarians, dogmatists, Blanquists, anarchists, etc.'* All the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists in the world are now being subjected to attack by the modern revisionists, and it is a matter for regret that Comrade Togliatti should have joined in such attacks.

Why Modern Revisionists Vilify C.P.C.

The modern revisionists have made many charges against the Communist Party of China. Why? Is it not because we resolutely defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism? Is it not because we categorically refuse to bargain over principles and categorically refuse to make concessions as regards theory? Is it not because we stand firm against both modern revisionism and dogmatism, against both Right and "Left" opportunism, against both capitulationism and adventurism, against both unprincipled accommodation and sectarianism which alienates one from the masses, and against both great-nation chauvinism and the various kinds of reactionary nationalism?

The Paper Tiger. Some people go to great lengths to attack, at every available opportunity and with shameless misrepresentation, the thesis of the Chinese Communist Party that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." This thesis is derived from Lenin's scientific proposition that imperialism is moribund and decaying capitalism, from China's revolutionary experience over a long period and from all other revolutionary experiences in history. This thesis is in full accord with Lenin's description of imperialism as a "colossus with feet of clay," as a "bugbear," as an "enemy who appears so strong" and as "capitalist beasts . . . absolutely incapable of doing us any harm."

These people constantly boast about acting in accord with Lenin's principles. But in fact they invariably depart from them and from the essence of Leninism, that is, from Lenin's teachings on imperialism, proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. On the question of how to appraise the nature of imperialism do they not clearly reveal their true features: they are far removed from Leninism? **In the final analysis, those who wildly attack the thesis that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers" are merely chiming in with imperialism, assiduously spreading the idea among peoples who want revolution that the imperialist forces of aggression must not be resisted, that the imperialist system cannot be overthrown, and that revolution of any kind is undesirable and hopeless.**

Nuclear Blackmail. For many years U.S. imperialism and its partners have been using nuclear blackmail against the people of the world — "whoever defies our domination will be destroyed." And all the demagogic propaganda the modern revisionists represented by the Tito group have been conducting among the masses on the subject of nuclear weapons is entirely in tune with U.S. imperialism's nuclear blackmail. All genuine Marxist-Leninists, including the Chinese Communists, consistently and resolutely oppose the imperialist policy of nuclear

war and stand firmly for the banning and scrapping of nuclear weapons. The Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly proposed that a zone free of atomic weapons be established in the Asian and Pacific region embracing all the countries there, including the United States. All genuine Marxist-Leninists, including the Chinese Communists, always maintain that the people of all countries must grasp their destiny in their own hands and not be cowed by the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail. At the same time, they maintain that the socialist countries should rely on the just strength of the people and their own just policies and should not engage in nuclear gambles at all in the international arena.

The modern revisionists are obviously well aware of these correct views of the Marxist-Leninists. However, they deliberately spread lies to deceive the masses, alleging that the "dogmatists" hope to "push mankind to the brink of nuclear war." The modern revisionists often talk about "morality." But what has become of their "morality" when they tell such lies? Have they not thrown overboard even the ordinary morality of human conduct?

The Logic of Slaves

In spreading a series of deliberate lies to distort and attack the theses and the standpoint of the genuine Marxist-Leninists, the purpose of the modern revisionists is to prevent the oppressed people and oppressed nations from rising in revolution and fighting for their emancipation. In the eyes of the modern revisionists, any revolution and any action that supports revolution runs counter to the "logic of survival," now that nuclear weapons and similar military techniques exist. In fact, what they call the "logic of survival" is the logic of slaves, a logic that would paralyse the revolutionary will of the people of all countries, bind them hand and foot and make them the submissive slaves of imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries. The Marxist-Leninists are firmly against this slave logic and maintain that the people should emancipate themselves and build a happy, new life as their own masters. This is a law of social development which no one can resist.

Muddling Along. The modern revisionists believe that, under the present historical conditions, it would be good enough just to muddle along. So what point is there in differentiating classes, differentiating the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, imperialism from the oppressed nations, capitalism from socialism, just wars from unjust wars, and revolution from counter-revolution? To them, all these differentiations have lost their significance for the present "epoch" and are "dogmatic." **In short, they have actually thrown to the winds all the teachings of Marxism, all the teachings of Leninism. At the same time, they insist that whoever does not agree with their viewpoints and practices and does not speak and act in response to their baton is "violating" Marxism-Leninism, "denying" the creativeness of Marxism-Leninism, "attacking" the policy of peaceful coexistence, and is a "pseudo-revolutionary," a "'Left' adventurist," a "dogmatist," a "sectarian," a "nationalist" and so on and so forth.**

In the Same Boat With Imperialism

Lenin denounced the revisionist-opportunists of the Second International, saying that "this extra-class or

* V.I. Lenin, "Tactics of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party During the Election Campaign," *Collected Works*, Russian 4th ed., State Publishing House of Political Literature, U.S.S.R., Vol. 12, p. 123.

supra-class presentation, which supposedly embraces the entire people, is an outright travesty of the very foundation of socialism, namely, its theory of class struggle."* This is still more flagrantly expressed in the preachings and policies of the modern revisionists. They deny that the masses of the people are the motive force of historical development and the creators of history. They hold that changes in the international situation and the course of history are dictated by the "heads" of a few great powers, dictated by their good sense or lack of it, and not determined by the combined strength and united struggle of the peoples throughout the world. Some persons have even set their hearts on being in the same boat with the heads of the imperialist countries and regard this as "the greatest honour," but do not want to be in the same boat with the masses of the world. Is it not queer that such persons should have appeared in the ranks of Marxist-Leninists?

Lenin said: "Lack of faith in the masses, fear of their initiative, fear of their independence, trepidation before their revolutionary energy instead of thorough and unstinted support of it — this is where the S.-R.'s and Menshevik leaders have sinned most."** And this is precisely the sin of the modern revisionists.

Lenin said: "To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chops and changes of petty politics, to forget the basic interests of the proletariat, the main features of the capitalist system as a whole and of capitalist evolution as a whole; to sacrifice these basic interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment — such is the policy of revisionism."† While behaving in such a manner, the revisionists always boast of their "wisdom" and "creativity" and of their views as the "latest theories." In fact, what the modern revisionists call the "latest theories" are simply variants in modern conditions of the fallacies of Bernstein, Kautsky and other old-line revisionists, simply refurbished versions of the stock arguments which bourgeois reaction uses to fool the people.

Lulling the People. Revisionism is opium to anaesthetize the people; it is a beguiling music for the consolation of slaves. As a political grouping, revisionism constitutes a detachment of the bourgeoisie within the working-class movement, an important social prop for the bourgeoisie and for imperialism. As a trend of thought, revisionism will never fail to appear in varying guises at different times so long as capitalism and imperialism exist in the world. In January 1917, when the Second International had become bankrupt in practice as well as in theory, Lenin made the prediction: "During these decades . . . new Plekhanovs, new Scheidemanns, new sentimental conciliators like Kautsky will grow up from the depths

of the 'united' international Social-Democracy."* History has confirmed Lenin's foresight. In fact, shortly after Lenin's death a serious struggle between Marxist-Leninists and anti-Marxist-Leninists arose in the international communist movement. That was the struggle between the Leninists headed by Stalin on the one hand and Trotsky, Bukharin and other "Left" adventurists and Right opportunists on the other. In conjunction with that struggle was the protracted struggle which the Marxist-Leninists led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the Chinese Communist Party waged against the "Left" adventurists and the Right opportunists. Now another serious struggle lies before us, the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against the anti-Marxist-Leninists, i.e., the modern revisionists.

The Moscow Declaration of 1957 points out that "the main danger at present is revisionism," and that "the existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source." In the capitalist and imperialist countries, the general cause for the emergence of revisionism, which was analysed by Lenin, continues to exist today. **Lenin said that "the comparatively peaceful and cultured existence of a stratum of privileged workers made them 'bourgeois,' gave them crumbs from the profits of their own national capital, and isolated them from the sufferings, miseries and revolutionary sentiments of the ruined and impoverished masses."**** This state of affairs is still in evidence today and is indeed more striking than ever.

The tactics used by the imperialists and the reactionaries in dealing with the masses of the people are dictated by their needs: sometimes they resort to outright violence, at other times they adopt certain measures of reform; sometimes they make use of crude threats, at other times they make seeming, petty concessions. These two kinds of methods are used either alternately or together in some intricate combination. Generally speaking, the more powerful the proletariat, the more cunning is the policy usually adopted by the bourgeoisie in order to instil illusions in the working-class movement and evoke an opportunist response. Lenin said: "The zigzags of bourgeois tactics intensify revisionism within the labour movement and not infrequently exacerbate the differences within the labour movement to the pitch of a direct split."† His words should always serve as a warning to the international working-class movement.

Turning a Bad Thing to Good Account

Today the dark clouds of revisionism hang over the international working-class movement. The modern revisionists are openly engaged in splitting activities. The emergence of modern revisionism is, of course, a bad thing. But as its emergence was inevitable and as its existence is an objective reality, its public appearance enables people

* V.I. Lenin, "Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship Presented to the First Congress of the Communist International," *Against Revisionism*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p. 487.

** V.I. Lenin, "One of the Fundamental Questions of the Revolution," *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1932, Vol. 21, Book I, pp. 167-68.

† V.I. Lenin, "Marxism and Revisionism," *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 94.

