

PEKING REVIEW

15
April 12, 1963

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報

Nehru's "Socialism": A Farce

An analysis in the light of the realities of India's economic life (p. 6).

All-Out Support for Cuba

The significance of the American Continental Congress in Solidarity With Cuba (p. 13).

Good Farm Prospects in Central-South China

Notes from the countryside (p. 20).

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Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)
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In English, French, Spanish, German, Russian, Japanese, Vietnamese, Arabic, Thai and Esperanto

LENINISM AND MODERN REVISIONISM

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Published by:

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS

Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China

Distributed by:

GUOZI SHUDIAN

P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

April 12, 1963 Vol. VI No. 15

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Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW

Fai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China

Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

THE WEEK

Among the headlines of the week:

● Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his wife Wang Kuang-mei are going to visit Indonesia and Burma.

● The Chinese press hails the achievements of the American Continental Congress in Solidarity With Cuba held recently in Brazil. National newspapers publish in full the Niteroi declaration and the five resolutions the conference adopted.

● Chinese public opinion denounces U.S. imperialism for the assassination of Laotian Foreign Minister Quinim Pholsena.

● *Renmin Ribao* publishes in full the March 30 letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

● The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party has decided to accept in principle the invitations of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to send a delegation to visit China and the Soviet Union.

● U.S. government officials are pressing for New Delhi-Chiang Kai-shek collaboration against China. Plans to co-ordinate their military activities are under way.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry on April 2 sent a note to the Indian Embassy protesting strongly against a March 10 intrusion by three Indian soldiers into Chinese territory in Sinkiang. The note points out that since last December Indian troops intruded into Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border on no less than 16 occasions.

In another note to the Indian Embassy (April 3) the Chinese Foreign Ministry refutes New Delhi's equivocation on the intrusion of Indian troops into the Wuje area last year.

● China retains the Swaythling Cup at the 27th World Table Tennis Championships.

● The national conference on agricultural science and technology has mapped out a comprehensive programme for the development of agricultural science and technology.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi to Visit Indonesia and Burma

Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and his wife Wang Kuang-mei will shortly visit Indonesia and Burma at the invitation of Dr. Sukarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, and General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma.

This was announced in a press communique issued by the Chinese Foreign Ministry on April 3.

Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Madame Chen Yi will be among those accompanying Chairman and Madame Liu on these visits.

The Indonesia-China Friendship Association in Djakarta has issued a statement welcoming Chairman Liu. It says that his visit will strengthen

the friendship based on the common interests of the two countries.

Agricultural Science Conference

The national conference on agricultural science and technology (see *Peking Review*, No. 7, 1963) successfully concluded its work at the end of March. In its seven weeks of meetings and discussions, over 1,200 noted scientists, experts, professors and technicians from every part of the country joined their efforts in working out plans to modernize the nation's agriculture. Together with leading cadres of all government departments concerned, they mapped out a programme for developing agricultural science and technology, and put forward 3,000 topics of research needed to realize the National Programme for Agricultural Development which was adopted by the National People's Congress in April 1960. The conference, the largest of its kind ever held in

China, forecasts a bright future for the nation's farms. Its deliberations will have a far-reaching impact on agricultural production as a whole.

In drawing up blueprints for the future, the conference gave priority to the task of increasing the per-mu yield of all land now under cultivation. At the same time, bearing in mind the nation's 9.6 million square kilometres of land and water, it gave overall consideration to the comprehensive development of farming, forestry, livestock breeding, side occupations and fishery. It stressed that every effort should be made to catch up with the world's advanced levels in agricultural science and technology in order to modernize China's agriculture and reach the goals of the National Programme for Agricultural Development at the earliest possible date.

The programme for developing agricultural science and technology drawn up at the conference listed the following major tasks in scientific research:

— extensive investigation of the nation's natural resources and their utilization; the tapping of new resources and their rational utilization for the development of farming, forestry, livestock raising, side occupations and fishery;

— the application of China's rich experience in intensive cultivation and the use of up-to-date scientific and technical measures to achieve a substantial rise in productive levels in farming, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery and side occupations;

— the overall study of better utilization of the nation's land and water areas, such as the extension of the cultivated area, the full use of hilly land, grasslands and water surfaces, desert control and the improvement of alkaline and other poor soils;

— the strengthening of theoretical research in agronomy; the development of new branches of agricultural science, and the widespread use of new achievements in science and technology;

— the study of China's agricultural heritage, and the improvement of agro-technical economic research.

