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PEKING REVIEW

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

March 22, 1963 Vol. VI No. 12

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

● The nation's press frontpaged the full texts of the letters exchanged between the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on holding bilateral talks.

● *Renmin Ribao* on March 12 published four documents of the Viet Nam Workers' Party in full. They are: the Ho Chi Minh-Novotny joint statement made during the Czechoslovak President's visit to Viet Nam last January; the statement on the unity of the international communist movement issued by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party last month; the editorial of the Vietnamese paper *Nhandan* of February 11 entitled "Solidarity Is the Guarantee of Victory"; and an article carried in *Hoc Tap*, the theoretical magazine of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party entitled "Strengthen the Unity of the International Communist Movement and the Socialist Camp."

● The Sino-Indian boundary question still holds public attention. Instead of holding direct negotiations with China to settle this issue peacefully, New Delhi continues to stir up the anti-Chinese campaign in India. Indian troops are reported to have intruded again into our territory. Tibetan reactionaries ensconced in India under the wing of New Delhi announced on March 10 a "constitution" for Tibet which they have concocted.

Last week the Chinese press published the text of the television interview given to the correspondent of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation by Vice-Premier Chen Yi in which he presented the facts about the Sino-Indian boundary question and said that it depends entirely on New Delhi whether negotiations can be held soon.

● In China's vast countryside members of the people's communes greeted the heaviest and the most extensive rainfall since the beginning of the year. It benefited farmlands in most of China's grain and cotton producing areas.

Chairman Mao Receives Guests

Chairman Mao Tse-tung last week received and had cordial talks with a number of visitors from Latin American and African countries.

From Latin America. On March 13 he received the delegation of the Cuban Communist Youth Union headed by Jorge Gallardo, member of the National Committee of the Youth Union; Reinaldo Montila, Secretary of the National Secretariat of the Venezuelan Communist Youth League; and Madame Eulogia de Barrett, representative of the Women's League of the Paraguayan Front for National Liberation.

From Africa. On March 18 he met Jacques Verges, director of the Algerian weekly *African Revolution* and Djamilia Bouhired, the well-known national heroine of Algeria, who is a special correspondent of that journal.

Among his guests on the same day were Alfred Gondo, representative of

the Zimbabwe African People's Union of Southern Rhodesia; Katjimuina Vei and Moses Katjuongua, youth delegates of the Southwestern African National Union; and Mahjoub Ben Seddik, president of the All-African Trade Union Federation and general secretary of the Moroccan Union of Labour.

Southern Rhodesian People Backed Up

China's 650 million people back the Southern Rhodesian people in their struggle to free themselves from imperialism and colonialism and to achieve national independence. A mass rally held in Peking last week sent this message to the people of Zimbabwe—as Southern Rhodesia was called before the British imperialist Cecil Rhodes christened it with his own name.

The Peking rally was sponsored by the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the Chinese-African Peo-

ple's Friendship Association and several other national organizations. It was held in response to the call of the Third Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference to observe March 17 as "Zimbabwe Day." Many guests from Africa were among those who attended the rally.

Addressing the meeting, Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, declared that the Chinese people would do their utmost to support the people of Southern Rhodesia and all the other African peoples in their struggle to win and safeguard their national independence. He paid tribute to the heroic struggles being waged by the people of Southern Rhodesia against the imperialists and against old and new colonialists. Referring to the lesson drawn by the Southern Rhodesian people themselves that, in order to survive, they must use force to counter force in the struggle against imperialism, Liao Cheng-chih said: "Only by relying on their own struggles and unity can the oppressed nations overthrow the imperialists and old and new colonialists and win genuine independence and liberation. The experience of the struggles of many countries in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world eloquently proves that armed struggle is the way to complete liberation for the oppressed peoples."

Liao Cheng-chih denounced U.S. imperialism, the main bulwark of neo-colonialism, for its aggressive and expansionist activities in Africa carried out under the guise of "sympathy" and "concern" for the African peoples' movement for independence. But, he said, the African peoples were coming to see more and more clearly that U.S. imperialism was their most dangerous enemy. He also censured the Yugoslav modern revisionists for helping the imperialists in their aggressive schemes and for undermining the common struggle of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism. "The modern revisionists," he said, "are afraid of the vigorous struggles waged by the Asian and African peoples against imperialism and colonialism. They are resorting to all sorts of tactics to obstruct the great national-liberation movement. Their utterly erroneous and dangerous words and deeds, which are opposed to the fundamental interests of the Asian and African peoples, are doomed to failure." The

struggles of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism and against old and new colonialism are growing mightier and mightier, he concluded, and "no reactionary force can block their advance."

Alfred Gondo, representative of the Zimbabwe African People's Union of Southern Rhodesia, also addressed the rally. He exposed the imperialist oppression and persecution of the people of Zimbabwe and other parts of Africa. Much as the people of Zimbabwe loved peace and would remain peaceful in a peaceful situation, he declared, "they must be violent in a violent situation, and revolutionary in a revolutionary situation, for no sane man can wait while his sun sets." He thanked the Chinese people for giving their support to the people of Zimbabwe. "The victories scored by the Chinese people in their protracted struggles against imperialism, opportunism and revisionism," he said, "have set the example for all peoples striving for complete liberation."

M. Katjuongua, youth delegate of the Southwestern African National Union, served warning to all the fascist and fanatically reactionary elements and to the imperialists headed by the Kennedy group that they should understand that a new epoch had dawned in Africa, Asia and Latin America. "Imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers," he declared. "We shall continue to oppose them firmly and resolutely."

The rally ended with the unanimous adoption of a message expressing firm support for the people of Southern Rhodesia and the conviction that they would overcome all difficulties and win national independence and liberation.

Kwangsi Celebrates Anniversary

"In our socialist motherland, there is no national discrimination or oppression; all nationalities are equal. This is something unprecedented in China's history," said Vice-Premier Chen Yi in an address at a gathering in Nanning on March 14 celebrating the fifth anniversary of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region.

Messages of greetings poured into Nanning, the region's capital, from all over the country. Leading members of the Communist Party and People's Government attended celebration meetings here and in Kweilin,

Wuchow, Paise, Yulin and other cities in this subtropical region where Chuangs, Yaos, Miaos, Tungs and other minority peoples live.

The establishment of national autonomous regions has proved to be, as Vice-Premier Chen Yi said, "an excellent way of forging close ties between the various nationalities and bringing into play their wisdom and initiative in socialist construction." The success story of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region is a good example. Since March 15, 1958, when it became a national autonomous region, it has made tremendous progress in industry, agriculture and other fields.

Before liberation, Kwangsi was extremely backward economically. Things gradually took a turn for the better during the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57), but still Kwangsi had little industry to speak of. Since 1958, the first year of China's Second Five-Year Plan, capital construction has been carried out on a large scale throughout the region. Investment in capital construction over the past five years is three times what it was under the First Five-Year Plan. Hundreds of new enterprises have been set up, and the region now has its own metallurgical, machine-building, coal, power, chemical, cement, food and textile industries. With these and other advances, the value of its industrial output over the past five years registered a 100 per cent increase compared with 1953-57.

The year the autonomous region was founded saw the establishment of people's communes everywhere in the countryside, including Kwangsi. The advantages of this new type of rural organization have become increasingly evident with the years. They have brought benefits to the people they never dreamt of before. In water conservancy alone, since 1958 the communes have built more than 66,000 water conservancy projects of varying sizes in the region. All the communes here are steadily increasing their use of agricultural machinery.

Great progress has also been made in the fields of science and technology, education and public health. In 1962, compared to 1957, the number of students in institutions of higher education increased by 230 per cent, while the number of engineers and technicians rose by 280 per cent and

that of cultural and health workers upped by 83 per cent.

Large numbers of cadres have come to the fore from among the minority peoples. Figures available at the end of 1962 show that cadres of the minority peoples make up 23.3 per cent of the total number of cadres in the region. The percentage is much higher in areas where the national minorities live in compact communities.

These successes are typical of all the other national minority regions in China. They stem from the policy towards the national minorities adopted by the Chinese Communist Party and People's Government, a policy which ensures that everything possible is done for the advancement of the general well-being of the nation's minority peoples.

Characterizing this policy in his Nanning speech, Vice-Premier Chen Yi described it as "a further development of Marxist-Leninist theory on the national question in China and one of the great contributions made by Mao Tse-tung's teachings."

China Recognizes New Syrian Government

The Chinese Government has announced recognition of the new Government of the Syrian Arab Republic.

On March 15, in a message to Salah Eddine Bittar, the Foreign Minister of the Syrian Arab Republic, Chen Yi, the Chinese Foreign Minister, notified him of the decision of the Chinese Government to recognize the new Syrian Government.

Algerian Journalists in Peking

Two Algerian journalists now visiting in China have been guests of honour at many warm welcomes and banquets in Peking. They are Jacques Verges, director of the Algerian weekly *African Revolution*, and its special correspondent Djamila Bouhired, the Algerian heroine. Both were guests of honour at a banquet given on March 14 by Wu Leng-hsi, president of the All-China Journalists Federation, and attended by representatives of China's journalists, the National Women's Federation and the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association. Algeria's victory in winning national independence and friendship between the Chinese and Alge-

rian peoples were the toasts of the evening.

They were also entertained by the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity on March 17.

Djamila Bouhired was imprisoned by the French colonialists for five years for her part in the struggle to free her country from colonialist rule. At one time she was under sentence of death. Her unyielding courage in face of the enemy roused the admiration of the whole of progressive mankind and a worldwide movement for her release from captivity. In this struggle she became widely known and admired in China.

Her meeting with prominent Chinese women at the reception given in her honour by the National Women's Federation was particularly moving.

Among those who greeted her as comrades-in-arms were women veterans of the famous Long March of the Chinese Red Army some 30 years ago, and many others who took a direct and heroic part in other exploits of China's revolutionary struggle. There were women Ministers, outstanding workers, professors, doctors, journalists, writers and artists.

Teng Ying-chao, vice-chairman of the National Women's Federation and veteran of the Long March, in her welcoming speech pledged the Chinese people's support for the Algerian people. Hsu Kuang-ping, another vice-chairman of the federation and widow of Lu Hsun, China's great revolutionary writer, said to Djamila: "The way you stood up fearlessly and heroically to a brutal enemy was a tremendous encouragement to us in our own struggle and work!" Deeply moved, Djamila Bouhired replied that the Algerian people would never forget the sincere and unconditional support given by the Chinese people to them during their seven years of armed struggle.

Jurists Condemn U.S. Imperialism

Two leading Chinese and Japanese jurists issued a joint statement last week denouncing imperialism headed by the United States for encroaching on the independence and sovereignty of many countries, attempting to crush the national-liberation movement, trampling on human rights and murdering people.

The protest was made by Wu Teh-feng, vice-president of the Chinese

Political Science and Law Association, and Yoshitaro Hirano, vice-president of the Japanese Liaison Council of International Jurists, following an exchange of views in Peking on the present world situation.

Their statement fully endorses the resolutions of the Third Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference held in Moshi, Tanganyika last month. "The conference," it says, "holds that the struggles in various countries to safeguard their sovereignty and territorial integrity, to demand the removal of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops and the disbandment of aggressive military blocs, are a component part of the struggle against imperialism, for national liberation and in defence of world peace. We consider it to be of great significance. We believe, in particular, that the resolution on granting political asylum to all nationalists and victims of persecution under both the new and old colonialist systems and on guaranteeing their safety, is of still greater importance."

Yoshitaro Hirano came to Peking on March 8 at the invitation of the Chinese Political Science and Law Association. While in Peking he was received by Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

Viet Nam Government Delegation

A Viet Nam government delegation headed by Nguyen Van Tran, Minister of Heavy Industry, is in Peking.

The delegation, which arrived in Peking on March 11, is holding talks with the Chinese Government on economic and technical co-operation between China and Viet Nam.

Chairman Mao's Poems in Spanish

The first edition of a collection of Mao Tse-tung's poems in Spanish is on sale in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

The collection, published by the Argentine Publishing Company, contains 20 poems translated by Luis Enrique Delano. The preface pays tribute to the beauty of Chairman Mao's verse, their freshness of spirit and heroism. "A heroic force has given these poems a great and vigorous spirit as well as exquisite sentiment." These poems, it continues, "have brought us a ringing, confident and noble message. . . . They inspire the people with greater courage and confidence in the destiny of mankind."

Chinese and Soviet Parties Exchange Letters

The Letter of the Central Committee of The Communist Party of China

To the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Dear Comrades:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has received the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated February 21, 1963.

When Comrade Mao Tse-tung received Comrade Chervonenko, the Soviet Ambassador to China, on February 23, he explained our estimation of your letter.

We welcome your letter. We welcome the desire for unity expressed in it; we welcome the normal attitude of equality towards fraternal Parties as shown in it; we welcome your definite approval of the proposal to call a meeting of the representatives of all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world.

To safeguard the unity of the socialist camp, to safeguard the unity of the international communist movement, to safeguard the unity of our two Parties and two countries—this is and has been the consistent position of the Communist Party of China. We have never spared our efforts in the interest of unity. We are always distressed by and opposed to anything that is not in the interest of unity. We always rejoice at and support anything that is in the interest of unity.