* V.I. Lenin, "A Turn in World Politics," *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1942, Vol. 19, p. 428.

** V.I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. V, p. 204.

† V.I. Lenin, "Differences in the European Labour Movement," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. 11, p. 742.

to see, discern and understand the harm it does. Thus the bad thing will be turned to good account. The modern revisionists appear to be jubilant because of the support they are receiving from imperialism. But truth will eventually prevail over falsehood and Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism. The modern revisionists may bluster for a time with their absurd arguments that Marxism-Leninism is "out of date." However, it is not modern revisionism, but Marxism-Leninism — which is in accord with the historical development of human society — that will achieve final victory and grow. This has been proved by history.

The situation in which the international working-class movement finds itself today is much better than in the past. Now, there stands the mighty socialist camp with a total population of 1,000 million. There exists the powerful worldwide army of Marxist-Leninists, and the people throughout the world are awakened as never before. There is the surging movement of national and democratic revolution. For imperialism, things are going from bad to worse. As for socialist revolution, to the rich experience gained in Europe and Asia has been added the highly important and brilliant experience in Latin America. These experiences have enriched the treasury of Marxism-Leninism, and are ideologically arming the revolutionary people of all countries. These experiences are diametrically opposed to modern revisionism. They are objective and historical reality, and vain are all the attempts on the part of the modern revisionists to tamper with and twist these experiences.

The international ideological struggle between revolutionary Marxism and revisionism towards the end of the 19th century was the prelude to the great revolutionary battles waged by the proletariat. Today's international

ideological struggle against modern revisionism, waged under the great banner of Leninism, will all the more prove a symbol and a signal for the growth of great proletarian revolutionary movements and all people's revolutionary movements, on a broader scale. Guided by Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary movements of the people of various countries form an irresistible torrent. In 1913, Lenin concluded his article "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx" with the sentence, "... a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the period of history that is now coming."* Similarly, today in the great new epoch of revolution of ours — a great new epoch when the socialist countries have won one triumph after another in construction, when the liberation movements are rising in tempestuous waves in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and when there has emerged a new spirit of awakening within the working class and among the oppressed people in Europe and America — it can be predicted that a still greater triumph awaits Leninism.

Guided by the great Leninist ideology, let us raise aloft the banner of the unity of the international communist movement, the banner of the unity of all the countries in the socialist camp, the banner of the great friendship and unity between China and the Soviet Union, the banner of the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries, the banner of the unity of the people of all countries, and the revolutionary banner of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, in the common fight against imperialism and the reactionaries, in defence of world peace and for the progressive and righteous cause of the liberation of mankind!

* V.I. Lenin, *Against Revisionism*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p. 143.

Revolutionary Dialectics and How to Appraise Imperialism

by SHAO TIEH-CHEN

The following is a translation of an article published in "Hongqi," No. 1, January 5, 1963. Subheads and emphases are ours. — Ed.

MARXISM-LENINISM makes a scientific analysis of the development of the class struggle and, on the basis of this analysis, guides the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and of all the people striving for emancipation. When the proletariat and other revolutionary people are in an oppressed position, their strength is always far inferior to that of the landlords and the bourgeoisie who have long been in the position of oppressors and rulers. However, as they represent the direction in which history advances, their strength is capable of growing with each passing day. Provided they persist in

struggle, using the correct methods, and provided they dare to seize victory at the decisive juncture, they will finally be able to defeat the reactionary and decadent ruling forces. Which, after all, are the really powerful forces: the newly rising forces of the people or the decadent forces of reaction? Marxist-Leninists answer without the slightest hesitation: the newly rising forces of the people, not the decadent forces of reaction. This is a profoundly scientific answer, an answer which is full of revolutionary significance.

Making a Correct Estimate of the Balance of Forces

Hence, in the struggle against the class enemy, the proletariat and other revolutionary people must, first of all, make a correct estimate of the overall balance of class

forces, must show dauntless revolutionary spirit and revolutionary aspirations, and must have a firm faith that the revolutionary forces, which are outwardly weak, are certain to defeat the counter-revolutionary forces, which are outwardly strong. Just as Lenin said: "All classes and all countries are not regarded statically, but dynamically, i.e., not in a state of immobility, but in motion (the laws of which are determined by the economic conditions of existence of each class). Motion, in its turn, is regarded not only from the standpoint of the past, but also from the standpoint of the future, and, at the same time, not in accordance with the vulgar conception of the 'evolutionists,' who see only slow changes, but dialectically."*

Obviously, it is only when the balance of class forces is examined from the revolutionary dialectic point of view, in the way Lenin described, that the proletariat and other revolutionary people can correctly determine their strategic plans and, step by step, advance boldly to final victory in their struggle against the temporarily powerful enemy.

This was precisely the way the great revolutionary teachers, Marx, Engels and Lenin, treated the class enemy in their own revolutionary activity. More than a hundred years ago, when the bourgeoisie held sway over the entire world, Marx, Engels and a few others were the only Communists. They had neither political power nor armed forces, yet they dared to challenge the old world and to pass the death sentence upon the capitalist system in highly inspiring words. "Its fall [the fall of the bourgeoisie] and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable," they said. "Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."** In 1848, because of the feeble strength of the proletariat, the fruits of the "March Revolution" in Germany were seized by the bourgeoisie which thought itself all-powerful. At that time Marx said contemptuously: "It left no monsters, no revolutionary colossi, on the Berlin surface of the earth but creatures of the old style, squat bourgeois figures."† He said that they were like "an execrable old man, who saw himself doomed to guide and deflect the first youthful impulses of a robust people in his own senile interests — sans eyes, sans ears, sans teeth, sans everything — such was the Prussian bourgeoisie that found itself at the helm of the Prussian state after the March Revolution."††

When Lenin was arrested after he began taking part in revolutionary activity, a police officer asked him, "Why must you make trouble, young fellow? You're up against a brick wall!" Lenin replied unruffled, "A brick wall, but it's rotten; touch it and it will crumble."††† Early in the 20th century, after capitalism had developed into its

imperialist stage, Lenin made a scientific analysis of the essence of imperialism on the basis of a wealth of data. Going straight to the heart of the matter, he declared that imperialism was moribund, decaying capitalism. After the victory of the Russian October Revolution, Britain, France, Japan, the United States and other imperialist powers formed a reactionary alliance and launched armed attacks against the new Soviet power. At the same time they lent energetic support to the counter-revolutionary revolts of the White-guard bandits Kolchak and Denikin in an attempt to strangle the Soviet power in the cradle. Lenin said firmly: "... all these seemingly huge and invincible forces of international imperialism are unreliable, and hold no terrors for us, that at the core they are rotten, that they are making us stronger and stronger, and that this added strength will enable us to win victory on the outer front and to make it a thoroughgoing one."* On the second anniversary of the October Revolution Lenin said in retrospect: "It seemed at that time that world imperialism was such a tremendous and invincible force that it was stupid of the workers of a backward country to attempt an uprising against it. Now, however, as we glance back over the past two years, we see that even our opponents are increasingly admitting that we were right. We see that imperialism, which seemed such an insuperable colossus, has proved before the whole world to be a colossus with feet of clay."** Lenin has also said that international capitalism was "a decrepit, dying, hopelessly sick old man."

All this shows the combination of a great scientific insight and a high revolutionary spirit in the persons of Marx, Engels and Lenin. They were able to penetrate all the surface phenomena to the weak essence of the seemingly strong reactionary forces, and they therefore dared to lead the proletariat in struggle against the temporarily much stronger enemy. It was for the same reason that Lenin dared to launch against imperialism the onslaught of the Great October Revolution, at a time when the philistines thought it utterly impossible.

History has confirmed the Marxist-Leninist prediction about the fate of all reactionaries: their might is unreliable and is not to be feared, and in the end they will meet their inevitable doom in the face of the struggle of the revolutionary people. The Russian tsar appeared to be very strong but he was swept away by the storm of the February Revolution. Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese imperialists in their day annexed nearly half of the world and were high and mighty, yet they had to surrender to the people of the world when pounded by the iron fists of the people of the Soviet Union and other countries.

Meaning of the Paper Tiger Thesis

Basing himself on the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle, and especially on Lenin's theory of imperialism, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has summed up a wealth of rich, historical experience, stating that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, that they are powerful only in appearance, that in reality they are

* "Two Years of Soviet Rule," *Lenin on War and Peace*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, p. 23.

** *ibid.*, p. 22.

* V.I. Lenin, "Karl Marx," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. 21, p. 37.

** K. Marx and F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," *Selected Works*, Moscow, Vol. I, pp. 43, 61.

† "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution," *ibid.*, p. 62.

†† *ibid.*, p. 65.

††† *Lenin, a Biography*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, p. 9.

inwardly weak though outwardly strong, weak inside though fierce in countenance, and therefore are not terrifying at all. This is completely in accord with the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin in their appraisal of the class enemy.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers was put forward 16 years ago. At that time, with the end of World War II, the international situation underwent a fundamental change and a realignment of class forces took place on an international scale. The fascist bandits of Germany, Italy and Japan were defeated, the imperialists of Britain, France and some other countries were weakened, the socialist camp began to take shape and the forces of peace and democracy and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the world were growing. However, U.S. imperialism had taken the place of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists and become the centre and bulwark of world reaction. Relying on its economic power gained through the huge profits it derived from the war, and relying on its monopoly of "the might of the atomic bomb," U.S. imperialism rallied the reactionary forces of all countries, pulled together the remnant forces of fascism and formed an imperialist and anti-democratic camp to oppose the socialist and all other democratic forces, in a vain attempt to dominate and enslave the whole world. At that time, a seemingly powerful adverse current emerged both internationally and in China, which was directed against the Soviet Union, against communism and against the people. In China, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, relying on the immense military and financial support given them by U.S. imperialism, launched a war against the people with the aim of wiping out the Chinese people's revolutionary forces. At the same time, they made every effort to spread among the people the myth of the invincibility of U.S. imperialism.