Concrete plans to accomplish these tasks were proposed by the assembled scientists and experts who were greatly stimulated by the activities at the conference. The support given them by the Communist Party and People's Government, for one thing, was something the veteran scientists

would never have dreamt of getting in the old society. The vast fields in which they can apply their energy and knowledge and the broad vistas opened up before them, which the many sessions of discussions revealed, were an immense inspiration to old and young scientists alike.

The conference over, the participants are now back at their respective posts, working with renewed energy and still greater confidence to speed up the modernization of China's agriculture and boost production in all fields.

Hungary's Liberation Anniversary

Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Po I-po and Tan Chen-lin, Vice-Premiers; and Lin Feng, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, were among those present at the reception given by Hungarian Ambassador to China Martin Ferenc on April 4 to celebrate the 18th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary.

Toasting the occasion, Vice-Premier Po I-po said that the Chinese Government and people have always cherished the friendship between the Chinese and the Hungarian peoples and that they would spare no effort in working for its growth.

"To safeguard the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement," the Vice-Premier declared, "is in the interests of all the peoples of the socialist camp, in the interests of the oppressed nations and peoples of the world in their struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and in the interests of the great cause of world peace, national independence and socialism."

"We have every reason to safeguard this unity and no reason to harm it," he said. "The Chinese people have always considered it their lofty internationalist duty to defend and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and, as they have done in the past, they will work energetically to strengthen this unity."

Ambassador Martin Ferenc in his speech gave an account of the achievements of the Hungarian people in socialist construction. He expressed the hope that friendly relations be-

tween China and Hungary would become still closer.

Chinese Communist Party and government leaders sent a message to the Hungarian Party and government leaders greeting Hungary's liberation anniversary.

Captured Indians Jubilant at News of Release

Captured Indian military personnel greeted the news of the Chinese Government's decision to release and repatriate them with cheers and shouts of "Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai" (India and China Are Brothers). Indians in the centres set up for them in the Tibet and Sinkiang regions pumped the hands of the Chinese frontier guards, embraced them and lifted them into the air to show their friendship and gratitude. Many of them immediately wrote home to tell their families of the happy news.

The captured Indians eagerly awaiting repatriation are greatly moved by the Chinese Government's decision. They regard it as another important step for the peaceful settlement of the boundary question between China and India. This decision, they say, and the initiative China took earlier to cease fire and withdraw its troops, return captured military supplies and release sick and wounded Indian soldiers, demonstrate China's sincerity in bringing about a peaceful solution of the boundary question. It will go down in the annals of history and be remembered by future generations.

The captured Indians are especially grateful for the way they are treated by the Chinese frontier guards. At the centres where they stay, there are neither pillboxes nor barbed wire. They live in bright and airy rooms, and have been provided with woollen blankets, cotton quilts and all the other daily necessities they need. They take regular exercise, and in the evenings often put on entertainments of singing and dancing. Sports meets are often held too. As one Indian officer remarks, these recreational activities and the good food they get have enabled most of the Indian army men to put on weight since they arrived at the centres.

In addition to all this, special arrangements are made for their religious activities, with special rations issued for festivals. Every facility is provided for them to keep up a regular correspondence with their folks at home. These are some of the rea-

sons why many of them are determined to let their people know about the Chinese people's friendship for the Indian people and to do their bit to promote Sino-Indian friendship.

Sino-Albanian Shipping Co.

The Sino-Albanian Shipping Company, a joint enterprise of the two countries, is one year old.

To celebrate the anniversary the company gave a reception in Durres, Albania. It was attended by A. Kellezi, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other Albanian government officials and Chinese Ambassador Lo Shih-kaio. The crew of the *International*, a vessel of the company, was also present.

An Albanian communications delegation, led by Milo Quirko, First Vice-Minister of Communications, is now in Peking attending the second meeting of the administrative council of the Sino-Albanian Joint-Stock Shipping Company.

On April 7 Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien gave a banquet in honour of the visiting Albanian delegation.

China's Medical Science

The national conference on medical science held recently in Peking summed up the achievements and experience gained by New China's medical workers; it set the main tasks for research and worked out long-term plans for the advance of the nation's medical science.