We ought to face the fact that at present there are serious differences in the international communist movement on a series of important questions of principle. As for the causes of these differences, which your letter says "can be explained by the different conditions in which this or that detachment of the world communist movement is working," the more important factor, in our opinion, is the question of how Marxism-Leninism is understood and what attitude is taken towards it, and the question of how the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are understood, and what attitude is taken towards them.

The Chinese Communist Party has always advocated that when differences on questions of principle arise between fraternal Parties, the fraternal Parties should start with the desire for unity, carry on comradely discussion and mutual criticism so as to distinguish right from wrong, and reach the goal of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. That is to say, differences between fraternal Parties should be settled inside the international communist movement through consultation on an equal footing in bilateral or multilateral talks or at a meeting of

the fraternal Parties, in accordance with the principles and methods set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The Chinese Communist Party is and always has been opposed to public exposure of differences between fraternal Parties before the enemy. We are even more strongly opposed to the inflammation of debate and the complication of matters by the use of such methods as the convening of Party congresses, the issuance of resolutions or statements by Party Central Committees, and the publication of articles and speeches by Party and state leaders. We knew full well, and have said more than once, that such practices would gladden our enemy and create difficulties for our own ranks, and especially for the fraternal Parties in capitalist countries. Events have proved that our concern was not uncalled for. More and more fraternal Parties have now expressed the wish that public polemics should cease. This is a good sign. We ardently hope that the public polemics among the fraternal Parties will cease in the shortest possible time.

The international communist movement has indeed reached a critical juncture. The time has indeed come when the differences among the fraternal Parties have to be settled.

We have before us a very good international situation, one that is most favourable for revolution in the world. There is no reason why we should not eliminate our differences and strengthen our unity.

In the world balance of forces, the superiority is on the side of socialism and the revolutionary people, and not on the side of imperialism and its running dogs.

TWO great historical currents of our time, the forces of socialism and the forces of the national and democratic revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are battering the wall of the reactionary rule of imperialism, headed by the United States of America.

The contradictions among the imperialist powers, and especially those between U.S. imperialism and the other imperialist powers, are becoming deeper and sharper, and new conflicts are developing among them.

In this situation, what is of decisive significance for the international cause of the proletariat as a whole is the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and the support for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In this situation, the possibility of preventing a new world war and preserving world peace will increase

with the further development of the strength of the socialist countries, the further development of the national-liberation movement, of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people, of the movement in defence of world peace and, at the same time, with the full utilization of the contradictions in the imperialist camp.

In this situation, what is necessary first of all is to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international communist movement. With the unity of Marxist-Leninists as the nucleus, the strengthening of the unity of the world proletariat, the strengthening of the unity between the world proletariat and all the oppressed nations and people and the strengthening of the great unity of all the people in the world who favour opposition to imperialism—these are the guarantee for the victory of our common cause.

THE Moscow Declaration and Statement set forth the common line, course and policies for our common struggle. These two documents present clear-cut conclusions on the nature of the present epoch; on the socialist camp; on the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction; on the struggle against imperialism; on war and peace; on peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems; on the national-liberation movement; on the tasks and tactics of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries; on the struggle against revisionism as the main danger at present and the struggle against dogmatism; on continuing the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, which has betrayed Marxism-Leninism; on the guiding principles for relations among fraternal Parties and fraternal countries— independence, equality and attainment of unanimity through consultation; etc. In our words and deeds, we Chinese Communists have unswervingly followed and maintained this correct line, this correct course and these correct policies. We are very glad that the Soviet comrades, too, have in their letter expressed their loyalty to these two programmatic documents.

To eliminate differences and to strengthen unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement accords with the interests of the people of the whole world, with the interests of the Communists of all countries, with the interests of the people of the socialist camp, and with the interests of the people of China and the Soviet Union. Conversely, if the differences should be further exacerbated and unity further undermined, it is not only future generations that would not forgive us—we would not be forgiven by the masses of the people of our own time.

With the purpose of eliminating differences and strengthening unity, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on April 7, 1962. In that letter, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party expressed its support for the proposal to convene a meeting of the fraternal Parties put forward by the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, the Communist Party of Sweden, the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Communist Party of New Zealand, and explicitly proposed that a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries be convened to discuss problems of common concern. We are very glad that in its recent letter the Central Com-

mittee of the C.P.S.U. also favours calling a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

In our letter of April 7, 1962, we also pointed out that, in order to convene and make a success of a meeting of the fraternal Parties, many obstacles would have to be overcome beforehand and much preparatory work would have to be done. At that time, we advanced the following points:

First, the fraternal Parties and countries having disputes should take steps, however small, that will help ease relations and restore unity, so as to improve the atmosphere and prepare the conditions for the convening and the success of a meeting of the fraternal Parties.

Second, we support the proposal of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam that public attacks should cease.

Third, where needed, certain fraternal Parties should hold bilateral or multilateral talks to exchange opinions.

Fourth, we sincerely hope that the Soviet comrades and the Albanian comrades will both take positive steps to remove their differences and restore normal relations between the two Parties and the two countries. In this connection, it seems necessary for the Soviet comrades to take the initiative.

Fifth, according to the decision of the meeting of the fraternal Parties in 1957, the C.P.S.U. is responsible for convening meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, after consultation with the fraternal Parties.

At present, we still hold that the foregoing points are important for the success of a meeting of the fraternal Parties.

We are very glad that in its recent letter the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has also advanced valuable proposals for making the meeting of the fraternal Parties successful.

We agree with your view that "it is especially important to take immediate concrete practical steps to ensure our unity, to improve the climate in the relations between all fraternal Parties."

IN order to create a favourable atmosphere for the convening of the meeting of the fraternal Parties, we have decided that, apart from the articles which we have already published as replies, we will from now on temporarily suspend public replies in our newspapers and periodicals to the public attacks which were directed by name against the Chinese Communist Party by comrades of the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal Parties. It goes without saying that, basing ourselves on the principle of equality and reciprocity between fraternal Parties, we reserve the right to make public replies to all the statements of fraternal Parties publicly attacking the Chinese Communist Party by name. On the suspension of public polemics, it is also necessary that our two Parties and the fraternal Parties concerned should have some discussion and reach an agreement that is fair and acceptable to all.

We welcome the proposal in your letter that talks be held between the Chinese and Soviet Parties. We hold that such talks constitute a necessary preparatory step for the convening of a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. In his

conversation with Comrade Chervonenko, Comrade Mao Tse-tung expressed the hope that Comrade Khrushchov, while making his visit to Cambodia, would stop over in Peking for talks between our two Parties and an exchange of views. If this is not convenient for you, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. can send to Peking a delegation headed by another responsible comrade, or we can send a delegation to Moscow.

We agree with your view that "during the talks it would be possible to take up point-by-point all the major questions of interest to both Parties, especially those relating to the common tasks of our struggle." We hold that the questions that need to be discussed in the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties are also the questions that need to be discussed at the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries, and that they are, first of all, the following: the question of strategy and tactics of revolution in the contemporary world, the question of opposing imperialism and defending world peace, the question of the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and people, the question of strengthening the power and unity of the socialist camp, the question of strengthening the unity of the international communist movement, and other questions of common interest. All these questions ought to be discussed in a comradely way, point by point, to the full and in detail, in accordance with the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and with the revolution-

ary principles set forth in the Moscow Declaration and Statement; and the consultation ought not to be a mere formality but should be conducted on a footing of real equality. Whatever is agreed upon by both sides can be settled at once and an agreement can be concluded. Existing differences that cannot be settled immediately may be laid aside, pending later settlement. We propose that if we cannot finish our discussions in one session, several should be held, or that our Parties should hold further bilateral talks.

It is the common desire of the people of China and the Soviet Union, of all the people in the socialist camp, of the Communists of all countries, and of all the oppressed nations and people the world over to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement, to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, and especially to strengthen the unity between our two Parties and countries. We are conscious of the responsibility that falls on our two Parties; we must not disappoint these expectations. Let us unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

With communist greetings,

**The Central Committee of
the Communist Party of China**

March 9, 1963

The Letter of the Central Committee of The Communist Party of the Soviet Union

**To the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China**

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, guided by the supreme interests of our common cause, has decided to write this letter to you in order to express our considerations concerning the need to make a common effort to strengthen the unity of the world communist movement in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow meetings. We are addressing you, being deeply convinced that in the present conditions there is no task more important for the Marxist-Leninist Parties than the struggle for the cohesion of our ranks, for strengthening the unity of all the socialist countries.

All who treasure the great cause of peace and socialism cannot but feel serious concern over the situation which has arisen of late in the communist movement. The open, ever aggravating polemics are shaking the unity of fraternal Parties, seriously damaging our common interests. The disputes which have arisen within the ranks of the international communist movement obstruct the successful struggle against imperialism, weaken the efforts of the socialist countries in the international arena, adversely affect the activities of fraternal Parties, especially of those

in capitalist countries where a complicated internal political situation has arisen.

The enemies of socialism are striving to take advantage of the differences that have arisen within the communist movement to divide the socialist countries, to split the national-liberation movement, to strengthen their own positions.

In conditions of the new balance of forces in the world, the imperialist aggressors are not in a position to overpower the closely welded socialist community militarily. Therefore, they put their main stake on subverting our cohesion. Unless we have unity in the fight against our common enemy, if we act separately in the face of imperialism, that can only weaken our efforts and, therefore, strengthen the positions of the enemies of socialism. The direct duty of Marxist-Leninist Parties, above all of the biggest Parties like the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C., is not to allow events to develop in a direction that would confront the communist movement with serious difficulties, to do everything in order to eliminate the present abnormal situation and achieve unity of the ranks of the communist movement, and cohesion of the socialist community.

We are deeply convinced that the difficulties experienced now by the communist movement are transient and can surely be overcome. We possess everything needed to strengthen our unity and cohesion. Evaluating

the present situation from the viewpoint of the historical prospects of the development of world socialism, one cannot but come to the conclusion that the common, the main things that unite the C.P.S.U., the C.P.C., all the Marxist-Leninist Parties, are immeasurably higher and more significant than the existing differences. We are welded together by the unity of the class interests of the proletariat, of the working people of the whole world, by the great Marxist-Leninist teaching. No matter how serious our differences might seem today, one cannot forget that in the great historical struggle of the forces of socialism against capitalism, we are standing with you on the same side of the barricade.

Being aware of the entire complexity of the present situation, we hold at the same time that the existing differences should not be exaggerated and the colours laid too thick.

AN objective analysis of the discussion going on in the communist movement shows that in many instances in the course of the polemics the differences that arise are artificially inflated and exacerbated, an overdue accent is made on disputed issues. The heat of polemics at times prevents a calm and sober appraisal of the substance of the problems that have arisen, eclipsing the main things that underlie our unity.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties jointly worked out programmatic documents—the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow meetings—the loyalty to which they invariably stress. Steadfastly carrying out the common line agreed upon by the world communist movement, the C.P.S.U. is waging active struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of the great ideals of socialism and communism all over the globe. Our Party spares no efforts in the struggle to prevent a new world war, to strengthen peace and the security of the peoples. The C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government by all means—economic, political, and even by rendering assistance in arms—support the national-liberation movement. Faithful to proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union always follows the militant slogan: “Workers of all countries, unite!” The C.P.S.U. works to strengthen the world socialist community, to strengthen its influence on the entire course of historical development. The successes of communist construction in the Soviet Union are a contribution of our people to the cause of strengthening world socialism, raising its authority and force of attraction.

For its part, the Communist Party of China has continually pointed out that it firmly stands by the positions of the Declaration and the Statement and adheres to the conclusions and propositions contained therein, that its main aim is to struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of socialism and communism the world over. The C.P.C. stresses its adherence to the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, acknowledges the correctness of the conclusion of the Statement concerning the possibility of preventing a new world war. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China recognizes that the principle of proletarian internationalism remains the main principle guiding mutual relations among the Communist Parties and the socialist countries, and affirms its loyalty to the slogan “Workers of all countries, unite!”

Common positions on such cardinal questions is a good basis for increasing cohesion and overcoming the difficulties that have arisen. Provided firm adherence to the documents of the Moscow meetings, there is no substantial reason for exacerbating the existing differences, because a correct solution can be found for them.

Of course, it is not excluded that different approaches to the understanding of certain problems of current world development can and do emerge in the communist movement. This can be explained by the different conditions in which this or that detachment of the world communist movement is working. But such differences in opinion, if not exaggerated artificially, should in no way resolve into a deep conflict; they can well be overcome through joint comradely consultations.

In view of all that, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. considers that it is especially important to take immediate concrete practical steps to ensure our unity, to improve the climate in the relations between all fraternal Parties. It was these considerations that guided the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Comrade N.S. Khrushchov when speaking at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany he proposed on behalf of our Party that polemics among Communist Parties be discontinued as well as criticism of other Parties within one's own Party. As known, this proposal found a wide response and support in the world communist movement.