In those conditions of tense and acute class struggle how was one to appraise the balance of class forces? Could the revolutionary forces defeat the counter-revolutionary forces? These were questions about which not only the people of China but the people of the whole world were closely concerned. Taking a revolutionary proletarian stand and applying the Marxist-Leninist scientific method, Comrade Mao Tse-tung analysed the international and domestic situation following the end of World War II. He pointed out that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within each imperialist country, the contradiction between the imperialist powers, and the contradiction between imperialism and the people of the colonial and semi-colonial countries not only continued to exist but were becoming more acute and widespread. These contradictions were most strikingly exhibited by U.S. imperialism. Its economic power, which had multiplied during the world war, was faced after the war with an unstable and ever shrinking foreign and domestic market. The shrinking of the market would inevitably lead to a new economic crisis. After the war, U.S. imperialism became more and more reactionary and rotten politically. It began to institute a fascist rule at home and gradually discarded even the shadow of democracy and freedom, arousing more and more opposition from the American people. The fact that U.S. imperialism had rallied the reactionary forces of various countries around itself as its tools for

ruling and oppressing the peoples of these countries was provoking firm opposition among the people of the whole world. The irreconcilable contradictions facing U.S. imperialism at home and abroad were like volcanoes which threatened it every minute and could erupt into revolutions at any moment. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that the imperialist enemy "has a weak and fragile foundation, he is disintegrating internally, he is alienated from the people, he is confronted with inextricable economic crises; therefore, he can be defeated."*

In the light of the above analysis Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful." He went on to elaborate, "Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, the U.S. reactionaries, are all paper tigers too. Speaking of U.S. imperialism, people seem to feel that it is terrifically strong. Chinese reactionaries are using the 'strength' of the United States to frighten the Chinese people. But it will be proved that the U.S. reactionaries, like all the reactionaries in history, do not have much strength."** By comparing imperialism and all reactionaries to paper tigers, Comrade Mao Tse-tung provided a fundamental strategic concept for the revolutionary people, armed them ideologically, and strengthened their confidence in victory over the counter-revolutionary forces. This concept played a very great role in the Chinese People's Liberation War.

International Events Confirm the Correctness of The Paper Tiger Thesis

In the past ten years and more, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers has stood the test of many events in the world arena and been proved correct. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution was one powerful confirmation. Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward his thesis just when the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique had forced a civil war on the Chinese people. At that time, the balance of forces was tilted in favour of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique. Its military strength amounted to more than 4 million troops, it controlled an area containing more than two-thirds of China's population, it had taken over all the equipment of the one million invading Japanese troops in China and received tremendous aid from U.S. imperialism. The People's Liberation Army, far inferior to the Chiang Kai-shek troops both in numbers and in equipment, had only 1,200,000 men. The liberated areas were much smaller than the areas under the Kuomintang. Yet, through bitter struggles, the Chinese people finally defeated the powerful enemy and put an end to the 22-year-old reactionary rule of the "Chiang Kai-shek dynasty."

The Vietnamese people waged a protracted and arduous struggle in extremely difficult conditions during the eight years from 1946 to 1954. They finally defeated

* Mao Tse-tung, "Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!", *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 285.

** "Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," *ibid.*, pp. 100, 101.

the U.S.-backed French colonialists, bringing to an end the more than 80 years of colonial rule of French imperialism in the northern part of their country. The Iraqi people, in their national-democratic revolution, overthrew the imperialist-supported Faisal monarchy in 1958, thus knocking an important link out of the Baghdad Treaty Organization. The Algerian people started their fight against the French colonialists with a guerrilla force of only 3,000 men. Yet the French colonialists failed to stem the revolutionary torrent of the Algerian people, even though they threw in 800,000 troops. After seven years of armed struggle, the Algerian people ultimately compelled France to recognize Algeria's independence, and thus brought to an end 130 years of colonial rule. All these facts provide ample proof that imperialism and reaction are weak, and that the revolutionary forces of the people are strong enough to defeat them.

Cuba, situated right next to the United States, is an island country with a population of 7 million people and an area of 114,000 square kilometres. Beginning with only 12 men and 7 rifles, the revolutionary struggle under Fidel Castro's leadership overthrew the fascist dictatorship of U.S. imperialism's running-dog Batista in a little more than two years of heroic fighting, thus smashing a link in the U.S. imperialist chain binding Latin America, in the Western hemisphere over which U.S. imperialism has been accustomed to ride roughshod. U.S. imperialism bitterly hates the victorious Cuban people's revolution and seeks by every means to subvert the Cuban revolutionary regime. Yet at the same time it fears Cuba with its 7 million people, because justice and the sympathies of the people all over the world are on Cuba's side. U.S. imperialism is afraid lest the Cuban revolution should influence all Latin America. Two months ago, U.S. imperialism stirred up tension in the Caribbean in an attempt to strangle the Cuban revolution. But with support from the people all over the world the heroic Cuban people waged a resolute struggle, hit back hard at the war provocations of U.S. imperialism and thus defended their sovereignty and their revolution.

The thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers has been readily accepted by the revolutionary masses because it fully accords with objective reality. This has severely shaken imperialism and all the reactionaries. The imperialists are in constant fear that the people of the world will recognize them for the paper tigers that they are and will thus hold them in contempt. They therefore seize on every occasion to argue on their own behalf, declaring themselves to be powerful, genuine tigers, and not paper ones. Yet facts are most stubborn things. The self-aggrandizement of the imperialists only proves that the paper tiger thesis has hit them where it hurts most and has exposed to view their true nature.

Looking at the Essence of Things

Some people use a metaphysical approach to interpret the thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. These people say, if imperialism and the reactionaries are paper tigers, how is it that they are able to go around committing aggression and unleashing wars? Or they say, if they are paper tigers, wouldn't it require scarcely any effort to wipe them out? These people, it is clear, know nothing whatsoever of Marxist dialectics.

Marxism teaches us over and over again not to be misled by superficial phenomena but to look at the essence of a problem and discover the essential relationships amid a host of phenomena. Lenin has said: "Dialectics in the proper sense is the study of contradiction in the very essence of objects."* In regarding imperialism and the reactionaries as paper tigers, Comrade Mao Tse-tung refers to their essential nature. On the one hand, imperialism and the reactionaries are "tigers," for they can frighten people, can devour people. On the other hand, they are made of "paper," and their strength is not so great. This is the dual nature of imperialism and all reactionaries. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, "Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature—they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time."**

One reason why Marxist revolutionary dialectics constitutes a sharp ideological weapon is that it discerns the signs of inevitable extinction in existing things. Imperialism and all reactionaries are invariably out to "devour the people," are ruthless towards the people, and will go on being so until their doom. But Marxism accurately points out that imperialism, though rampant at the moment, is in essence a mere paper tiger, and thus it inspires all the oppressed people with revolutionary ardour and militancy. No politically conscious worker and no rank-and-file fighter in this revolutionary struggle finds such revolutionary dialectics at all hard to understand. They would never say that since imperialism and the reactionaries are paper tigers they would not then oppress the people at home or commit aggression abroad or that one could then simply poke a hole in them with a finger. On the contrary, because the revolutionary people see through the nature of imperialism they are fighting with full confidence and greater heroism and resolution and using the strength of the masses to push imperialism and reaction into the grave.

Those who do not acknowledge that imperialism is a paper tiger are scared out of their wits by its seeming strength and hold it in awe; they think that to hold powerful imperialism in contempt would be to fly in the face of reality. But it must be pointed out that the reality they see is only reality as it appears to opportunist philistines. Lenin said of such opportunists that they "know only pedestrian realism; the revolutionary dialectics of Marxist realism, which emphasizes the urgent tasks of the advanced class, and discovers in the existing state of things those elements that will lead to its overthrow, are absolutely alien to them."†

Lack of Faith in People—Fundamental Characteristic of Opportunism

It is a fundamental characteristic of the opportunists that they have no faith in the strength of the people and

* V.I. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's Book, Lectures on the History of Philosophy," *Collected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, Vol. 38, pp. 253-54.

** Mao Tse-tung, "Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," *Selected Works*, Peking, Vol. IV, p. 98.

† V.I. Lenin, "Revolution Teaches," *Collected Works*, Moscow, Vol. IX, p. 149.

do not believe that those forces of the people which are temporarily in an inferior position will grow strong and be able to defeat imperialism and all the reactionaries; hence, they cannot accept the thesis that imperialism is a paper tiger. Contrary to all the opportunists, Marxist-Leninists hold that the strength of the people is the most powerful force of all and is the decisive force pushing social development forward. Every revolutionary struggle is bound to generate inexhaustible strength, provided it is rooted in the masses, fully sets the masses in motion and really becomes the business of the masses themselves. This strength has no match in the world and is capable of smashing any reactionary force, however formidable. It was from this standpoint, belief in the strength of the people, that Lenin viewed imperialism as a "colossus with feet of clay." He said, "He wins in war who has the greater reserves, the greater sources of strength, the greater endurance in the mass of the people. We have more of all of this than the Whites have, and more than 'universally-mighty' Anglo-French imperialism, that colossus with feet of clay. We have more of this because we can draw on and can go on drawing for a long time more and more deeply from among the workers and labouring peasants, from among those classes which were oppressed by capitalism and which everywhere comprise the overwhelming majority of the population."* Lenin regarded the people as the richest "reservoir" of strength and pointed out "our enemies, whether the Russian bourgeoisie or the world bourgeoisie, have nothing even remotely like this reservoir; the ground beneath their feet is quaking more and more."** Similarly, the concept of imperialism as a paper tiger proceeds from confidence in the strength of the people. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, "I say that all the reputedly powerful reactionaries are merely paper tigers. The reason is that they are divorced from the people."†

Imperialism always tries to intimidate the people with the weapons at its disposal, but whatever the weapons may be, they cannot alter imperialism's fatal weakness of being divorced from the people. The factor that decides the destiny of humanity has never been any weapon; it is always the masses of the people. Not the nuclear weapon, but the strength of the people, is the greatest power in the world. Imperialism's use of nuclear weapons to intimidate people, and for nuclear blackmail, is also like a paper tiger in the eyes of the revolutionary people, and can never intimidate the masses.

While attacking other Marxist-Leninist teachings, the Yugoslav modern revisionists began long ago to denounce the thesis that imperialism is a paper tiger. They distorted its meaning, calling it "a prediction of pure invention." That the renegade Tito clique should deny that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers is not at all surprising. They have turned very far away from the people and, together with imperialism, are blocking the people's revolutionary movement. Cringing be-

* V.I. Lenin, *The Results of Party Week in Moscow and Our Tasks*.

** *ibid.*

† *Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1958, p. 26.

fore the might of imperialism and disseminating fear of imperialism among the masses of the people, they attempt to make the masses follow their example of knuckling under to imperialism. In no circumstances, therefore, do they dare or want to admit that imperialism is a paper tiger.

Proceeding from the appraisal of the essence of imperialism and all reactionaries and basing himself on the experience gained over many years in China's revolutionary struggles, Comrade Mao Tse-tung formulated the strategy and tactics of the revolution and developed the Marxist-Leninist thinking on strategy and tactics. He has said, "In order to struggle against the enemy, we have formed the concept over a long period that strategically we should despise all enemies, but tactically take them seriously. This also means that we should despise the enemy in general but take him seriously on each and every concrete question."*

Despising the Enemy Strategically

To despise the enemy strategically means to perceive that the class enemy, viewed in its essence and in the long run, is bound to perish in the end, no matter how powerful he may be for a time; and that the revolutionary forces will eventually win, no matter how weak they may be for a time. In the last analysis, it is the masses of the people who are really powerful, and not imperialism and the reactionaries. That is why we should dare to struggle against the enemy, dare to overthrow the rule of imperialism and the reactionaries and dare to seize victory. When the War of Resistance Against Japan was drawing to its close, Comrade Mao Tse-tung taught us that we must act in the spirit in which Yu Kung in the legend removed the mountains, to overthrow imperialism and feudalism, the two big mountains pressing like a dead weight on the backs of the Chinese people. According to the book of *Lieh Tse*, there were two very high, massive mountains, Taihang and Wangwu, but Yu Kung believed that he and his posterity could dig away these two mountains and level them. Yu Kung knew how to despise the "enemy" strategically. When the Third Revolutionary Civil War began, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the "millet plus rifles" of the people would prove more powerful than the aeroplanes plus tanks of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique. He later added that "Chiang Kai-shek's superiority in military forces was only transient, a factor which could play only a temporary role, that U.S. imperialist aid was likewise a factor which could play only a temporary role, while the anti-popular character of Chiang Kai-shek's war and the feelings of the people were factors that would play a constant role, and that in this respect the People's Liberation Army was in a superior position. Patriotic, just and revolutionary in character, the war waged by the People's Liberation Army was bound to win the support of the people of the whole country. That was the political foundation for victory over Chiang Kai-shek."** This contempt for the enemy strategically is an expression of the

* *Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers*, Peking, p. 27.

** Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," *Selected Works*, Peking, Vol. IV, p. 160.

thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. For Marxist-Leninists, what is most important is, first and foremost, to have the revolutionary courage, revolutionary aspiration and revolutionary spirit to defeat imperialism and the reactionaries, and to combine this revolutionary zeal with a scientific approach.

Taking Full Account of the Enemy Tactically

To take full account of the enemy tactically means that with regard to any given part of the whole, and in each specific struggle, it is necessary to take the enemy seriously, to be prudent, to pay careful attention to the art of struggle and to adopt forms of struggle suited to different times, places and conditions in order to isolate and wipe out the enemy step by step. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has used homely analogies to illustrate the idea of taking full account of the enemy tactically. He has said, "In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy can only be annihilated bit by bit. Factories can only be built one by one. The peasants can only plough the land plot by plot."* When we were waging the struggle against the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the one hand took them as paper tigers, pointing out that the reactionaries would eventually be defeated and the people would eventually triumph. On the other hand, in each specific struggle against the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, he was always most serious and circumspect, went painstakingly into the art of struggle and opposed any inclination to take the enemy lightly and any adventurism. In each specific struggle, he always saw to it that our army was fully prepared, and fought no battle unprepared, fought no battle it was not sure of winning. In every battle, our army concentrated an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), in order to wipe out the enemy completely and gain victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also pointed out that, when we wage a struggle against the enemy, it is necessary not only to gauge the possibilities in our favour, but also to take into account the different kinds of difficulties we might encounter, and that it is necessary to be fully prepared for the maximum difficulties that might emerge. Only in this way can we stand invincible.

The struggle of the revolutionary people against imperialism and the reactionaries is an arduous and complex one, and victory is impossible without paying a considerable price. The road of revolution is not without its twists and turns and is sometimes beset with difficulties and setbacks when certain detours and temporary retreats are necessary. When an unfavourable situation arises, it is all the more necessary that the revolutionary people firmly adhere to the general strategy for defeating the enemy if they are to carry the struggle forward and transform the situation into a favourable one. Lack of courage to scorn the enemy strategically would not only result in loss of revolutionary determination in unfavourable circumstances; but even given an excellent revolutionary situation, such loss of revolutionary determination would deprive one of the courage to use the opportunity to seize victory and would thus damage the revolutionary cause. At the same time, precisely because the road of revolution is tortuous, it is necessary to take full account of the

enemy tactically; heedless and reckless action in any specific struggle will also damage the revolution.

Dialectical Integration of Strategic And Tactical Concepts

The two aspects—despising the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically—must be integrated dialectically. This is an important Marxist-Leninist principle. All who genuinely want revolution, and want to win victory, must take this attitude in dealing with the enemy; there is and can be no other attitude to take. Departure from this Marxist-Leninist principle in the revolutionary struggle will lead to opportunist errors of one kind or another. **Anyone who takes full account of the enemy tactically, but does not dare to despise him strategically, will inevitably commit Right opportunist errors. Anyone who despises the enemy both tactically and strategically will inevitably commit "Left" adventurist errors. Anyone who dares not despise the enemy strategically and moreover does not take full account of him tactically, will commit both Right opportunist errors in strategy and "Left" adventurist errors in tactics.** These conclusions are derived from the abundant experience both of success and failure, accumulated by the Chinese people during their protracted revolutionary struggles. **Only by despising the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically, and by integrating the two closely, is it possible to hold the initiative and to strike with telling effect at the enemy until his defeat is complete.**

To despise the enemy strategically is an essential precondition for taking full account of him tactically. Tactics are guided by strategy. Though tactics must vary with the circumstances in specific struggles, the ultimate aim is always to defeat the enemy. If anyone does not dare to despise the enemy strategically, refusing to look upon imperialism and the reactionaries as paper tigers, either he will give up the revolutionary struggle, make one-sided compromise or accommodation with the enemy, and even surrender shamelessly, or he will take reckless, imprudent and adventurist steps in specific struggles. Naturally, in neither case can he be said to take full account of the enemy tactically. Therefore, it is only by really despising the enemy strategically that one can really take full account of him tactically.

The fundamental contradiction in the present-day world between imperialism and its lackeys on the one hand and the people of all countries on the other has not been resolved. The anti-imperialist struggle of the people in all countries is steadily surging forward. For the present, the main danger in this struggle against imperialism and the reactionaries is over-estimation of the enemy's strength and under-estimation of the people's strength. To lack the courage to see imperialism and reactionaries as paper tigers, that is, not daring to despise the enemy strategically, to expose the essence of imperialism and the reactionaries before the people of the world, or to wage a resolute and thoroughgoing struggle against them, is a manifestation of Right opportunism. The task of all Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries is to rid the masses of the people of the influence of this Right opportunism, to help them see the essence of imperialism and the reactionaries clearly and to enhance their revolutionary confidence and determination.

* *Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers*, Peking, p. 27.

Cordial Visits, Fruitful Talks

by MAO SUN

THE visit of Mrs. Bandaranaike and Dr. Subandrio to China over the turn of the year has yielded fruitful results. The Chinese Government and people gave the Ceylonese Prime Minister and the Indonesian Deputy Chief Minister a very warm welcome. The distinguished guests from Ceylon and Indonesia were received by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi. They had a full and frank exchange of views on the Sino-Indian boundary question with Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi, with whom they also discussed the international situation in general and the development of co-operation between China and Ceylon, and between China and Indonesia, respectively. The results of these friendly talks were summed up in the Sino-Ceylonese and Sino-Indonesian joint communiques issued on January 8.