BY writing this letter the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. wants to make a new step towards overcoming the difficulties that have arisen. In the interests of strengthening our friendship and better mutual understanding we propose to the Central Committee of the C.P.C. to hold a bilateral meeting of representatives of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. Considering the importance of this meeting, and to be more sure of achieving its aims, we would rather have the aforementioned meeting held at a high level. During the talks it would be possible to take up point-by-point all the major questions of interest to both Parties, especially those relating to the common tasks of our struggle. As to the problems on which different viewpoints actually prove to exist, agreement should be reached on measures that would help make our positions closer to each other. If you agree to such a meeting, the place and time to hold it could be settled additionally.

A meeting of representatives of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C., the significance of which is obvious to everybody, would also play an important role in preparing a conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties, in creating the favourable climate without which it could not work successfully.

The C.P.S.U., like many other fraternal Parties, has advocated as it does now, the convocation of the conference, considering that there are serious enough grounds for that. As we see it, the attention of the conference should be centred on the common tasks of the struggle against imperialism and its aggressive plans, for the further advancement of the liberation movement of the peoples, for the rallying and all-round development of the world socialist community and increasing its influence throughout the world, for strengthening the unity of the communist movement.

We have already set forth our view concerning the need to convene a conference in our letter to you of May 31, 1962, and confirm it now again. It is our common duty to do everything for the conference to lead to the further rallying of Marxist-Leninist Parties and to greater unity. We are prepared to carefully study and support any initiative aimed at overcoming the existing difficulties. The main thing needed now is goodwill to settle on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the problems that have arisen, not to permit any actions that could obstruct the strengthening of our unity.

Dear Comrades,

All Marxist-Leninist Parties are aware that a highly important moment has arrived in the development of the world communist movement. Upon us, upon our Parties, upon the correctness of our policy depends whether we shall continue marching further together in the same ranks, or shall allow ourselves to get involved in a hard and needless struggle which could only lead to mutual estrangement, to the weakening of the forces of socialism, and to undermining the unity of the world communist movement.

On our Parties rests the historical responsibility for enabling the Soviet and Chinese peoples to live like brothers. The unity of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. is of tremendous importance to the socialist community and to the entire communist movement. Future generations will not forgive us if in the present conditions in which acute struggle is going on between the two systems we should

fail to find in ourselves the courage and strength, under the guidance of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism to surmount the existing differences. History has placed on the first detachments of the revolutionary movement, which have delivered their countries from the yoke of capitalism, the great task to establish and develop relations of a new type, brotherly and friendly relations between peoples, and to set the example of a future socialist society for all mankind. Our Parties are duty-bound to find a way out of the existing situation and courageously and resolutely sweep away what obstructs our friendship. This is the only road that Marxist-Leninists can and must take.

We are deeply convinced that the overcoming of the differences that have arisen would accord not only with the interests of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. but also with the basic aims of the common struggle of the international communist movement for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. It is only necessary to display good will and profound understanding of the aims and interests of our struggle; then no obstacle can prevent us from strengthening and developing our friendship and cohesion of the international communist movement.

With communist greetings,

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

Moscow, February 21, 1963.

Chen Yi on the Sino-Indian Boundary Question

Following is the text of a television interview granted by Vice-Premier Chen Yi on February 17 to Mr. Karlsson, correspondent of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

Mr. Karlsson: Your Excellency, Mr. Vice-Premier, I am greatly honoured to meet you during my visit to China, and particularly to be able to present you, as one of the leaders of the People's Republic of China, in the first television interview over the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi: I welcome you on your visit to China. Relations between China and Sweden have always been good. Sweden pursues a policy of peace and neutrality and has contributed to world peace. On behalf of the Chinese people, I would like to convey greetings to the people of Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries through you and the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation.

Mr. Karlsson: I will certainly do that. May I ask some questions now?

Vice-Premier Chen Yi: Please.

Question 1: The Sino-Indian boundary dispute is an old question. Why, in your opinion, did it develop into a military conflict during the last months of 1962?

Answer: All along, the Chinese Government has sought a friendly settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through peaceful negotiations. China has shown the greatest forbearance and restraint in dealing with this dispute. India has refused to negotiate. Moreover, she stepped up her armed encroachment of Chinese territory, and ultimately went so far as to launch massive armed attacks along the border. The course of events was rather complicated, and I will try to explain it as briefly as possible.

India already occupied, around 1950, more than 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, south of the illegal McMahon Line. The occupied area was three times the size of Belgium. The Chinese Government did not accept this encroachment, but in order to seek a peaceful settlement of the question, it restrained its frontier guards from crossing the illegal McMahon Line.

Then in 1959, India laid claim groundlessly to over 30,000 more square kilometres of Chinese territory in

the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary. Moreover, India provoked sanguinary conflicts on two occasions during that year, first in the eastern and then in the western sector of the boundary. As a result, tension rose daily along the border.

Question 2: Why didn't the Sino-Indian boundary dispute develop into a large-scale armed conflict in 1959?

China's Measures to Prevent Armed Conflict

Answer: The Chinese Government took every possible measure to prevent it. At that time, that is on November 7, 1959, we proposed that the armed forces of China and India should each withdraw 20 kilometres along the entire boundary and stop their patrol activities, so as to avoid conflicts. We also proposed to the Indian Government that negotiations should be held to seek a peaceful settlement of the boundary question.

The Indian Government did not agree that the armed forces of both countries should withdraw 20 kilometres. Then China stopped its patrol activities unilaterally in the area 20 kilometres on its side of the border. Shortly afterwards, in April 1960, Premier Chou En-lai and I went to New Delhi for talks with Prime Minister Nehru of India. If the Indian side had shared our desire for a settlement of the boundary question through negotiations based on mutual understanding and mutual accommodations, the question would have been smoothly settled then and there, or even if it were not settled, it would not have developed into a large-scale military conflict. But our talks with Prime Minister Nehru proved fruitless. The Indian Government even refused to come to a temporary agreement for maintaining the status quo along the border.

Then, in the latter half of 1961 and particularly in the first half of 1962, India took advantage of China's unilateral cessation of patrol activities to change the status quo along the boundary by armed force. She set up 43 aggressive strongpoints on Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary and encroached upon China's Che Dong area north of the illegal McMahon Line in the eastern sector.

If you leaf through the Indian newspapers of May and June 1962, you will see how the Indian Government was recklessly pursuing a policy of aggression and provocation.

Nevertheless, we did not strike back. We limited ourselves to lodging protests with the Indian Government and demanding the withdrawal of Indian troops. We continued to work for a settlement of the boundary question through negotiations. The Chinese Government proposed negotiations on three occasions between July and October, 1962. But unfortunately, our proposals were rejected by the Indian Government every time. Having made all kinds of war preparations in the meantime, Indian troops finally launched on October 20, 1962, massive attacks on the Chinese frontier guards. Thus, China struck back in self-defence only when she was pressed beyond the limits of forbearance and left with no room for retreat.

Question 3: You said that Indian troops launched massive attacks on the Chinese frontier guards. Could you please tell me why India should do so at that time?

Answer: In the first place, I think that the Indian Government drew the wrong conclusions from China's repeated forbearance and imagined that China would not strike back. Then, too, the Indian Government wrongly thought that China was faced with rather difficult economic conditions at home and was quite isolated internationally. Hence it attempted to use armed force to make China submit.

Question 4: The Indians say that China could not have fought on such a large scale without having made systematic preparations. What is your opinion about this?

India Provoked Armed Conflict

Answer: China was prepared, because the Indian Government long ago publicly announced its intention to launch armed attacks. On three occasions between July and October 1962, the Indian Government rejected China's proposals for negotiations, and persisted in maintaining that it was legitimate to carry out armed aggression against China. All this was bound to put China on her guard. On the 5th of October 1962, the Defence Ministry of India announced the establishment of a new army corps under the Eastern Command for the sole purpose of dealing with China, and appointed Lt. Gen. B.M. Kaul commander. On October 12, Prime Minister Nehru declared personally that he had issued instructions to clear out the Chinese frontier guards from what he termed invaded areas, which were in reality Chinese territory. On October 14, the then Indian Minister of Defence, Krishna Menon, called for a fight to the last man and the last gun against China. In these circumstances, how could China as a sovereign state fail to make the necessary preparations?

The large-scale armed conflict on the Sino-Indian border was provoked solely by India. The Chinese frontier guards were absolutely compelled to strike back in self-defence. It is a clumsy distortion of the facts to slander China as an aggressor simply because the Chinese frontier guards made great advances when they struck back in self-defence.

Question 5: Does China consider the boundary question so important that despite the principle of peaceful co-existence, there might be a military solution if negotiations should fail?

China Opposes Military Solution

Answer: China and India together initiated the famous Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China has always adhered to these principles in her relations with India. China stands for a friendly settlement of her boundary question with India through negotiations based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Pending a settlement, she stands for maintaining the status quo on the boundary and avoiding armed conflicts. The facts have demonstrated during the past years that it was not China which acted counter to the principles of peaceful coexistence and which attempted a military solution of the boundary question. China decided to effect a ceasefire and to withdraw on her own initiative even though she had made great gains during the self-defensive counter-blow which she was forced to strike. If we believe in a military solution, is it conceivable that we would withdraw the Chinese frontier guards

from large tracts of territory which was south of the illegal McMahon Line and which belonged to China in the first place?

Question 6: How does China regard the Indian reaction to the Chinese proposals for ceasefire and negotiations?

Answer: Frankly speaking, we are disappointed.

The Chinese side took many steps to facilitate an amicable settlement of the boundary question through negotiations. On October 24, the Chinese Government put forward three proposals for peace, namely, to stop the border conflict, to reopen peaceful negotiations and to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question. Moreover, on November 21, the Chinese Government announced a ceasefire and withdrawal on its own initiative, and proposed that officials of the two sides hold meetings immediately. China released more than 600 sick and wounded Indian military personnel. China also returned to the Indian side large stores of military equipment which had been captured in the fighting. This was something unprecedented. The Chinese frontier guards, in compliance with the statement of the Chinese Government, are about to complete their withdrawal all along the line to positions 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control as it existed on November 7, 1959. It must be evident to every unbiased person that all these actions taken by China created the necessary conditions for direct negotiations between China and India.

India Obstructs Peaceful Settlement

But what has India done in the meantime? Instead of responding positively to the ceasefire and withdrawal, undertaken on China's own initiative, the Indian side has from time to time been carrying out provocations. A de facto ceasefire has come into being on the border, thanks to the efforts of the Chinese side. Yet, the Indian Government has adopted measures to create an artificial war atmosphere. During the last two or three months, the Indian Government has been constantly whipping up hysteria against China and goading the Indian people on for what it calls a prolonged "war effort." Tearing up unilaterally the agreement for the mutual establishment of consulates-general, the Indian Government closed down its consulates in China and compelled China to close down her consulates in India. The Indian Government groundlessly arrested and detained more than 2,000 Chinese nationals in India, putting them in concentration camps. It even went so far as to censor and detain all mail and telegrams, both private and official, between China and India. Everyone knows that these are measures taken only when a formal state of war has been declared between two countries. These acts of India have placed more and more difficulties in the way of a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

Question 7: It is said that China responded positively to the Colombo proposals; but some say that China has completely rejected them. What exactly is the attitude of the Chinese Government towards the Colombo proposals?

Answer: The Chinese Government's attitude is very clear. The Chinese Government has acclaimed and sup-

ported the efforts of the Colombo conference to promote direct negotiations between China and India. The Chinese Government accepts the Colombo proposals in principle as a basis for meetings between Chinese and Indian officials. The Colombo proposals are ambiguous on some matters of detail, and the Chinese Government has its own interpretation, but it does not make acceptance of its own interpretation a precondition for starting the meetings between Chinese and Indian officials. Actually, the Indian Government has its own interpretations too. The Chinese Government hopes that the differences in interpretation will be resolved satisfactorily in the meetings between Chinese and Indian officials.

Question 8: The Indians claim that the clarifications of the Colombo proposals are an inseparable part of these proposals. How do you look at it?

Answer: The Chinese Government cannot agree with this view. The six nations which took part in the Colombo conference merely adopted the Colombo proposals and never adopted what is called clarifications of these proposals. Madame Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, and Dr. Subandrio, Deputy Chief Minister of Indonesia, came to Peking to clarify the Colombo proposals for the Chinese Government. Later, the Ceylonese Prime Minister, Mr. Ali Sabry, Chairman of the Executive Council of Ministers of the U.A.R., and Mr. Ofori-Atta, Ghanaian Minister of Justice, went to New Delhi to clarify the Colombo proposals for the Indian Government. Actually, there is a great discrepancy between the two clarifications. Obviously, neither of them can be considered inseparable parts of the Colombo proposals. We do not believe that the nations which participated in the Colombo conference would agree with the view of the Indian Government either.

Question 9: The Indians say that China's maintaining two points of interpretation on the Colombo proposals is tantamount to a complete rejection of the proposals. Would you like to comment on this?

Answer: I consider such an assertion groundless. The Colombo proposals contained six points. The Chinese Government has put forward its own interpretation only in connection with item C of the second point and with the third point. We consider all the other points acceptable. Hence, even as to form, it cannot be said that China's two points of interpretation mean a complete rejection of the Colombo proposals.

China's Concessions in Response to the Colombo Proposals

Furthermore, China has done a great deal in response to the Colombo proposals:

1. The Chinese Government originally stood for a withdrawal of 20 kilometres by the armed forces of each side from the 1959 line of actual control to form a demilitarized area. Now, the Chinese Government has agreed for Chinese frontier guards unilaterally to withdraw 20 kilometres from the entire 1959 line of actual control, while Indian troops keep their existing military positions all along the line.