The Sino-Indian Boundary Issue

Mrs. Bandaranaike, as is well known, came to China with the mandate of the Six-Nation Conference in Colombo to bring about direct negotiations between China and India on the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. She was joined and assisted in this task by Dr. Subandrio. As the two joint communiques indicated, the distinguished envoys found in Peking that their mission had the full appreciation and understanding of the Chinese Government.

"The Chinese Premier," stated the Sino-Ceylonese joint communique, "expressed the gratitude of the Government of the People's Republic of China to Ceylon's Prime Minister for her initiative in convening the conference and thereby helping to promote a peaceful settlement. He also expressed the Chinese Government's appreciation of the joint efforts of the six Asian-African countries, which were indicative of the sincere desire of these countries to be of assistance to both parties and which were in the interests of Asian-African solidarity and in accordance with the spirit of Bandung. The Chinese Government gave a positive response to the proposals of the Colombo conference."

The two communiques declared it was unanimously agreed (by China and Ceylon and China and Indonesia) that "in the interests of Asian-African solidarity it was imperative that a solution to the Sino-Indian boundary question be found without delay in keeping with the spirit of the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. They agreed also that the application of these principles and the observance of the spirit of Bandung not only insofar as this problem was concerned but also in the case of all other problems which arose in this area, would assist in their expeditious and peaceful solution."

The two communiques also included this paragraph: "Since it had already been decided by the Colombo conference that its proposals should not be published for the time being, the reactions of the Government of the People's Republic of China to these proposals would also not be made public before the Prime Minister of Ceylon dis-

cusses the conference proposals with the Prime Minister of India and until the results of the talks in Peking and New Delhi are communicated to all six participating countries."

China's Consistent and Clear-Cut Position

China's position on the Sino-Indian boundary question is clear-cut, consistent and well known. The last thing the Chinese Government and people want to see is the permanent unsettlement of this issue, or the development of this dispute into armed clashes. Premier Chou En-lai made this clear when speaking at the banquet given by Mrs. Bandaranaike in Peking. "We are very glad," he said, "that Her Excellency the Prime Minister and the leaders of the other Asian and African countries participating in the Colombo conference hold a common view with us in this respect, that is, the Sino-Indian boundary dispute must be settled through negotiation and not by force; Asian-African solidarity must be treasured and no interference by the imperialists should be allowed. Under no circumstances will the Chinese Government change this stand and attitude."

"The three proposals put forward by the Chinese Government in its statement of October 24, 1962, and the three measures announced in its statement of November 21," Premier Chou noted, "have created favourable conditions for the realization of a ceasefire, disengagement and reopening of negotiations. Obstacles to negotiations do not come from China. We sincerely hope that, influenced by Her Excellency the Prime Minister and the leaders of the other Asian and African countries participating in the Colombo conference, the Indian side will sit down calmly for negotiations. As for the Chinese side, I can assure Her Excellency the Prime Minister that she and her colleague, His Excellency Dr. Subandrio, can count on our support and co-operation at all times in their just efforts to promote Sino-Indian reconciliation."

This stand of the Chinese Government has the sympathy and support of all peace-loving peoples of the world. China's sincerity for peace is recognized by the Ceylonese and Indonesian Governments too. The Sino-Ceylonese communique stated: "The Prime Minister of Ceylon was of the opinion that the measures of ceasefire and withdrawal unilaterally taken by China indicated China's sincerity for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute," while the Sino-Indonesian communique declared: "The Indonesian Government appreciated the measures of ceasefire and withdrawal unilaterally taken by China which were indicative of China's sincerity for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute."

Regrettable Indian Stand

It is regrettable that up to now the Indian Government still persists in its former attitude. Disregarding China's sincere efforts, the Indian Government is still demanding an "armed solution" to the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. It continues with many anti-Chinese measures which can

only worsen Sino-Indian relations. It has also accepted a large amount of military aid from the imperialists. It must be said that all this, of course, is exactly what the imperialists are hoping for. U.S. imperialism, in particular, is fishing in troubled waters. To make Asians fight Asians, it hopes to provoke the Indian Government to start another round of armed border clashes.



Mrs. Bandaranaike, Dr. Subandrio (first and second left), Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi (first and second right) hold talks in Peking

Renmin Ribao calling the attention of the world to this dirty imperialist scheme writes in its editorial of December 8: "The Chinese Government and people have always held that problems between countries in Asia and Africa should be settled by the Asian and African countries themselves. A fair and reasonable settlement of these problems, however complicated they may be, can be reached through the method of negotiations and consultations. We are firmly opposed to any meddling in the Sino-Indian boundary dispute and Asian-African affairs in general by the imperialists and the Tito clique of Yugoslavia which is in their service. Proceeding from this stand, we have from the very beginning given active support to the efforts of the Ceylonese Prime Minister, the Indonesian Deputy Chief Minister and the other participants of the Colombo conference to promote a Sino-Indian rapprochement, and we are sincerely thankful to them. We hope that the Ceylonese Prime Minister and the other five participants in the Colombo conference will continue their efforts and make further positive contributions to consolidating the Sino-Indian ceasefire, promoting direct negotiations between China and India, and opposing imperialist interference in Asian-African affairs."

Bandung Spirit and Asian Solidarity

The friendship and solidarity of China, Ceylon and Indonesia, as demonstrated in the talks between Mrs. Bandaranaike, Dr. Subandrio and the Chinese leaders, have a great significance.

The Sino-Ceylonese communique stated: "They [the Chinese and Ceylonese Prime Ministers] reaffirmed their adherence to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. They are of the opinion that these principles are playing an increasingly important role in guiding the relations between nations and that the continued development of these principles would have an important bearing on the promotion of solidarity of Asian and African countries and the defence of peace in Asia and the world. More than ever before, it is necessary to strengthen the solidarity of Asian-African nations and particularly in Asia to oppose the aggressive and expansionist aims of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist forces that are still seeking to thwart the freedom, independence and progress of the peoples of Asia and Africa."

The Sino-Indonesian communique also stated: "The developments in the friendship and co-operation between the two countries were highly satisfying for both parties and the increase in the exchange of cultural missions taking place recently have further broadened and enriched the friendly relations between the two countries and two peoples based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the *dasa sila* of the Bandung Conference."

"The two parties reaffirmed their determination to continue their efforts for the relaxation of international tensions and for strengthening world peace. The two parties stated that they would continue to struggle unceasingly side by side with all other progressive forces in the world against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations and reaffirmed their resolute support to the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to win and safeguard their complete independence and to build a brighter future for themselves according to their own respective national identities. The two parties oppose any foreign interference in the internal affairs of any country, particularly those countries who have recently attained their independence."

In addition to these general principles, the Sino-Ceylonese and Sino-Indonesian talks also made certain specific contributions to friendly co-operation between China and her two Asian neighbours. The Chinese and Ceylonese Prime Ministers expressed in their joint communique their determination to strengthen the ties of friendship between the two countries and to develop their economic co-operation. At the same time, as announced in their joint communique, China and Indonesia have just agreed to a new trade arrangement which benefits the economic development of both countries. These are good omens for Asian solidarity.

Dr. Subandrio has left for home. Mrs. Bandaranaike, continuing on the mission entrusted to her by the Six-Nation Conference, is proceeding to India for discussions. Before her departure from Peking, Premier Chou En-lai declared: "We sincerely hope that Madame Bandaranaike and the leaders of the other friendly countries will continue their efforts and that these efforts will yield results in conformity with the common desire of the Chinese and Indian peoples and the other Asian and African peoples."

Harnessing the Haiho River

by TENG TZU-CHANG

Much has been done in the past 13 years to bring the Haiho River under control and harness its potentialities. Among other things it is winning the battle against floods and drought, increasing the irrigated acreage and yields and steadily raising the people's standards of living.

HOPEI Province occupies the whole of the northern end of the great North China Plain. Its fertile alluvial soil produces some of the nation's finest crops including cotton and wheat. Three-fourths of its area, or most of its rich farmlands, lie in the catchment basin of the Haiho and its tributaries. This is one of the largest river systems in north China and at the same time, before liberation, one of the most capricious.

The Haiho has five tributaries—the Chaopai (North Grand Canal), Yungting, Taching, Tzuya and Weiho (South Grand Canal)—each of which is in turn fed by several smaller tributaries. Rising in different places these five streams finally converge like the ribs of a fan near Tientsin, one of China's leading industrial and commercial cities and Hopei's main port. There they form the main channel of the Haiho which flows into Pohai Bay.

The great importance of the Haiho to Hopei agriculture stems from the fact that the province's rainfall is very unevenly distributed. Every spring it suffers from recurrent droughts. But when the heavy rain storms come in the summer, the rivers flood rapidly. Though a great deal is being done by afforestation and other methods to conserve moisture and prevent rapid run off from the hills and mountain sides largely denuded of vegetation, these measures will take some years to be fully effective. In the meantime with water pouring into it from the upper reaches and smaller feeders, a broad, shallow, meandering stream can turn overnight into a raging torrent. In pre-liberation days such spot floods frequently overflowed the rivers' banks in the flat, lower reaches causing serious damage to crops, livestock, houses and other property and taking a heavy toll of human lives. During the Ming (1368-1644) and Ching (1644-1911) Dynasties, large or small floods and droughts occurred on an average twice in every three years.

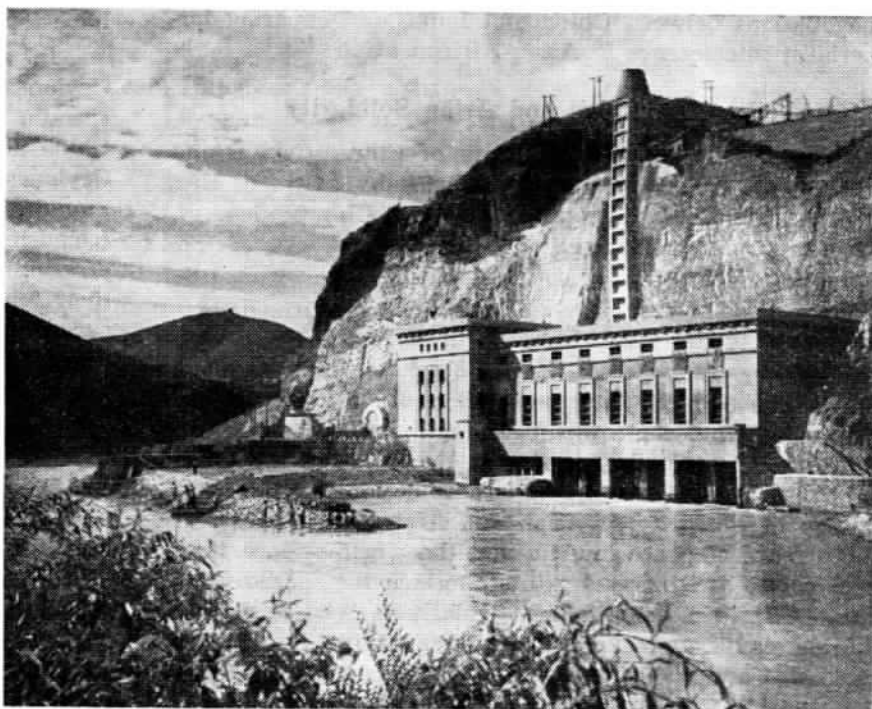
As late as 1939, when a large section of Hopei was occupied by the Japanese army, floods breached the banks and dykes of many tributaries. Over 70 million *mu* of farmland were affected. The city of Tientsin was

inundated for a month. Factories stopped working and boats plied the streets. Some 8 million people in the province suffered from the floods in varying degrees. It was a year of untold suffering for the masses.

When the People Build

As soon as China got its government of the people, it embarked on a series of projects to control and make the Haiho serve man's needs. This is not an undertaking that can be soon completed, but, working steadily according to a systematic plan, much has been done. By 1957, dykes had been reinforced, rivers dredged and a number of important water conservancy projects built. In 1954 the great Kuanting Reservoir with a holding capacity of 2,270 million cubic metres was completed. The plan of this key reservoir on the Yungting—one of the most unruly of the Haiho tributaries—had remained on paper for decades prior to liberation. There had been a lot of talk, but not even the necessary geological survey had been completed. Once the people had taken state power, the reservoir was built in less than three years.

The Kuanting Reservoir and the still larger Miyun Reservoir can effectively contain the flood waters on the upper reaches of the Yungting and Chaopai Rivers. They thus protect the areas on the lower reaches of these two rivers from floods, and during the dry months irrigate large tracts of farmlands in the Peking-Tientsin area. The Yungting project also supplies water and power to Peking.



Kuanting Reservoir hydro-electric power station

In the winter of 1958 rural people's communes were established throughout Hopei and one result of this was an unexampled burst of activity in water conservancy construction. The bulk of this effort was centred on harnessing the Haiho with flood prevention work being given top priority. The plan to which the work was and is geared envisages the building of a large number of reservoirs in the mountain districts to regulate the flow of the unruly rivers and at the same time, the construction of a network of irrigation and drainage works.

The people's commune system brilliantly demonstrated its advantages during this period. Several hundred thousand commune members were organized for the work, and carts and other transport were assigned to get them to the building sites along with the tools, building materials, grain, fuel and other supplies needed. Those on the job received wages from the state while their families were taken good care of by the communes. They worked with unmatched energy for the people's state, for themselves and posterity.

Before 1949, there were no man-made reservoirs worth mentioning in the Haiho basin and only two small sluice gates. By 1957, two reservoirs were built. Now there are 14 large reservoirs (each holding more than 100 million cubic metres of water), 21 medium ones (each having a capacity of from 10 to 100 million cubic metres) and thousands of smaller reservoirs.

The regulating gates at the Haiho's estuary are one of the most important engineering feat of this kind built over the past four years. Together with a 300-metre dam across the river, they prevent the river's waters from flowing out to the sea in the low-water season. When the river is in spate, the gates can release 1,200 cubic metres of water per second.

Controlling Floods and Drought

These reservoirs and related works have played a significant role in controlling floods and drought in Hopei and boosting farm yields. More than 80 per cent of the mountain catchment area of the Haiho River is now equipped to hold flood waters in check. The farmlands below are well protected from inundation. As a result, the average area of farmland flooded annually on the plain between 1958 and the first half of 1962 declined by about 80 per cent compared with preceding years.

In both 1954 and 1956 the rainfall and height of flood waters in the Haiho River basin exceeded the 1939 record levels, but Tientsin remained unaffected in these two years and flood damage in Hopei was much smaller than in 1939. During the past few years, the flood season rainfall was unprecedented for decades in some places, but thanks to the measures taken and the water conservancy works built in the first place, losses were held to a minimum.

In 1959, 1961 and 1962 the rainfall was such as to threaten big floods, but the reservoirs saved at least 20 million *mu* of farmland from inundation. The safety of cities, factories and mines was ensured and rail traffic ran without interruption. The effective service given by the reservoirs also enormously reduced the need for emergency flood prevention materials and manpower for patrolling the dykes.

The reservoirs have also helped expand the area of irrigated farmlands—an advantage of special importance during spells of drought. The new reservoirs on the upper reaches of the Hutuo River alone have increased by nearly four times the amount of water it can provide in the crucial spring months. In 1957 it was irrigating 510,000 *mu* of land. Today it is irrigating 2 million *mu*. Another plus is that many mountain districts which formerly suffered from drought now have assured year-round supplies of water for drinking and irrigation purposes.

The outskirts of Tientsin suffered a long spell of drought from the spring to July of last year. Since the drought was forecast, the regulating gates on the estuary of the Haiho were closed, turning a 60-kilometre-long stretch of the river into a handy reservoir. The electric pumping stations went into action and watered half a million *mu* of paddyfields and kitchen gardens. With this help, the peasants were able to transplant the rice shoots on time and give their vegetables enough moisture. They raised a relatively good harvest.

With the rivers themselves in flood, it was once impossible to drain off rainwater accumulated on the low-lying land. When the flood waters overflowed the river banks, the situation in the waterlogged areas would be still worse compounded. Now the river levels are kept under control by the reservoirs and river dykes, excess rainwater can be easily led to or pumped into the river channels. It has thus been possible to turn large tracts of river side wasteland and swamp lands into fertile farm plots.

Boosting Production

Freed from the threat of flood and drought, many districts have recorded outstanding increases in farm yields and output. The 48 villages in Hsienhsien County, for instance, lie in a historically waterlogged area. In the bad old days, rainwater and floods submerged their farmland nine years out of ten; crops were meagre and the peasants lived in abysmal poverty. After liberation, two reservoirs built on the upper reaches of the Hutuo freed these villages from floods and paved the way for draining off excess water.

Since then they have steadily increased their grain output. In 1960 it exceeded the 1957 figure by 6.4 per cent. In 1961 and 1962, it rose by 5.6 and 9.3 per cent respectively compared with the preceding year.

Depending on the specific conditions in each locality, the reservoirs in the Haiho basin are also used to generate electricity, facilitate inland navigation and for fish farming. These too have brought big increases in farm output and incomes.

The Haiho River system has abundant water resources. It has immense potentialities which the Hopei people can exploit. The achievements scored so far are outstanding but they represent merely a good start in the long-term plan to harness the river fully. In the past the main achievement was to prevent calamities; now the emphasis is on creating new possibilities such as building more power stations to speed up rural electrification. The coming years will see that plan put into effect ever more effectively.

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Chairman Mao Receives Japanese Guests

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has had friendly talks with a group of leading comrades of the Japanese Communist Party. They were: Satomi Hakamada, Member of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Japanese C.P.; Yashiro Ii and Mafayoshi Oka, Members of the Secretariat; Jin Nishidate, Member of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Hokkaido Committee of the Party; Hiroyuki Okamoto, Member of the Central Committee and Deputy Head of the Propaganda, Education and Cultural Department of the Central Committee; and Nobuyuki Hiraashi, Member of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party.

Anniversary Greetings

China greeted the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Rumanian People's Republic, the 15th anniversary of the achieving of independence by the Union of Burma and the 7th Independence Day anniversary of the Republic of Sudan.

Rumania. Chinese Party and state leaders Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai sent a joint anniversary message of greetings to the Rumanian Party and state leaders.

The message paid tribute to the Rumanian people for the great successes in socialist transformation and socialist construction they have achieved under the leadership of the Rumanian Workers' Party and Government. It wished the Rumanian people new successes in socialist construction and in defence of world peace and new strength to the fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Rumanian peoples based on Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Vice-

Premier Chen Yi and other Chinese leaders attended the anniversary reception given by the Rumanian Ambassador Gheorghiu Dumitru.