2. It would be quite natural for the Chinese Government to set up civilian checkposts in the area vacated

by the Chinese frontier guards in their 20-kilometre withdrawal. Yet, in order to promote talks between officials of China and India, the Chinese Government has decided to leave vacant four places which are under dispute in the ceasefire arrangements and not even to set up civilian checkposts there. These four places are the areas in the western sector where India once set up 43 strongpoints, Wuje in the middle sector and the Che Dong area and Longju in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border.

Mr. Correspondent, you need only recall the three proposals put forward by the Chinese Government on October 24, 1962, and you will realize what great concessions the Chinese Government has made in response to the Colombo proposals.

Question 10: Why can't the Chinese Government accept the Colombo proposals without reservations?

Answer: The Colombo proposals contain contradictions and fallacies in logic. Moreover, they are ambiguous on some matters of detail. Prime Minister Nehru took advantage of this to interpret the Colombo proposals as being favourable to India's position in that it met the so-called Indian demand to restore the status of the boundary as it existed prior to September 8, 1962. In these circumstances, it was all the more impossible for China not to maintain its own interpretation, or not to have some reservations.

The whole purpose of the Colombo conference was to promote direct negotiations between China and India. The Colombo conference proposals are merely for the consideration of China and India; they are neither a command, nor an arbitration decision. The Chinese Government is not obliged to accept them in toto. Nor do the nations which participated in the conference consider that China has to accept their proposals in toto before direct negotiations can begin between China and India.

China Opens the Door to Direct Negotiations

China's positive response to the Colombo proposals has opened the door to direct negotiations between China and India. Whether negotiations can be held soon depends entirely on the attitude of India.

Question 11: What are the prospects for direct negotiations between China and India in the near future?

Answer: It is our hope that the Indian Government will not persist in its unreasonable insistence that the Colombo proposals and the clarifications be accepted in toto before preliminary talks can begin and that they will thus make it possible for Chinese and Indian officials to meet immediately. But, frankly speaking, I am not at all sure this will happen. You know that the Chinese Government has been consistently seeking direct negotiations between China and India. But if it can't be done, the Chinese Government is willing to wait patiently.

Question 12: If talks between China and India should fail to materialize for the time being, would fighting break out again along the Sino-Indian border?

Answer: Regardless of whether negotiations can be held soon, a ceasefire has been effected along the border

FRESH INDIAN INTRUSIONS

In its note of February 7 to the Indian Embassy in China, (see *Peking Review* No. 7, p.15), the Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged a serious protest against 11 successive intrusions by Indian troops into the Spanggur Lake area in Tibet. In its reply of February 10, the Indian Government, besides hastily denying the facts of the intrusions, professed that it had instructed its forces not to impede the implementation of the ceasefire and withdrawal announced by the Chinese side.

But on February 11-14, Indian troops intruded on four successive occasions into places in the Spanggur Lake area where the Indian side had intruded last year and set up aggressive strongpoints. Having repelling the Indian attacks, the Chinese side, on its own initiative, had left these places vacant.

Following these deliberate provocations, the Chinese Foreign Ministry on March 10 handed a note of protest to the Indian Embassy in China, pointing out that if the Indian side should continue to intrude into Chinese territory, it will be absolutely unable to escape its responsibility for renewing border tension and obstructing the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

On March 10, the Indian side committed another serious provocation. At about 20:50 hours, three Indian soldiers intruded into Chinese territory about two kilometres from the Chinese civilian checkpost at Hot Springs, Sinkiang Region. They reconnoitred there and did not leave Chinese territory until about 21:10 hours that day.

anyway, thanks to the efforts of the Chinese side. Chinese frontier guards are about to complete their planned withdrawal 20 kilometres from the 1959 line of actual control. The Chinese Government has even decided to refrain from setting up civilian checkposts in the places under dispute in the ceasefire arrangements. So long as the Indian side refrains from provocations and does not intrude into these disputed places, the relaxation along the Sino-Indian border will not give way to tension again. After all, Indian clamours for a fight is one thing and real fighting is another. As I see it, a fight along the Sino-Indian border is not likely for the time being. But judging from the present attitude of the Indian Government, provocative actions on the part of Indian troops will occur from time to time.

Question 13: How does China regard her long-term relations with India?

An Episode in History of Sino-Indian Friendship

Answer: Historically, the Chinese and Indian peoples have always lived together in friendship. There is no fundamental conflict of interest between the two countries. Both China and India are great countries of Asia. We both face urgent tasks of reconstruction to transform the backward state of our economy. We both shoulder heavy responsibilities for consolidating Asian-African

solidarity, safeguarding world peace and opposing imperialism. Despite the incessant anti-China clamour of the Indian Government, China has never considered India as her enemy. You, Mr. Correspondent, have visited quite a few places in China. Did you hear any war propaganda directed against India? Did you see any preparation for war against India? I don't believe you did, because it is a fact that nothing of the sort exists here in our country. The Chinese people are

friends of the Indian people. The tense relations between China and India were artificially created by the Indian Government alone. This is a very unfortunate situation. But, we do not believe that this state of affairs which run counter to the desires of the Chinese and Indian people can endure for long. The dark clouds which hang now over China and India are bound to disappear. In the long view, the border dispute is only a brief episode in the history of Sino-Indian friendship.

South Viet Nam

U.S. Imperialism Sinks Deeper Into The Morass

by YANG CHUN-FONG

RECENT developments in south Viet Nam indicate that the "special warfare" now being conducted by U.S. imperialism against the patriotic south Vietnamese people is, to say the least, all fouled up.

Back in 1961, Washington confidently trumpeted its determination to "wipe out" the patriotic forces in south Viet Nam within 18 months, as mapped out in the Staley plan. But things did not work out that way. Now, although more than 21 months have passed, U.S. imperialism is still up to its neck in trouble and the objective it has set for itself is even further away than it was in mid-1961. President Kennedy was forced to admit in his recent State of the Union message to Congress that the U.S. faced difficult days in south Viet Nam and that no end of the fighting there was in sight. Hanson W. Baldwin wrote in the *New York Times* not only that "the war in south Viet Nam is likely to be long and hard," but also that the ultimate outcome is "in doubt." The practical military analyst is more frank than the mealy-mouthed politician.

Pouring Manpower and Money Down the Drain

Twelve Generals. Since the beginning of 1962, the U.S. has stepped up its "special warfare" in south Viet Nam, where are now stationed 12,000 American servicemen, representing "the cream of youthful military talent." American military advisors are everywhere in the puppet south Vietnamese army and they "live together, march together, fight together and die together" with the puppet troops of Ngo Dinh Diem. AP reported on February 12 from Saigon: "There are 12 American generals stationed in south Viet Nam—one for every thousand Americans in uniform. Colonels are almost as plentiful in Saigon as at the Pentagon. Privates are rare and draftees account for only a tiny percentage of U.S. servicemen there."

Further steps are being taken to tighten U.S. control over Diem's army. It was reported in the British press that following the recent urgent conference in Saigon between Admiral Harry D. Felt, Commander-in-Chief of the

U.S. Pacific Command, and General Paul D. Harkins, Chief of the U.S. Military Assistance Command in south Viet Nam, an additional draft of more than 1,000 first and second lieutenants, many of them West Point graduates, will be appointed as military advisors to posts down to company level in Diem's standing army.

Flying Combat Missions. The U.S. Air Force has taken part in practically every operation. The U.S. press makes no secret of the fact that "Americans fly a sizable percentage of combat missions." The reason given is that south Vietnamese pilots "lack combat experience" and there is a basic "shortage of pilots." *Newsweek* revealed not without a sense of relief and pride that "in the skies over south Viet Nam the U.S. combat role was becoming more and more overt."

Meanwhile, U.S. aid to south Viet Nam has increased sharply. According to press reports, it amounted to \$2 billion during the 1955-61 period. The figure for 1962 was \$510 million, an increase of almost 100 per cent over the previous year.

Strategic Considerations

The reasons why the U.S. has staked so much on south Viet Nam are obvious. For one thing, it is out of strategic considerations. As the Pentagon brasshats see it, south Viet Nam occupies a place of decisive importance for the U.S. plans of aggression and war in Southeast Asia. The Kennedy Administration regards the preservation of south Viet Nam's "integrity and independence" as one of its "vital interests." As a footnote, George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State, offered an explanation. Ball stressed that south Viet Nam forms one shore of the South China Sea, which is a gateway to Malaya and Indonesia and that it controls the mouth of the Mekong River, which is the coronary artery of Southeast Asia. For U.S. imperialism the importance of south Viet Nam cannot be over-emphasized because Washington is using south Viet Nam as a base for aggression in Southeast Asia and to threaten the socialist countries. The official U.S. line is that "if

south Viet Nam goes, the whole of Asia will go." In plain English, it amounts to this: If the U.S. is kicked out of south Viet Nam its whole position in Asia will collapse.

Testing Ground. A second over-riding consideration is that the U.S. is using south Viet Nam as a testing ground for "special warfare" to suppress the people's national-liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The *New York Times* reported that south Viet Nam has become "a battlefield proving ground for new weapons, tactics and equipment." U.S. strategists are said to be regarding south Viet Nam as a "gigantic experiment in a new type of war" and expressing the view that "the shape of the world's future wars is being moulded in south Viet Nam." The value of south Viet Nam as a testing ground for the U.S. was further underlined by the *London Times*. According to this British paper (January 21), "South Viet Nam is the only part of the world where the Pentagon's training manuals can be put to the test under conditions of real warfare. In this tropical Salisbury plain new techniques are being developed of counter-insurgency."

The experimental aspect of the war in south Viet Nam, AP explained, "accounts largely for the huge sums of money and tremendous investment in military talent the U.S. is putting into this small nation." According to U.S. press reports, the U.S. is now spending more than one million dollars a day on "special warfare" experiments in south Viet Nam.

Special Warfare

"Special warfare," "counter-insurgency," "unconventional war" or whatever name they have for it, is really nothing new. It is the long-discredited colonial war in a new fancy garb. Stripped of all its frills, it is essentially a predatory imperialist war against a revolutionary people fighting for their national liberation and freedom. It puts special stress on making the people fight among themselves.

Military Suppression Plus Political Persecution. In trying out its "special warfare" in south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism makes full use of the experience of the reactionaries in Greece, Malaya and China in fighting the revolutionary forces. It strives to destroy the patriotic revolutionary forces in south Viet Nam mainly by using armed suppression and by coupling military operations with political deception. Serious efforts have been made to carry out "mopping-up" operations in the key areas and to expand the puppet troops of Ngo Dinh Diem for the express purpose of using numerically superior forces to destroy step by step the revolutionary bases. Following the failure of the "all-out mopping-up" operations, the U.S.-Diem clique, beginning February 1962, shifted to "mopping-up operations in key areas" in an attempt to "wipe out the communist guerrillas in a given area within a specified time."

The spearhead of these "mopping-up" operations has been directed mainly against the Vietnamese-Laotian and Vietnamese-Cambodian border areas and against the old liberated areas in the central and southern parts of south Viet Nam and in the Mekong River Delta. Apart from "mopping-up" operations, the U.S.-Diem clique has also launched large-scale campaigns against the old liberated areas.

American strategists are of the opinion that the U.S.-Diem troops must have a numerical superiority of ten to one if the revolutionary forces of the people in south Viet Nam are to be defeated. As a result, nothing has been spared in expanding the armed forces of Diem, which are now reported in the *U.S. News and World Report* to be 375,000 men strong (including an army of 200,000, a civil guard of 100,000, a self-defence corps of 75,000), as compared with 250,000 a year ago.

Strategic Villages

Another important measure taken by the U.S.-Diem clique is the formation of "strategic villages" to strangle the revolutionary armed forces of the people. These concentration camps under a new name are being hailed as a "key factor in reversing the situation." The whole idea of "strategic villages" is nothing new. It is actually a version of what the British did in Malaya, what the French did in Indo-China and what the Japanese did in China.

The "strategic villages" are designed to serve political as well as military purposes. Militarily, they are intended to cut off contact between the guerrillas and the peasants, to "deny the guerrillas their recruiting grounds and their sources of supply," thereby making it impossible for them to operate or even to survive. Politically, both the U.S. and Diem calculate to tighten their grip on the people through the administration of these "strategic villages."

To organize reactionary armed units among the national minorities in the high plateau regions in south Viet Nam is another important move on the part of U.S. imperialism. The regions in which these minority people live are of tremendous strategic importance in the eyes of U.S. imperialism, because they "dominate the Mekong Delta to the south and the rich rice lands of the eastern coast and they also lie athwart the guerrilla trails leading into south Viet Nam from northern Cambodia and southern Laos." According to the *New York Times* about 7,000 minority people had been trained and equipped with modern weapons and about 3,000 more were beginning the training course.

Beset With Difficulties

The U.S.-Diem clique faces enormous difficulties in carrying out the various measures mentioned above. First and foremost is the mounting opposition of the south Vietnamese to the corrupt and tyrannical Diem regime and its U.S. overlord. The people of Viet Nam have a long revolutionary tradition. In the war against French imperialism, half of the land was liberated and the people have had personal experience of revolutionary rule. In sharp contrast, ruthless exploitation, intolerable political persecution and undisguised sell-out to U.S. imperialism by the Diem regime have quickly disillusioned the people and driven them into the ranks of the revolution.