Burma. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings to General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma and Chairman of the Council of the Ministers of the Revolutionary Government of the Union of Burma.

Speaking at the reception given by the Burmese Embassy, Vice-Premier Chen Yi hailed the continuous growth of Sino-Burmese friendship. He said that there was nothing mysterious about the satisfactory development of friendly relations between the two countries. It was simply because the two Governments strictly abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and truly acted on the principles of mutual respect, mutual trust, mutual understanding, mutual accommodation and equality and mutual benefit. He cited as the best example the fact that China and Burma had thoroughly and satisfactorily settled their very complicated boundary question within a short time. The Vice-Premier stressed that with the realization of a boundary of peace and friendship, the Chinese and Burmese border inhabitants and peoples will remain good friends from generation to generation.

Sudan. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent greetings to Ibrahim Abboud, President of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces and Prime Minister of the Republic of Sudan on the anniversary of Sudan's independence.

Sino-Japanese Trade Protocol

A Sino-Japanese trade protocol was signed last month in Peking by Nan Han-chen, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, and Kazuo Suzuki, Director-General of the Japan-China Trade Promotion Association; Eiichi Shukutani, Vice-Chairman of the Japan International Trade Promotion Association; and Ichizo Kimura, Managing Director of the Kansai Council of the Japan International Trade Promotion Association.

The protocol states that the two parties reaffirmed their support for the three political principles for Sino-

Japanese relations, the three trade principles and the principle that politics and economics are inseparable from each other, which were proposed by the Chinese Government. On the basis of insistence on these principles, both sides would continue to make joint effort to strengthen friendly trade relations between the peoples of China and Japan and promote the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations.

Both sides expressed great anger at and firm opposition to the open intervention and obstruction engaged in by the U.S. imperialists when trade between the peoples of China and Japan made new progress.

The protocol affirms the belief of both parties that to develop trade between China and Japan is the common desire of the two peoples and that no force can obstruct this. Both parties held that friendly trade between the peoples of China and Japan would remain one of the important methods of non-governmental Sino-Japanese trade; and that on the good foundation already established, this had broad and bright prospects of development.

Both parties agreed to hold commodities exhibitions in each other's country. To promote the development of friendly economic and trade relations between the two peoples, the two parties agreed that exchanges of visits between members of the economic and trade circles and organizations concerned, be organized.

China-Pakistan Trade Agreement

China and Pakistan signed a trade agreement on January 5 in Karachi. The agreement, the first such between the two countries, provides for reciprocal most favoured nation treatment in matters of commerce and trade including shipping. It also provides for arrangements between the two countries to facilitate the expansion of trade between them.

Items to be exported from China include metals and steel products, coal, cement, machinery, chemicals, raw materials and cereals. Goods to be exported from Pakistan include jute and jute manufactures, cotton and cotton textiles, leather, sports goods, surgical instruments, chrome ore and newsprint.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

U.S.-Diem Crimes in S. Viet Nam

The U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique has killed by poisoning 80 people interned in concentration camps in the Ca Luan and Bach Long areas of Kon Tum Province. They also killed or wounded over 90 of the national minority people who live in the villages of Bac Cho and Bac Nga in Pleiku Province. *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (January 5) voices the Chinese people's angry denunciation of these new atrocities committed by the U.S.-Diem clique.

During the past eight years, the U.S. imperialists have perpetrated countless bloody crimes in south Viet Nam. By July 1962, according to figures made public by the Viet Nam News Agency, the U.S.-Diem clique had killed 105,000 patriotic fighters who had taken part in the anti-colonialist struggle, and more than a million people were held in prisons or in concentration camps.

These massacres and barbarous acts of repression, however, have failed to bring the south Vietnamese people to their knees. They have only served to stiffen their resistance, says Commentator. In the past two years, in their struggle against the U.S.-Diem clique's "mopping-up" operations, against the establishment of "strategic hamlets," for democracy and the right to live, the south Vietnamese people have wiped out large numbers of enemy troops, gained control over two-thirds of the total area of south Viet Nam, took back 650,000 hectares of land from the U.S.-Diem clique and smashed the U.S. imperialist "Staley-Taylor" plan for the crushing of the south Viet Nam liberation struggle.

The U.S.-Diem clique is unreconciled to defeat. It is now pinning its hopes more and more on the "strategic hamlets" plan which is aimed at turning south Viet Nam into a vast prison. Speaking of the south Viet Nam situation recently, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Harriman said that "this battle will be won or lost in the vil-

lages." In an attempt to suppress the south Vietnamese people by every possible means, the U.S.-Diem clique is herding the villagers into concentration camps.

But the south Vietnamese people can never be subjugated. The Pleiku Province massacres again expose the bestial ferocity of U.S. imperialism as it threshes around in desperation. The U.S.-Diem clique will not escape punishment for the towering crimes it has committed in south Viet Nam.

"Tribune" Admits Forgery

The British weekly *Tribune*, in a vain attempt to smear China's policies and defame the leaders of the Chinese nation, published on December 28, 1962, a forged letter allegedly written by Premier Chou En-lai.

Under the headline "Death to the Peacemongers!" the forged letter said: "Let us make 1963 the year of liberation." It added that China "suffered temporary set-backs in 1962" due to the machinations of Anglo-American imperialists and their lackeys, but that China "must resolve to bury them in New York."

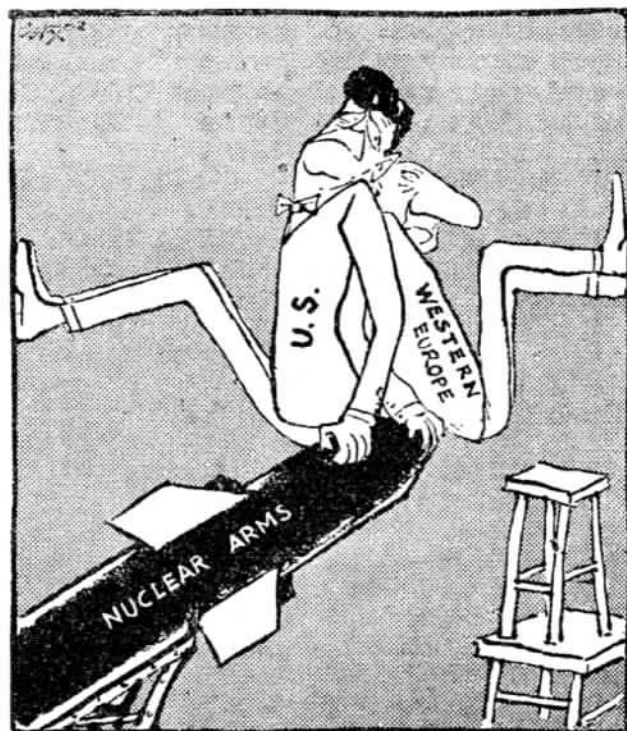
Ignoring the fact that the Chinese Government had openly supported the liberation by the Indian Government of the Indian territory of Goa from the Portuguese colonialists, the author of the forged letter wrote: "From now on we [the Chinese] shall work tirelessly to liberate Goa and rejoin it with Portugal."

On December 31, a spokesman of the Information Department of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement declaring that the above-mentioned "letter" published by *Tribune* is an out-and-out forgery. This criminal act of forgery and calumny,

the spokesman said, cannot do the slightest harm to the People's Republic of China and the leaders of the Chinese nation, but it only serves to show how despicable and shameless are those elements which are hostile to the People's Republic of China and to what depths they have sunk. The fact that such a base and criminal act should have been committed by a British paper cannot but be considered a gross insult to the entire British press.

The Chinese Charge d'Affaires in London on January 1 lodged a protest with the British Foreign Office, pointing out that this criminal use of forgery by a British periodical to smear the Chinese Premier cannot but be considered a serious matter, and demanding that *Tribune* be told to print without delay a statement issued by the Office of the Chinese Charge d'Affaires exposing and condemning the forged letter. The British Foreign Office transmitted the Chinese statement to the *Tribune* and informed it of the Chinese protest and demand.

The *Tribune* on January 4 front-paged the full text of the Chinese statement and admitted that the letter allegedly written by Premier Chou En-lai which it carried on December 28 was a pure forgery.



NATO "Interdependence"

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

PHOTOGRAPHY

6th National Exhibition

The recent 6th National Photographic Art Exhibition held in Peking left no doubt that China's camera artists are agricultural-minded. Farming scenes predominated. This was not surprising in view of the great importance now attached to agriculture in national planning and of the down-to-earth tradition of mirroring reality that our photographers have shown and developed ever since the first big national exhibition in 1957.

With this keen eye for the actualities of today, they, of course, did not neglect other important themes. As the over 400 photographs on view at the Artists' Union Gallery showed, cameramen were to be found wherever anything of vital importance was happening. There were some excellent news shots of China's frontier guards on the Sino-Indian border, and of men of the coast guard during the days when the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek bandit forces were threatening to invade the mainland. The latter included a vividly taken photograph by Liu Chang-chung showing a group of girls sending off pamphlets, leaflets and posters hidden in little boats which will float to the enemy-occupied islands and tell the people there the truth about New China.