Mutual Recriminations. Contradictions between Ngo Dinh Diem and his U.S. paymaster are getting more acute. Their long series of military reverses led to violent mutual recriminations. Charges and counter-charges flew back and forth between Washington and Saigon, each blaming the other for what had happened. Diem complained of U.S. aid, which he described as too little and too late. The abortive coup against him and the bombing of his presidential palace have left Diem a suspicious man, living

in constant fear that there is more to come or that his U.S. overlord may cast him aside like a worn-out shoe. Therefore, he is extremely jealous of his control over the army and he refuses to let the American advisors have everything their own way.

Washington on its part lashed out at Diem for his lack of efficiency and vigour. For example, the *New York Times* openly took Diem to task for continuing "to operate a government suffering from dictatorial rigidities and extreme pre-occupation with suppressing its critics, however anti-communist" and described such policies as constituting "a dangerous impediment to the successful prosecution of the joint south Viet Nam-American struggle against the communist guerrillas." The paper went on listing its charges against Diem and concluded with an open warning and threat: "The stakes are enormous and defeat for our effort in south Viet Nam would compromise the whole anti-communist position in Southeast Asia. Somehow Ngo Dinh Diem must be made to understand that the importance and scope of the conflict in which he is involved transcends his own personal and family interests. He must come to realize that U.S. support for a regime that refuses to do what is plainly basic and necessary cannot be unlimited."

Terrain — A Big Headache. The terrain in south Viet Nam also presents a big headache for the U.S. aggressors and greatly handicaps the effective use of their modern weapons. One comic episode gives a very good idea of what geographical difficulties the Americans are up against. David Halberstam wrote in the *New York Times* that the traditional role of the air force has been limited in south Viet Nam. He reported: "Even traditional targets such as supply lines or equipment centres are difficult to find, and last week, for example, when the air force carried out a successful attack against the supply line of the Vietcong it ended up bagging three elephants and two water buffaloes!"

Morale Is Pretty Low

The way things are going in south Viet Nam tells on the morale of the U.S. servicemen as well as on that of the puppet troops of Ngo Dinh Diem. War weariness is on the increase in Diem's army. In 1962, deserters and defectors totalled 30,000, a twofold increase over 1961.

Demoralization is also visible among the U.S. servicemen in south Viet Nam. One American serviceman was reported by AFP to have committed suicide. According to the *Saturday Evening Post*, at Pleiku, in the foothills north of Saigon, where one Col. Wilbur Wilson heads a team of military advisors to the Vietnamese II Corps, there hangs in the American officers' mess a framed quotation from a poem by Rudyard Kipling. It goes like this:

*The end of the fight is a tombstone white
With the name of the late deceased
And the epitaph drear:
"A fool lies here
Who tried to hustle the East."*

The *Saturday Evening Post* commented that "to the American military advisors now serving in south Viet Nam, it is plain by now that the East is still as hard to

hustle as it was in Kipling's time." It seems that even fools are beginning to learn things these days.

Expansion of Liberated Area

Fighting against overwhelming odds, the people of south Viet Nam have chalked up important victories during the past year. According to incomplete data, in 1962 the people's armed forces killed 330 American invaders, killed, wounded and captured 40,000 puppet troops and criminal officials of the Diem regime and shot down 61 U.S. helicopters and pursuit planes. In addition, 1,600 "strategic villages" were destroyed.

The liberated areas in south Viet Nam have been greatly expanded and consolidated. By the end of 1962, of the total 17,162 villages in south Viet Nam, the liberated areas accounted for 13,423, as against 11,798 at the end of 1961. Under the leadership of the South Viet Nam Front for National Liberation, the people in south Viet Nam are busy carrying out democratic reform. Political, economic and cultural construction is in full swing, although under extremely difficult conditions.

The revolutionary armed forces of the people also have grown in strength. The battle of Ap Bac at the beginning of this year furnished an inspiring example. The U.S. press admitted that the defeat at Ap Bac was the worst the U.S.-Diem clique had suffered in more than a year. The reason was that the battle was initiated by the U.S.-Diem troops in a place of their own choice with superior forces under cover of U.S. planes and warships.

Going the Way of the French Colonialists

Today U.S. imperialism finds itself standing isolated and discredited in south Viet Nam. As early as July last year, AP raised the question: Is the United States falling into the same trap which brought defeat to a proud French army in Indo-China eight years ago? The answer it gave was: "Disturbing reports from south Viet Nam seem to indicate it is."

More light was thrown on this question by the journal *Link* when it wrote: "If the French lost the Indo-China war in 1954 because they were hated by every section of the Vietnamese people, Americans can hardly do any better. In 1954, the French were isolated from the local population. Americans today are even more isolated in south Viet Nam."

Repeating Past Mistakes. U.S. imperialism is not only going the way of the French, it is also repeating the mistake it made in bolstering up the tottering Chiang Kai-shek regime to fight the Chinese people. The *London Times* (January 13) made some interesting comment on this point. "The current crisis in south Viet Nam," the paper said, "is alarmingly reminiscent of the lost cause which confronted General Marshall in China at the end of the Second World War when Mao Tse-tung's communists opened their successful operation against an unpopular national government, precariously propped up by the failing and, in the outcome, futile support of the United States."

History seems to repeat itself. If what confronted General Marshall in China was a lost cause, General Har-

kins can hardly hope to fare any better in south Viet Nam.

Some Valuable Lessons

The U.S. "counter-insurgency" experiment in south Viet Nam has taught useful lessons. AP quoted General Harkins as saying: "We have learnt in almost direct proportion to the help we have given to the Vietnamese armed forces." But it is open to question whether this ill-starred general has learnt the right lessons.

At any event, a careful survey of world press comment indicates that the following lessons have been widely agreed upon.

Weapons Alone Can't Win a War. The first lesson that has been driven home by the poor showing of the U.S.-Diem clique is that weapons alone cannot win a war. In the final analysis, it is the man behind the gun who counts. Even in an imaginary push-button war man is needed to press the button.

In south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism has made use of amphibious tanks, fighter planes and helicopters including HU-1A (said to be the "world's first offensive helicopter" armed with rockets and .30-calibre machine-guns), napalm, concussion bombs, combat junks, river craft, armoured personnel carriers, defoliant chemicals, air commandos, police dogs, various types of explosive gases and other new experimental weapons. All these weapons, however, have got the U.S.-Diem clique nowhere. Their grandiose Staley plan, and their Operation Sunrise, Operation Morningstar, Operation Sea Swallow, Operation This, Operation That have all fallen through.

On the other hand, the revolutionary armed forces of the people are poorly equipped with "home-made shot-guns or old French rifles." The only modern weapons they have were captured from the U.S.-Diem troops. Nevertheless, they have inflicted one defeat after another upon their enemy.

Machines No Substitute for Man. All this adds up to one inescapable conclusion. Hanson W. Baldwin admitted "it is men, not machines, that win wars." He explained: "Machines, no matter how good, can help and supplement, but cannot replace, as the final arbiter of victory the

man on the ground, using his legs and carrying a rifle in his hand."

Earlier the *New York Times* (October 10, 1962) stressed the important role of the foot soldier. It wrote: "No weapon or weapons system is the magic key to victory. In Viet Nam, where much of the country is covered by rain forests or jungle growth, the foot soldier—living in the jungle, not merely raiding in the jungle—will remain by far the most important weapons system."

This conclusion has been widely accepted. The *London Times* (January 21, 1963) reported that "it is realized both by Vietnamese and American leaders that military operations alone will not win the war." The journal *Link* agreed and added: "Money and weapons alone will not win a war. American officers in Saigon are more convinced about this maxim than ever before. . . . The experience of the last year has brought them to the sad, inevitable conclusion—money, weapons and even U.S. military personnel are practically worthless in a war where one can't distinguish between friend and foe."

It's the Character of a War That Counts. A second lesson is that the character of a war has much to do with its outcome. Whether a war is just or not has a great bearing on the morale of both the military and the civilian population. War-weariness in Diem's puppet army is causing alarm in U.S. political and military circles. The *Wall Street Journal* wailed: "A related and perhaps even more fundamental difficulty is the reluctance of the south Vietnamese troops to fight." It asked mournfully: "Brilliant generals have often inspired their own troops. But who knows the magic that can inject in Southeast Asians the indispensable will to fight?" "The south Vietnamese," the *Economist* of London reported, "showed an alarming lack of fighting spirit, ignored the advice of their American advisors and disobeyed the orders of their own officers. . . ."

Why are the south Vietnamese troops reluctant to fight? The journal *Link* gave a simple answer: "Most Vietnamese, including Diem's soldiers, are convinced that it is a private war of President Diem and the Americans are only trying to fish in troubled waters."

There you have it all. Diem's troops have no stomach for the fight because they don't want to die for those who ride on their backs. They do not know what they fight for but they know they are ordered by others to do the fighting. The Swiss journalist Louis Albert Johnville told a revealing story. "The Americans make the guns and bring them to south Viet Nam. They load them, take aim and at the last moment call a Vietnamese to press the trigger."

That being the case, how can you expect a mercenary or a robot to fight with a will? It stands to reason that Diem's troops, as the journal *Link* disclosed, "wash their hands of the whole business of fighting the moment they get an opportunity." The French paper *Temoignage Chretien* further revealed that Diem's "conscripts think it better to cross over to the guerrillas than to oppose their own compatriots."

By contrast, the people's fighters give a very good account of themselves. They know what they are fighting for and no outside pressure is needed to make them fight. In describing the battle of Ap Bac, an American



Well, man, what do you think of our strategy?

Cartoon by Hsu Chin

observer is quoted by the *New York Times* as saying: "The Vietcong are brave men. I think any officer would have been proud to have commanded that unit. My God, we got a fix on one machine-gun position and made 15 aerial runs on it, and every time we thought we had him, and every time that gunner came right back up firing."

Further Confirmation of Mao Tse-tung's Analysis

These two lessons provide further confirmation of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's analysis of war. Sixteen years ago when the Chinese People's Liberation Army was fighting the U.S.-backed Chiang Kai-shek gang, Chairman Mao pointed out:

... We said that Chiang Kai-shek's superiority in military forces was only transient, a factor which could only play 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 in this respect the People's Liberation Army was in a superior position.

What happened in China and what is happening in south Viet Nam bear eloquent testimony to the correctness of Chairman Mao's analysis.

"Hearts and Minds Scheme." In conducting their "special warfare" in south Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists have talked a great deal about "meeting the enemy at his own game under his own rules," and about "turning the tables upon the guerrillas." They tried hard to enlist popular support through their "hearts and minds schemes" because they realize that "guerrilla warfare cannot succeed without the active support of the people to provide concealment, recruits, food, money, medical aid and intelligence information" and that "a campaign of suppression succeeds only when contact between the villagers and the guerrillas is broken." But so far they have very little to show for it. The people keep away from them and help the guerrillas in every way possible. U.S. papers moaned: "the enemy is everywhere and nowhere." The *New York Times*, for one, reported with sorrow and bitterness: "It is harder to find the enemy than to kill him and it is often impossible to separate the cruel and dedicated foe you want to kill from the simple and illiterate peasants you want to woo."

In the Chinese people's revolutionary war the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek clique did try to beat the People's Liberation Army at its own game. The outcome, however, is known to the whole world. Both the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek gang were thrown out. Chairman Mao Tse-tung explained why. He said: "Our strategy and tactics are based on a people's war, no army opposed to the people can use our strategy and tactics."

What U.S. imperialism failed to do in China, it cannot hope to accomplish in south Viet Nam.

Paper Tigers. The way things are shaping up in south Viet Nam has given additional proof of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. In spite of overwhelming superiority in many material respects the U.S.-Diem clique has suffered one reverse after another at the hands of the people's armed forces. Victory will belong to those who dare to struggle and dare to win.

But imperialism will be imperialism and reactionaries will be reactionaries. They can no more change their nature than the leopard can change his spots or the tiger can change his stripes. As Chairman Mao has long since pointed out, make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries. There is no doubt that despite their long string of defeats, the U.S.-Diem clique will continue to make trouble.

Moreover, Chairman Mao has taught us that strategically we should despise all our enemies but tactically we should take them seriously.

To say that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers does not mean that imperialism and all reactionaries will step down of their own volition. Victory for the people does not come by itself. You cannot hope to have something for nothing. For an oppressed nation to achieve its independence and freedom without paying a price is impossible. The people of south Viet Nam still have a long and difficult way to travel before they reach the journey's end. But since theirs is a just cause they are sure to win out provided they close their ranks, adopt the correct policy and give the U.S.-Diem clique blow for blow.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Three meetings held in Peking recently voiced the support of China's youth for the anti-imperialist struggles in other lands. Peking's youth gathered to welcome the Cuban Communist Youth Union delegation led by Jorge Gallardo on March 5, the south Viet Nam youth delegation led by Le Viet Hung on March 4, and Reinaldo Montila, secretary of the National Secretariat of the Venezuelan Communist Youth League on February 28.

A contract for the exchange of newsreel material was signed between

China and the Sudan in Khartoum on March 3.

A five-member Chinese public health delegation is now visiting Algeria.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi received Minoru Ito, head of the delegation of the Japanese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and other members of the delegation on March 6. They are visiting China after attending the Third Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Moshi, Tanganyika.

Two guests from Latin America, Madame Herlinda Leon of Guatemala and Madame Eulogia de Barrett of the Paraguayan Front for National Libera-

tion were received by Vice-Premier Chen Yi on March 6.

Nan Han-chen, chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, gave a banquet in Peking on March 7 in honour of the visiting friendship delegation of the Japan-China Trade Promotion Association headed by Yasuzo Ishihara.

The Boundary Treaty between the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Mongolia was ratified on March 8 by Chairman Liu Shao-chi in accordance with a decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

ROUND THE WORLD

WESTERN EUROPE

Strikes in France

The economy of the Western world is deep in trouble. First the United States and Britain and now such a Common Market stalwart as France is having a difficult time. This is reflected not only in the sharpening contradictions among these imperialist powers, as underscored by the recent U.S.-French and Anglo-French squabbles, but also by the increasingly bitter class struggle in each of these countries.

With the crisis clouds looming large, the working class is having to fight to prevent the monopoly capitalists shifting the burden on to them by further intensifying exploitation. The wave of strikes sweeping France now is a case in point. Despite government intimidations to force them back to work, including a "requisition" order and deployment of large armed security forces in the mining areas, the 200,000 coal miners who have left the pits have kept the collieries idle for nearly three weeks. They stand firm on their demand for a shorter working week and an 11 per cent wage increase.

What is more significant, the striking coal miners have the backing of their brothers in other trades as well as wide public support. They have been joined by 20,000 iron miners in Lorraine and the natural gas workers in southwestern France. Together with sympathy strikes by 110,000 gas and electricity workers, 320,000 railwaymen and two million metal workers, these work stoppages have caused severe dislocations in the French economy.

The French coal miners stand in the frontline of the struggle. They are in a sad plight working in an industry which is contracting because of French membership of the Common Market. But with prices steadily rising, their fellow workers also fare no better. Hence, their militancy and the explosion of the myth that the Common Market, an international combine of the monopolists, can bring welfare benefits or prosperity to the working class.

Trouble is also brewing in Italy, where two million agricultural workers recently staged a nationwide united action to demand better working and living conditions. Not long ago, a favourite theme among bourgeois economists was to prattle about the economic miracle which is the Common Market. Now these false prophets have to eat their words.

INDIA

Expansionist "Exercise"

If proof is needed of the Nehru government's covetous designs on China's territory of Tibet, then here it is: On March 10, the Dalai Lama issued in New Delhi a "constitution" which described Tibet as "a unitary state" and released a statement openly calling for rebellion there. This traitorous act had the connivance and support of the Indian Government. It was widely reported by the IIS, India's official news agency, the Press Trust of India and many Indian papers, with all the ballyhoo that usually accompanies such anti-Chinese activities.

Nehru had repeatedly indicated earlier that India would not allow the Tibetan rebels to engage in anti-Chinese political activities on Indian soil. On April 20, 1959, for example, he said that the Dalai Lama would be free to pursue his religious activities in India, but "political activities are not carried on from one country against another." Even as recently as last December 10, he told the Indian Lok Sabha that his government would not allow the Dalai Lama to form an "emigre government" in India because, he said, it would mean India "undertaking to free the whole of Tibet." He added: "It is a large undertaking. If it comes about, it comes about. But for us to do that, to say the least, is not wise. What is more it will give justification to the Chinese that much of what they have said about us in the past had been correct."

However, as on many other questions, Nehru's actions again do not square with his words. From the very beginning, the Tibetan rebels who fled to India were used for anti-Chinese activities. This became flagrant last October, when the Dalai Lama was

called to New Delhi, a few days before the Indian troops unleashed their all-out attacks along the entire Sino-Indian border. The Dalai Lama was received by Nehru, the Indian Vice-President and other senior officials, and later issued a traitorous statement. At the time, the *Hindustan Standard* noted that "these meetings have assumed added importance" and that Indian political circles believed that "India would be perfectly justified in recognizing an emigre government of Tibet headed by the Dalai Lama in India and allowing him to take steps to throw the Chinese aggressors out of Tibet."

Since then, there have been frequent clamours from Indian official quarters regarding Tibet. According to the *Indian Express* (November 2), K.K. Shah, General Secretary of the All-India Committee of the Congress Party, declared at a public meeting that "India would throw them [the Chinese] out of Tibet, which must form a buffer area between India and China."

Considered in this context, what does the latest manoeuvre in New Delhi prove except that there is in fact an "emigre government" at work under the wings of the Indian Government which itself still maintains diplomatic relations with China? An Indian External Affairs Ministry spokesman has tried to explain away this exposure of India's territorial ambitions against China and violation of international law by describing the publication of the "constitution" in New Delhi as an "exercise." Well, if it can be called an exercise, it is an expansionist and unsavoury one.

SOUTH VIET NAM

Noxious Chemicals, Desperate Imperialists

In desperation, the U.S. imperialists are resorting to noxious chemicals in an attempt to win their losing colonial war in south Viet Nam. As reported by the South Viet Nam Liberation Press Agency, U.S. aircraft have been spraying these chemicals over villages and paddyfields in the provinces of Ben Tre, My Tho and Go Cong. This criminal action, repeated on many occasions in January and February, not only devastated crops and killed animals, but also caused severe poisoning of human beings, among them women and children.

As part of their "special warfare," such chemicals have been used by the U.S. aggressors in many areas in south Viet Nam. The present spraying operations are especially abhorrent because they are being carried out against densely populated areas, such as those in Ben Tre Province, to force the peasants to move into the hated "strategic villages." In Giong Trom District, for example, nearly all the villages were sprayed with these chemicals between February 1 and 7. As a result, about 1,700 people in Thuan Dien village and over 350 people in Nhon Thanh village were poisoned. Furious villagers marched in their thousands to the provincial capital on February 9 and demonstrated before the local gendarme station and the governor's office. Marchers from one district carried with them six victims of this "special warfare," including one who was blinded. Members of the puppet Diem army showed sympathy for the demonstrators as many of their own families were also affected.

People throughout Viet Nam are indignant over these latest crimes of U.S. imperialism. Both in the north and in the south, there have been mass demonstrations and protests. Ung Van Khiem, Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, has written to the co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva conference, demanding an investigation and emergency relief measures for the victims. He pointed out that the use of the chemicals was a violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements and also of the 1922 treaty and the 1925 Geneva Protocol to which the U.S. Government is a signatory.

To cover up their dastardly crime, the U.S. State and Defence Departments have tried to make out that the chemicals used were weed-destroyers and not harmful in any way to human beings and cattle. But the record of germ warfare in Korea as well as what is now happening in Ben Tre shows that no act, however inhuman, is beyond the capacity of the U.S. aggressors.

LAOS

A Lie Nailed

In a recent report to the co-chairmen of the Geneva conference, the International Control Commission in Laos revealed that its inspection

team found no evidence that foreign troops had ever been stationed in Ban Longkou, Sam Neua Province. This is an area where the United States has charged that there are still Vietnamese troops present. On the other hand, the inspection team found a military camp built by remnant Kuomintang troops in Ban Ton Pheung, Houi Sai Province. The report said that from the evidence gathered, the team could not be certain if they had withdrawn before or after Oct. 7, 1962, the date set for withdrawal of foreign troops under the Geneva agreements.

U.S. propaganda machines have been spreading all sorts of lies about the presence of Chinese and Vietnamese troops in Laos, but on-the-spot investigation shows that this is merely a smokescreen to cover up Washington's own misdeeds—the continued stationing of its own mercenary troops in Laos in violation of the Geneva agreements. Such a finding is not to Washington's liking. This explains why there is now such a hue and cry coming from there. The commotion would be even greater if the American "advisors" in Laos were given their true designation.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA

Guerrilla War

Much smaller and perhaps less well known, Portuguese Guinea (population: 565,000) has nevertheless a guerrilla war as widespread and

determined as that in Angola. Recently at a press conference in Paris, Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the African Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands, told newsmen that "the entire south of the country is under the control of the patriotic forces. The struggle has extended to the whole of the territory, clashes have taken place in the central area, and many guerrilla bases have been established in the northern forests."

Latest communiques issued by Cabral's African Independence Party in Conakry, Guinea, show that some 350 colonial troops have been killed or wounded in recent engagements. Seven Portuguese fighters and reconnaissance planes were shot down last month. A Portuguese freighter loaded with fuel and military materiel was set on fire at Port Bissao, the territory's capital. Captain Carreira Curto, the notorious commander of the colonial troops in the south, was taken prisoner. He was publicly tried for his atrocities, sentenced to death and shot.

Armed struggle has been going on for about a year and a half in Portuguese Guinea. This was the answer to Portuguese mass arrests in towns and bloody punitive campaigns in the countryside. With strong popular backing, the guerrillas have blown up bridges, cut communication lines, seized weapons and everywhere harassed the colonialists by surprise attacks.

THE PASSING SHOW

Wholly Paper Tigers

U.S. officers fighting in south Viet Nam have a well-founded suspicion that the puppet Ngo Dinh Diem forces are a bit holey—they prefer a hole in the ground to fighting. Mourns the old grey *New York Times*: They "have developed a tendency to avoid contact with large concentrations of Vietcong guerrillas [*Times'* term for patriotic forces]." They also like "to launch operations where intelligence has shown [guerrilla] strength to be minimal." In one of these operations, "2,000 troops were used. One guerrilla was killed."



The "3-in-1" Method of Leadership

Following is a slightly abridged translation of a recent "Renmin Ribao" editorial originally entitled "Make Better Use of the 'Three-in-One' Method of Leadership." Sub-heads are ours. — Ed.

"GET the leaders, specialists and the masses together" — this is the method of leadership advocated by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. It means leadership with all three groups — leading cadres, scientific and technical personnel, and workers and peasants — working together in close harmony. This method of leadership was first evolved in the field of industry. It has been further developed in recent years and has spread to the agricultural and the cultural and educational fields. It is not confined to work at the primary level either; higher organs of leadership also stress this form of leadership. Large numbers of specialists were invited to meetings convened recently by certain central government departments and provinces and municipalities to sum up the practical working experience of the past few years collectively — especially that of last year — and to map out work plans for 1963 and the coming years.

Mass Line in Operation

This method of "three-in-one" leadership is an example of the Party's mass line in operation during the period of socialist construction. The mass line is the basic line of the Party and this line must be followed at all times, by all departments, and for all types of work. During the period of the revolutionary wars the Party in all its work used the method of integrating the efforts of the leadership and the masses. After liberation Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "The serious task of economic construction lies before us. We shall soon put aside some of the things we know well and be compelled to do things we don't know well. This means difficulties." In the period of economic construction, we face the difficulty, for example, of solving problems of the development of the productive forces simultaneously with problems of production relations. This was something new for us, but now, after more than ten years of practice and study, we have gained a great deal of experience in this. The three-in-one method of leadership is an important part of this experience.

A host of complex scientific and technical questions are involved in every technological policy, every important technical measure and every programme of construction adopted to develop the forces of production. To handle these questions correctly demands a thorough knowledge not only of the laws of economic development but also of the laws of nature. Therefore, we must rely on the initiative of our worker-peasant masses as well as that of our scientific and technical personnel. We must gather together and sum up the knowledge and experience gained in actual production by our workers and peasants and in their work by our scientific and technical personnel. To get the best results we need the method of three-in-

one leadership in carrying out these policies, measures and programmes.

Essential for Farm Modernization

China has entered a new period of active, step-by-step technical reform in agriculture. This technological progress is bringing about great changes in the types of farm tools used, in forms of power and in cultivation methods. This is a new revolution — the technological revolution in agriculture. In leading this revolution to bring about the switch-over from hand work based on human and animal power to mechanized operations we must use a suitable method of leadership — the three-in-one method.

In choosing a certain type of agricultural machinery, say a tractor, a tractor-drawn farm implement, drainage and irrigation machinery or machinery for transporting or processing farm produce, etc., both the mass of peasants and the scientific and technical personnel must be consulted. After the machinery in question has been decided on, lot produced and delivered to the farms, the same process of consultation must be applied to handle the matter of how to make the most efficient use of it.

China's peasants have gained much farming experience over many centuries; China has a rich agricultural scientific heritage. Throughout the process of technical reform in agriculture, this experience and heritage must be integrated with modern agricultural science and technology in order to achieve greater labour productivity in agriculture as well as higher yields from a given area. In doing this, the leadership must collect the opinions of the masses and of the scientific and technical personnel. Raising the productivity of labour in agriculture simultaneously with yields is an extremely arduous task, involving the solution of a whole series of scientific and technical problems, and this cannot be done without turning to full account the work of the scientific and technical personnel concerned. This is why the method of three-in-one leadership must be fully grasped by all agricultural departments, agricultural machinery departments and other departments concerned, from top to bottom, and why they must continuously sum up and gain fresh experience in this method of leadership. This is one essential for the modernization of China's agriculture.