The portraits of children and adults, particularly people of the theatre, studies of landscapes and seascapes, animals and birds and still life were as good as ever but there is no doubt that this show excelled in projecting a

lively, many-angled image of our countryside. Among the best of these photographs were *Paddyfields Clear as Mirrors* (Liu Hsin-ning), *A Senior Middle School Graduate on the Farm* (Yu Tien-wei), *Learning to Read and Write* (Yu Tien-wei), *Winter Hunting* (Hsiao Hsia), *Workers and Peasants Are of One Family* (Ping Hao), *A Good Year* (Liu Hsu-tsang), *Diligent Men and Strong Rice Shoots* (Sun Chung-ching), *The Peasant Scientist Chu Yao-li* (Tung Yung-kwei), *Electricity for the Countryside* (Tan Tieh-min).

These studies showed a great confidence born of deep knowledge in handling this key theme in Chinese life today. See *If These Bamboo Rakes Are Sturdy Enough* (Tang Mou-lin) and several others showed great originality in the search for ever fresh means of expression in treating familiar subjects.

SHORT NOTES

"Facts About the Sino-Indian Boundary Question," a new documentary, has just been released by the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio in Peking. Running for 40 minutes, it presents a wealth of historical documents, maps, photos and other data showing the location of the traditional customary line of the Sino-Indian boundary, the places where the Indian troops since 1950 have repeatedly intruded into and occupied Chinese border territory, lead-



Electricity for the Countryside

From the 6th National Photographic Art Exhibition
By Tan Tieh-min

ing up to the most recent large-scale attacks. The film also documents China's consistent stand in seeking a peaceful settlement of the boundary question as well as its latest efforts to ease the grave situation by putting forward its three proposals, unilaterally ceasing fire and withdrawing along the entire border. The film is now being shown in the major Chinese cities.

Soviet Artists. Four visiting Soviet musicians gave a series of concerts in Peking and Shanghai last month. They were: Niyazi, People's Artist of the U.S.S.R., one of the Soviet Union's leading conductors from Azerbaijan; Professor S. Knushevitsky, the celebrated cellist and Merited Artist of the R.S.F.S.R.; Y. Malinin, a young pianist and international prize winner; and A. Katz, Professor Knushevitsky's accompanist. Niyazi conducted both the Symphony Orchestra of the Central Philharmonic Society and the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra. They played, among other works, Tchaikovsky's *Fourth* and *Sixth (Pathétique) Symphonies* and Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*. With the Peking and Shanghai orchestras Professor Knushevitsky played the Khachaturian Cello



"What do you think of that!"

From the 6th National Photographic Art Exhibition
By Li Wen-fang

Concerto and Tchaikovsky's *Rococo Theme and Variations* (Op. 33) and Malinin performed Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto, Rachmaninoff's *Second Piano Concerto* and the *A Minor Concerto* of Grieg. They also gave much appreciated solo recitals.

Docker-Poet's New Poem. Part one of a long poem *Stand Up, Masters of the Yangtse River!* by the well-known stevedore-poet Huang Sheng-hsiao has come off the press of Peking's China Youth Publishing House.

This is the first long poem written by the poet. It is also the first poem that gives such a moving and realistic depiction of the life of the Yangtse dock workers, their struggles, and their minds and souls. Part one deals with the life of dockers in the upper Yangtse River port of Ichang, in pre-liberation years when they fought valiantly first against the British, then against the Japanese, and then against the U.S. imperialists. The poem will be in three parts.

Korean Play on Chinese Stage

The modern Korean drama *Red Propagandist* presented in Chinese by the Peking People's Art Theatre is having a highly successful run in Peking since its premiere on the eve of the New Year.

Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Lu Ting-yi attended the opening performance at the Capital Theatre. Among the distinguished guests present were the Korean Ambassador to China Han Ik Soo and his wife and the visiting Korean Cultural and Art Delegation headed by Hun Jin Suk, Vice-Director of the Korean State Drama Theatre. The delegation had arrived in Peking on December 23 especially for the occasion and was received by Premier Chou En-lai on the 28th.

Red Propagandist is one of the best liked plays on the Korean stage. It depicts Korea's socialist countryside surging forward in the Flying Horse Movement, centring round a young girl, a Party propagandist, and her devoted and effective work in spreading the policies of the Korean Party of Labour.

Born in a docker's family, the 44-year-old poet was only semi-literate when the liberation came. He learnt to write ballads at the spare-time school he attended after liberation and his literary bent soon came to the

notice of the Party and literary workers who gave him constant encouragement and artistic guidance. He has had several collections of poems and prose published in the past ten years, and is now a member of the Union of Chinese Writers.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

The following programme scheduled for the coming week is subject to change.

PEKING OPERA

▲ **THE HEROES** An episode from the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. Tsao Tsao has Liu Pei under his control but feeling suspicious that Liu Pei is plotting against him, invites him to a feast to find out what his plans are. Liu Pei lulls his suspicions and wins his confidence. Tsao Tsao puts him in command of 50,000 troops and Liu gets the chance to put Tsao Tsao's troops to flight. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **LIEN CHIN-FENG** A Tang Dynasty story. Lien Chin-feng, a loving daughter, falls into the hands of a gangster when she goes to get sea food for her sick mother. She is saved by Tang Ao, a kind-hearted man. Later, when she again goes to the bottom of the sea in search of food, she gets a precious pearl after a fight with an oyster. She gives the pearl to Tang Ao as a reward for his kindness. China Peking Opera Theatre.

PINGJU OPERA

▲ **BATTLE OF WITS** An ancient Chou Dynasty story. Sun Pin and Pang Chuan, two knights, receive their military training from the same teacher. Pang Chuan becomes a general, but jealous of Sun Pin's superior skill in military strategy when they meet in a battle of wits, he plots against him. Sun Pin escapes and his enemy gets his deserts. China Pingju Opera Theatre's new production.

KUNQU OPERA

▲ **THE KITE'S MISTAKE** A traditional comedy about a misunderstanding between a young couple caused by a broken kite string and a wrongly delivered message. North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

MODERN DRAMA

▲ **RED PROPAGANDIST** A modern Korean play depicting the Flying Horse Movement in Korea. It is about a Korean

youth who devotes herself to socialist construction in the countryside and brings great changes to her home village. First performance in China, by Peking People's Art Theatre. (In our December 28, 1962 issue called *On the Tongchun Plain*.)

▲ **MAGIC BOXING** A historical play by Lao Sheh about the patriotic anti-imperialist Yi Ho Tuan Uprising in 1900. China Youth Art Theatre.

▲ **THE MARRIAGE OF FIGARO** A comedy of intrigue by the 18th-century French dramatist Beaumarchais. China Youth Art Theatre.

▲ **THE SIEGE** Approaching an industrial city in northeast China, the People's Liberation Army skilfully makes use of the conflicts within the enemy camp to liberate the city by peaceful means, saving the city, its people and industry from harm. Performed by the Peking Film Workers' Modern Drama Troupe.

▲ **THE NEXT SPRING** A play by the visiting Liaoning Art Theatre. It tells how officers and engineers of the Chinese people's navy together with the shipyard workers build a modern warship.

FILMS

▲ **AFTER THE CEASEFIRE** An exposure of how in 1946, the reactionary Kuomintang, under pressure of the people's demand for peace, signed a ceasefire agreement with the Communist Party, but, on the other hand, worked hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists to launch out an all-out civil war. Peking Studio.



▲ **THE FIRE OF LIFE** Story of a selfless girl who risks her life to save public property from destruction. Sian Studio.

▲ **FACTS ABOUT THE SINO-INDIAN BOUNDARY QUESTION** A new full-length documentary from the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio. Citing historical documents, maps and a host of facts, this documentary gives you a thorough understanding of the Sino-Indian boundary question and where responsibility for the border clashes lies.

▲ **GORLIN'S FUTURE** A Soviet colour film. Falling in love with a girl on an icy construction site leads the bank official Gorlin to overcome all difficulties and start a new life there.

▲ **A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM** A Czechoslovak widescreen cartoon film in colour adapted from Shakespeare's comedy.

▲ **REALENGO (STATE ALLOTMENT) NO. 18** This Cuban film tells how the Cuban peasants fought for their lands occupied by the U.S. imperialists before the revolution.

▲ **HARVEST** An Argentine feature. The story of a rising of Argentine Indian sugarcane workers against their capitalist exploiters.

▲ **DREAM ON THE ICE** An Austrian ballet on ice in colour. An amateur ice skater and dancer takes the place of a famous star in a new show of spectacular skating and sets and reaps troubles—and a big success.

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **"EAST WIND" CARTOON EXHIBITION** on current international affairs. Daily (except Mon.), 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till Jan. 14. At Artists' Union Gallery.

▲ **EXHIBITION OF HISTORIC RELICS OF THE OLUNCHUNS** Daily (except Mon.), 8:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. At the Museum of Chinese History.

▲ **1963 NEW YEAR FINE ARTS EXHIBITION** Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till Jan. 20. At Huafangzhai in Beihai Park.

▲ **HOME-MADE RADIO AND TV EXHIBITION** Daily (except Mon.), 9:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. till Jan. 31. At the Peking Indoor Swimming Pool Building in Peking Gymnasium.

"YOUHAO"

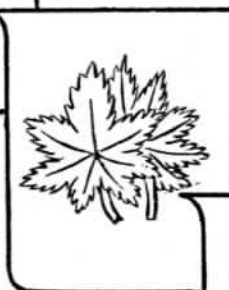
Dyestuffs



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