Role of Workers and Peasants

To rely on the masses and consult them when a problem needs to be solved is in the best tradition of our Party. During the revolution and now during the period of construction, we have always relied mainly on the organized and politically conscious worker and peasant masses. In every sphere of production, the worker or the peasant is the direct producer. It is their productive activities that have provided the conditions for the development of science and technology and the utilization of scientific and technological achievements.

Many successful scientists and technicians have already emerged from among the mass of workers and

peasants. Still more of them with yet greater achievements will appear in the future. The organizing of efficient management in enterprises and the implementation of scientific and technical measures in the countryside must therefore be based on mobilizing the masses of workers and peasants. This refers especially to the veteran workers in the factories, most of whom have a firm class stand, a relatively higher level of political consciousness and technical skill and a rich fund of experience in production, and the veteran farmers in the villages who have an intimate knowledge of local conditions and rich practical experience. Such veteran workers and farmers are an important technical force in production. In solving technical questions they must certainly be consulted and asked to give their opinions. Arrangements should also be made to draw such veteran workers or peasants into the responsibility for giving technical guidance.

Better cultural, scientific and technical education must be given to all workers and peasants as well as better political education. In this way, the experience which they already have in production can be combined with a knowledge of scientific theory and their cultural, scientific, and technical level can be raised to facilitate the training of larger numbers of more skilled workers from among the broad masses of workers and peasants and of peasants able to handle various kinds of agricultural machines and equipped with a knowledge of modern agricultural science and techniques. That is why every district, every department should look upon the popularization of science and technology as a basic, long-term task.

Fuller Play for Scientists' Initiative

How can the initiative of scientific and technical personnel be brought into fuller play? This is an important question in the three-in-one method of leadership. It is, in fact, a matter of how to implement correctly the Party's policy concerning intellectuals. In the 14 post-liberation years our country has trained and steered a body of scientific and technical personnel belonging to the working people. There is firstly a number of veteran cadres, veterans of the long revolutionary struggle who, in the course of leading industrial and agricultural production after liberation, have either had an opportunity to get specialized training or who have studied diligently at their places of work. These cadres have gradually acquired a fair amount of scientific and technical knowledge both by studying hard and by summing up the practical experience they have gained on the job. In this way, they have become more or less "red and expert," i.e., politically conscious and professionally proficient, in certain fields. Secondly, the younger scientific and technical personnel trained after liberation under a socialist system are maturing as they follow the "red and expert" road. As for the scientific and technical personnel trained in the old society, they have, on the whole, undergone a radical change after 14 years of steeling and remoulding. The overwhelming majority of them enthusiastically serve the cause of socialist construction, accept the leadership of the Communist Party of China and are willingly continuing with their self-remoulding. These intellectuals too without a doubt belong to the working people.

This whole body of scientific and technical personnel constitutes an important force in solving the scientific and technical problems of China's economic construction. It

is most important that the leading cadres in industry, agriculture and other fields of construction should rely on them and give their abilities full play.

A modern industry and agriculture rests on a foundation of science. The natural and technical sciences play a key role in the growth of the social productive forces. This is especially true today when, after two years of readjustment, relations between industry and agriculture and between the various branches of industry in China have become more harmonious and the collective economy of the rural people's communes has become more firmly consolidated. It is necessary in both industry and agriculture to devote still greater efforts to developing the forces of production while continuing to solve problems connected with the relations of production. Under these circumstances, it is all the more necessary to turn to full account the work of our scientific and technical personnel, to encourage and help them to make still greater contributions to science and technology while continuing with their ideological remoulding so that they can better serve industrial and agricultural production and socialist construction in general. It is necessary to have confidence in these scientific and technical personnel, to hold comradely discussions with them on scientific and technical questions and respect their opinions. At the same time, solicitude must be shown them and help given them to overcome any difficulties in their work. They should be provided with all the facilities needed to carry on their work. They should be helped to get into closer touch with the workers and peasants and with actual production and their political and professional levels should be further heightened.

Scientists' Tasks

Scientific and technical personnel should be fully alive to their responsibilities in socialist construction. When he received a number of well-known Chinese scientists during the Spring Festival this year, Comrade Liu Shao-chi said: "China's progress, the modernization of her agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology depend on the efforts of the entire nation, on the efforts of her scientists, and especially on the lead given by her veteran scientists." Comrade Chou En-lai at the recent Shanghai conference on science and technology clearly expounded the tremendous significance of the modernization of science and technology. He said: "The modernization of science and technology is the key to the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology and the building of our motherland into a powerful socialist state." And the fulfilling of this key task falls first and foremost on the shoulders of our scientific and technical personnel. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, all scientific and technical personnel should consciously shoulder this glorious and arduous task. They should work in a spirit of seeking the truth from the facts, make progress in a systematic way, forge ahead simultaneously in all fields of endeavour and at full tilt so that China can catch up with the world's advanced levels in a relatively short time. They should correctly combine research into basic theory with research into subjects serving current production. In actual production, they should set store by the experience of the workers and peasants, modestly learn from their rich fund of knowledge accumulated in the

course of prolonged practice, and help them sum up and perfect this experience in a scientific way. They should conscientiously and enthusiastically popularize scientific and technical knowledge and pass it on to the workers and peasants as quickly as possible.

Decisive Role of Party Leadership

The leadership of the Communist Party plays a decisive role in the development of the productive forces and the progress of science and technology in China. The Party has set the correct course for the growth of science and technology and constantly urged our scientific and technical personnel to persist in the advance on this course. It has laid down timely policies and tasks for science and technology in every period in the light of the needs of China's construction and overall planning; it has mustered our forces to implement these policies and fulfil these tasks in all fields of endeavour. We already have a number of cadres who have gained a fair amount of experience in leadership in the matter of science and technology in general and in their special fields. But many cadres are still rather inexperienced. This problem has to be solved gradually. To make our leadership in the economic and cultural fields more thorough and specific during the period of socialist construction, our leading cadres must gradually master the relevant scientific knowledge in their respective fields. They should

therefore indefatigably study Marxist-Leninist theory, the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and science and technology so as to improve their art of leadership and become not only political leaders and organizers but also experts in their specific fields. In this way they will be able to meet the objective demands of socialist construction. Just as we trained up and steeled groups of brilliant military men, political leaders and specialists in organizing mass movements during the period of the revolutionary wars, so we shall certainly be able to train up and steel groups of brilliant specialists in various fields in the course of socialist construction. But it goes without saying that even when our leading cadres should have become well versed in their special fields, they will still have to abide strictly by the Party's mass line, they will still have to respect the opinions of the masses and specialists and, when tackling scientific and technological problems, use the three-in-one method of leadership and be adept at mobilizing the wisdom of both the specialists and the masses and take decisions that conform to the objective situation.

The three-in-one method of leadership is an important experience gained in the course of 14 years of socialist construction in China. Its conscientious application in all branches of the national economy will assuredly promote the further progress of China's socialist construction.

Travel Notes

The Snow Feeds Sinkiang

by CHENG PING

IRRIGATION is the lifeline of farming in arid Sinkiang. A network of large rivers and canals, like arteries, and ditches, like spreading veins, bring water to more than 90 per cent of the cultivated land in this autonomous region of the Uighurs in northwest China. Since liberation this irrigation network has been extended to some 30 million *mu* of land newly opened up to crops. This means a 160 per cent increase in the cultivated area in 13 years. The ingenious and industrious work of the Uighurs, Hans, Kazakhs and other peoples is making the deserts bloom by tapping the snow-fed streams of Sinkiang.

"I hope it won't rain again, otherwise, I am afraid there'll be a dry spell." This was exactly what I heard a leader of the Kashgar Special Administrative Region say one cloudy day when I stopped at his office while travelling in south Sinkiang. To help me understand this paradoxical linkage of events, he explained: "Our crops are fed by melted snow, rather than rain. When it rains, the air cools and the snow on the mountains stops thawing." I looked up to the snow-capped summits of the Kunlun Mountains rising to the south and rounded off the explanation. "The hotter the weather, the more snow melts and flows down the rivers from the mountains into the irrigation channels."

This dependence on irrigation using the snow-fed streams is not confined to the Kashgar region on the

western edge of the Takla Makan, the largest desert in China. It is the same throughout the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Three times as large as France, this largest autonomous region of China enjoys long sunny days and a long frost-free period—two favourable factors for farming. But it gets very little rain. Annual rainfall averages 60mm, while evaporation rises as high as 2,000mm, a year. In some parts the raindrops often evaporate before they touch the ground. So it is no wonder one half of China's desert lands is in Sinkiang.

Irrigation by Snow Water

Nature, however as we have hinted, makes up for this niggardly ration of rainfall by providing Sinkiang with another source of water supply. The Kunlun, Tianshan and a number of other towering mountain chains run from west to east in the south, middle and north of the region. Rising between 4,000 and 6,000 metres above sea level, they are covered with ice and snow all the year round. When summer sets in, their melted snow waters feed 260 rivers which pour down into the plains or deserts. During the other seasons, the water runs low or disappears from the riverbeds.

Freshets of melted snow carry large amounts of detritus, broken rock and sand down the mountain sides, forming beds of gravel up to 20 or 30 kilometres wide

on the lower slopes. Much melted snow seeps through such porous ground before reaching the rivers that flow on to the plains and into the deserts.

Before Sinkiang was liberated in 1949, crops were grown only on plots adjacent to the rivers. Ancient irrigation systems, carrying the water further afield, had long since fallen into disrepair. For lack of water, some districts had to delay their spring sowing until the summer sun melted the snow and brought them water. Peasants there often existed on mulberries for weeks on end before they could reap a meagre crop of late maize.

It is not surprising that under these conditions landlords controlling water sources from rivers and irrigation channels took advantage of their position to collect exorbitant charges for the use of water. The peasants aptly called them "water tyrants." So when land reform was carried out in Sinkiang, there was a mass demand for a "water reform" as well and the People's Government helped the peasants put through such a reform.

With only 18 million *mu* under crops, old Sinkiang was obliged to ship in grain from the neighbouring provinces. But though the population has increased by 60 per cent since liberation, the region is now self-sufficient in food grain. This phenomenal change was made possible mainly by enlarging and rationalizing the supply of water. The peasants and state-farm workers have diverted the courses of many rivers and built large numbers of reservoirs and canals, and irrigation feeder ditches to extend the area of cultivated land by 160 per cent.

Pre-liberation Sinkiang had only three reservoirs holding no more than 50 million cubic metres of water. Now, it boasts more than 200 reservoirs, the majority built in the last five years. They take in the excess water of the summer thaws and release it in the dry spring and autumn seasons when the fields need irrigating.

Kashgar's "Pebble Canal"

In the Kashgar area, the biggest oasis in China, I saw a 30-km. section of canal completely lined with a close-set mosaic of pebbles made by members of the nearby people's communes. The "Big Leap Canal," as the peasants call it, took 15 months to build, and it irrigates 1,200,000 *mu* of land in 40 communes. It was made to replace an old gravel riverbed through which much water was lost through seepage.

Of course, the best way to get a water-proof channel is to line it with cement. But there was not a single cement kiln in this remote part of the country and it might be years before one could be built. After the peasants organized their people's communes, however, they began to think about this matter in a different way. "We can't just sit and wait for a cement factory," they figured, "why not cut a new channel and line it with pebbles. There are plenty of these lying around in the old river course and, if properly used, they will make a good lining and hold water well."

They began this job in December 1958. Stones, as large as rice bowls, were set side by side to line the bottom and sides of the new channel and the interstices between them were sealed with smaller pebbles, sand and silt. Several thousand commune members did this work with as much care as if they were setting diamonds

in a mound. The experiment proved successful, and more and more pebble-lined canals have been built in the Kashgar oasis and elsewhere.

The Kashgar area also produces plenty of wonderful fruits. I will not soon forget the refreshments of fruits offered me in the shade of a spreading vine near a commune production brigade office. Piles of pomegranates and honeydew melons, two of the most famous fruits in the Kashgar area, as well as apples, peaches, red and green grapes were heaped before us in luscious profusion.

On the Ancient Silk Road

Leaving Kashgar, my companions and I drove east along the southern edge of the Takla Makan, a desert of nearly 400,000 square kilometres or one-third as large again as Italy. We were bowling along a new, well-graded highway at a speed of 60 or 70 kilometres an hour, built over what was once the famous Silk Road, the main artery of communication between China and the Middle East and Europe from ancient to medieval times.

Mirages of shimmering rivers tantalized our eyes as they do those of all desert travellers, then at last I set foot on the Khotan Special Administrative Region. Stretched out in a line for 600 kilometres south of the desert the oases that make up the seven Khotan counties looked like green fringes on an enormous yellow skirt. This too is one of the driest parts in the country, evaporation reaching 50 times as much as rainfall.

Since ancient times the Takla Makan has been hurling its weight against Khotan, driving south sand dunes dozens of metres high. But the doughty Uighur peasants have also put up a stubborn resistance by planting more and more trees. Passing through endless avenues of poplars, mostly planted after liberation, I was astonished to find myself in a place nearly as thickly wooded as many places in south China.

Over the past four years particularly, the Khotan people's communes have strengthened their rampart of sand- and windbreaks of trees and bushes. Ditches along both sides of the highways and streets carry water to the trees. In these dry areas, without irrigation even big trees would wither away.

As in other parts of Sinkiang, water conservancy works are vital to the Khotan peasants' well-being. In the past five years, the people's communes there have constructed a network of reservoirs and canals tapping the three snow-fed rivers of the oasis. As a result, the oasis has extended its area and increased its grain output by 15 per cent compared with 1957.

The Khotan area today harvests the biggest crop of grapes in all China. It also produces huge quantities of walnuts, peaches, apricots, melons and other fruits, and is now firmly established as one of the leading centres of the nation's dried fruit industry.

Saying goodbye to Khotan, I flew north to see how the Production and Construction Corps of the Chinese People's Liberation Army was turning the wastelands of Sinkiang into fertile fields. Under the shadow of the great Tianshan Mountains, these former soldiers have harnessed eight rivers, which take their rise in the snow

from the soaring peaks and then run parallel north into the ancient wilderness of the Dzungaria Basin.

The longest of these eight rivers is the Manass. Formerly a great part of its waters simply ran to waste, lost in the 20-kilometre section of detritus and gravel that lies on the lower slopes of the mountains. Now, most of its precious water is recovered and channelled along a pebbled canal. As it rushes down the mountain side to the plains, the Manass carries down large rocks, sometimes 40cm. in diameter, at terrific speed. They would wreck and block any canal in no time. The ex-army engineers, however, have devised an inlet to the new channel that not only harnesses and cuts the force of the turbulent stream but forces it to discard the rocks into the old riverbed. They also use its water power to drive a 6,000-kw. generator for lighting and powering factories processing local farm produce.

The former soldiers of the P.L.A. have built a network of reservoirs and canals to store and distribute the water of all eight rivers. Thirty large state farms with about 4 million *mu* of land have been created here on the former haunts of wolves and antelopes. The desolate wilderness has been turned into a vast checkerboard of square or rectangular tracts each of 500 or 600 *mu*. Each tract is neatly bordered by irrigation ditches, tractor paths and tree belts.

Timber and fruit trees have been extensively planted on all these state farms. If all the trees planted were lined up ten rows deep one metre apart, they would form a belt of trees as long as the Great Wall. Windbreaks are proving most effective against the Siberian gales that roar over these steppes.

Underground Irrigation Channels

When I passed through the Turfan Basin, at the southern foot of the Tianshan Mountains, I found a very different form of irrigation. The basin's fertile land yields the best cotton, honeydew melons, water melons and grapes in China. Two of the country's extremes are found here: it is the lowest place in China—nearly 300 metres below sea level, and it boasts the highest temperature—48 degrees centigrade. Annual rainfall here is scarce even by Sinkiang standards!

In face of such temperatures, if the waters from the melting snow on the surrounding heights were led by ordinary open ditches into the basin, what with losses from evaporation and from seepage through the gravel beds, little would be left for irrigation. The local peasants (like those at Hami, further east) long ago worked out an ingenious system of underground irrigation channels or *karezes*. They sink a well to tap an underground stream and a series of other wells all leading in the direction in



Evening by a Canal in Southern Sinkiang

Woodcut in colour by Chang Chen-cht

which they want the water to flow, then they link up the bases of these wells with underground tunnels. The water is thus led along these underground channels to the farm fields. The tops of the wells are covered over with branches and grass and earth to prevent evaporation. First used for cutting the underground channels, the wells or vertical shafts are kept for dredging and repairs. Such *karezes* run from 3 to 20 kilometres underground, but some may run to 30 kilometres long at an initial depth of 100 metres.

About 160,000 *mu* in the Turfan Basin are watered by these *karezes*. They have a total length of more than 2,000 kilometres, longer than the Grand Canal which connects four provinces from south to north China. Controlled by the landlords before liberation, these subterranean irrigation channels were put wholly at the service of the people by the revolution. Since 1949, the peasants have thoroughly dredged and repaired the old *karezes* and cut many new ones, greatly enlarging the area of land under irrigation.

I was unable to make a stop at the basin during my tour, but I certainly sweated when I passed a place there called the "Flaming Hills." In the popular Chinese novel, *Pilgrimage to the West*, these are described as having living flames all over which Monkey Sun Wu-kung conquered with a magic fan. That is a legend. But looking at it from another angle, I could not help thinking at the time that the peasants in the Turfan Basin and the members of the people's communes and workers of the state farms all over Sinkiang have got a firm grip on the magic fan of irrigation to boost their farm yields in face of the hot and arid winds that blow over their land.

CORRECTIONS: On page 75 in our March 15, 1963 issue (Nos. 10-11), lines 11-12, 2nd para. of the item *Anti-China "March" Exposed*, for "Bharat Sewak Samaj" (India's Service Society) read "Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh" (All-India Service Society).

On the same page, lines 7-8, 5th para. of the same item, for "India Service Society" read "All-India Service Society."

PAINTING

New Things in an Old Art

Traditional Chinese painting has come a long way during the past 13 years since the liberation. Its practitioners still use the traditional Chinese brush and ink and colours on silk or paper and base themselves on the rich heritage of Chinese traditions in painting, but they are confronted by a land transformed. Not only do they see deep-going, revolutionary social changes; the physical face of the landscape and the people too have changed. This confrontation, boldly faced by artists recognizing new social needs in art, has brought about corresponding changes in traditional painting so remarkable and many faceted that it is generally conceded that the art with its 2,000 years of history has entered a new and important phase of transition.

While zealously carrying forward all that is best in the old traditions, artists of the traditional school are deeply absorbed in the study of the new and the search for new means to depict it. They are tireless in their experiments and in the exploration of new themes, new subject matter, new techniques, new styles and new means of expression. This is an aspect of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom."

Perhaps not many of these efforts completely satisfy everybody. Some recent paintings are not artistically mature; others, in their attempt to express the new, violate this or that accepted convention; while still others introduce foreign forms and techniques which displease certain connoisseurs long accustomed to the "pure" Chinese style. But, as a whole, these efforts in exploring the new are generally popular and this encourages the artists further. Thus it is that artists old and young, of different backgrounds and experience, have combined to bring traditional Chinese painting to its present flourishing state.

Figure Paintings

The many art exhibitions held over the past few years have all exemplified these new trends. The recent "New Spring" art exhibition in Peking was no exception. Sponsored by the Union of Chinese Artists, it brought together 120 traditional-style paintings selected by branches of the union in various parts of the country.

One of its special features was that figure paintings made up nearly one-third of the exhibits while landscapes and flower-and-bird paintings, which usually vastly predominate at such shows, made up the rest in equal proportions.

The reason for the relative scarceness of figure paintings hitherto is not difficult to understand. The traditional scroll painting of today derives from a traditional style that was to a large extent characterized by escapism and a deep tranquillity. It therefore takes quite an effort to make a revolutionary leap from the old style and its themes to the new themes of dynamic New China. The typical old figure painting pictured a world peopled by scholars and persons in long, flowing gowns. Here again it takes quite an effort to understand and depict the new people of today with their energetic gait and mien and modern-style clothes. In other words, the means of expression and techniques developed by the old figure-painters are found to be inadequate to depict contemporary life in all its complexity, or the new aspect of people of today. To handle the new themes and subjects, new techniques have to be evolved by drawing on both Chinese art tradition as well as the sister arts of foreign lands. This is a long-term process and though it must be admitted that as yet we still have not created paintings that are fully representative of our new times, quite a number of good works have nevertheless been produced. The "New Spring" exhibition had a happy concentration of such modern figure paintings.

Here our artists use a wide variety of styles to portray our contemporaries in their everyday life and work. Some use the *kungpi* style (displaying great attention to detail, precision of drawing and rich, opaque colouring);



Four Generations

*Painting by Liu Wen-hsi
in Chinese ink and colours*

others use the *hsieh-yi* style (a type of freehand sketch technique which puts more stress on expressing the "spirit" of the thing painted); others use the technique of outline ink drawing without colour, and others again paint in colour washes without lines. In using these traditional styles the artists have devised various combinations and modifications in their search for fresh means of expression for their new themes and subjects.

An outstanding example of these new figure paintings is *Four Generations* by the young painter Liu Wen-hsi. In this scroll he has broken away to some extent from his usual *kungpi* style by using bold lines of thick ink to outline his figures. Great-grandpa's wrinkled face and gnarled hands are eloquent; the hardships of the old society have left their mark on this old peasant. Grandpa is still in the prime of life, a seasoned fighter in the struggle for liberation as well as a first-rate farmer. His son is a tractor driver, a brand-new product of the new society while the little girl with her pigtailed head popping out from behind her great-grandfather is obviously the family's much loved little flower. Anyone familiar with north-west China's villages will know at

a glance that these are peasants from this part of the country, favourite subjects of the painter. The rich colouring coupled with the unusual composition of leaving little space both at top and bottom show these people as solidly planted on the earth and looking into the future with confidence. There is an air of freshness and vigour about the whole picture. "Things," say these people, "are getting better all the time."

There were several other popular figure paintings at the show: *Waiting for the Returning Fishermen* by Chang Teh-yu, shows a group of young women, wooden buckets and shoulder-poles ready, gathering on the seashore to meet the returning fishing fleet. *Giving Assignments* is in the style of a Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) line-drawing book illustration. This shows a woman leader of a farm production team sharing out work among her team-mates. The gay colours and *kungpi* style used in *A Village Wedding* eminently suits the occasion.

New Landscapes Too

There were noteworthy new things in the landscape section too. One noteworthy sign is that three groups of painters — in Kiangsu, Sian (Shensi Province) and Kwangtung — are evolving distinctive new local styles of their own. The Kiangsu artists are introducing modern innovations to the fine traditions of the painting of Shih Tao (1641-1718) and the Huangshan school of the 17th century. They have produced some excellent results. A notable painting of the group is by the eminent painter Chien Sung-yen. It pictures the Red Crag Hill in Kuomintang-controlled Chungking where the Chinese Communist Party set up its local headquarters during the War of Resistance Against Japan, and which in those difficult years became a symbol of revolutionary patriotism and steadfastness. The rocks are painted in vermilion, a sharp break-away from the tradition of using ink for drawing rocks.

Shih Lu is one of the outstanding painters of the Sian group. He was first known as a wood-engraver but since liberation, has lived in Sian where he took up traditional painting. He is a prolific artist and his figures and landscapes in the traditional style have been widely acclaimed as works reflecting the spirit of the age. His

contribution to the exhibition *Families in Blossom-Covered Homes* fully confirmed this.

The Kwangtung school has carried forward the tradition of the Lingnan school, traditionally a school of colourists. But here too is something new: Kuan Shan-yueh's *Tumen River* and Li Hsiung-chai's *Spring on the Chusha River* are both big scrolls whose execution required great skill and strength in brushwork.

Ho Tien-chien and Li Ko-jan, well-known artists of Shanghai and Peking respectively, also presented new works. With a vigorous brush and a good control, Ho, now well over 70, catches the beauty of rising cliffs and towering peaks in his *Lotus Peak of the Huangshan Mountains* while Li, famous as a painter of buffaloes and buffalo boys, gives a superb rendering of the subtle charm of the southern countryside in his *Spring Rain in the Southern Country*.

Chinese flower-and-bird painting is renowned for its truth to life and delicate beauty. Ever since the late master Chi Pai-shih grew to eminence, it has seemed that the *hsieh-yi* style of flower-and-bird painting had become the vogue. This is perhaps because pictures executed in free and flowing lines and powerfully expressive styles are better suited to the mood of people fresh from the experience of the liberation. But flower-and-bird paintings in the *kungpi* style also have a good following, and in this genre masters in this style have some noteworthy achievements.

Our Motto

In practically every branch of art, one can find side by side radically differing styles and approaches. Our motto is: Our art must satisfy aesthetic tastes of all kinds among our people building socialism. The flower-and-bird paintings at this show well exemplify this spirit. Among them, *Late Autumn* by Lin Feng-mien has aroused unusual interest. The foliage is drawn right up to the edge of the painting on all four sides; just a few spots of white represent where the sky casts its light through the leaves. Some have said that this doesn't

look like a traditional Chinese painting, but others dispute that bald statement. It is true that Lin Feng-mien studied oil painting in France 40 years ago. There, as a young student, he cultivated an admiration for Matisse and painted in oils as well as gouache. But for many years now he has used Chinese ink and colours and absorbent bamboo-pulp paper as his special medium. With these means he has produced many paintings which derive something from oil painting and are unlike ordinary works in the traditional style of painting. In these works you see something of the styles of Chu Ta (17th century) and of Chi Pai-shih; you also see something of Cezanne and Gauguin, as well as of the Tunhuang murals and Giotto. But, strictly speaking, you see none of them — just Lin Feng-mien. He has created a style that is singularly his own. People may argue whether his paintings are in the traditional style or not, but in this argument, one thing is definite: Chinese traditional painting has never excluded influences from outside. Thus it has kept on enriching itself by constantly drawing on fresh sources of inspiration.

These fresh winds of inspiration are seen in the work of many artists both old and young. China's heritage of art — ancient and modern, classical and folk, painting as well as all the other branches of the arts — is receiving such attention as it never received before. It is on this foundation that traditional Chinese painting of the socialist era is developing.

— YU FENG



Late Autumn

Painting by Lin Feng-mien
in Chinese ink and colours

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