More than 200 well-known specialists in both Western and traditional Chinese medicine and outstanding medical workers from various parts of the country attended this important conference sponsored by the Ministry of Public Health.

In reviewing the work done, everyone noted with satisfaction the great strides made in medicine over the past few years. The number of research institutes has increased from 20 in 1956 to more than 100 at present, with the Chinese Academy of Medical Science and the Research Institute of Traditional Chinese Medicine as their centre. These institutes today have three times as many research workers as in 1956.

In the field of research on modern medical science, Chinese scientists have greatly extended their scope these past few years. New research institutes have been set up for oncology, radiology, cardiac vascular

diseases, pharmacology, experimental medicine, biological medicine and viruses. Many provinces and municipalities have set up special research institutes for the development of traditional Chinese medicine. Here, doctors of traditional and Western medicine are working together, doing research work and making a systematic study of the rich heritage of traditional Chinese medicine.

In the prevention and treatment of a number of major diseases, Chinese medical experts have made important contributions. On-the-spot investigations have resulted in the working out of effective methods of cure and prevention of various parasitic, infectious, endemic and occupational diseases. Oncologists have obtained valuable data on the incidence and distribution of certain types of tumours in China. Progress has been made too in the diagnosis, treatment and clinical research on cardiac vascular diseases.

Successful operations have been made on the blood vessels of the heart. Rapid development is also reported in research work on drugs, antibiotics, vaccines and serums, as well as in the making of medical apparatus.

The conference listed the following as some of the major tasks to be tackled in the years ahead: aid to agriculture and help in solving important technical questions relating to the prevention and cure of major diseases; health protection for women and children and strengthening the people's physique; further development of traditional Chinese medicine; the mastering of up-to-date techniques and gradual establishment of a comprehensive system of modern medical science with all the necessary institutes, facilities, etc.; the training of "red and specialized" medical personnel and implementation of measures to bring Chinese medical science on to a level with the world's best.

World Table Tennis Championships

China Wins Men's Team Title

China carried away the men's team title by defeating Japan 5:1 in the finals at the 27th World Table Tennis Championships held in Prague. This is the second time running that China has won the much-coveted Swaythling Cup which she first captured in Peking two years ago.

This spectacular victory climaxed five days of hot competitions between top-notch teams from all over the world. Both China and Japan battled their way to the finals after eliminating tough opponents in the early rounds. First, they played in separate groups in a round robin series, contending for qualification to the semi-finals. Together with West Germany and Sweden they emerged victors in their respective groups. In the semi-finals, China overwhelmed West Germany 5:1, while Japan trounced Sweden 5:0.

The finals was a dazzling display of speed and accuracy, with a pagentry of quick exchanges of powerful smashes combined with topspin loop drives and underspin chop returns that brought round after round of applause from the packed hall. But the Chinese players had that extra edge which helped them to carry the day. Chang Hsieh-lin, in particular, baffled his Japanese op-

ponents by his superb, well-placed chop returns and scored two points for China in grand style. The results of the match were:

Chuang Tse-tung — Koji Kimura:
20:22, 21:13, 13:21.

Chang Hsieh-lin — Keiichi Miki: 21:9,
21:8.

Hsu Yin-sheng — Ichiro Ogimura:
21:11, 21:17.

Chang Hsieh-lin — Koji Kimura: 21:5,
21:11.

Chuang Tse-tung — Ichiro Ogimura:
21:19, 21:19.

Hsu Yin-sheng — Keiichi Miki: 21:12,
23:21.

After the match Ivor Montagu, President of the International Table Tennis Federation, presented the Swaythling Cup to the Chinese team amidst tremendous applause from the spectators.

In the competitions for the women's team championship, Japan won the Corbillon Cup for the fourth time in succession by defeating Rumania 3:0 in the finals. The Chinese women's team succumbed to the Rumanian team 2:3 in the semi-finals.

As we go to press, competitions for the men's and women's singles and doubles and for the mixed doubles titles are still under way. The championships will end on April 14.

Farce of Nehru's "Socialism"

by COMMENTATOR

Following is a translation of an article carried by "Hongqi" (No. 6, 1963) entitled "What Is the Real Substance of Nehru's Much-Advertised 'Socialism'?" Subheads are ours. — Ed.

IN its resolution on the goal of national economic construction adopted at its 60th annual session held in Avadi in January 1955, the Indian National Congress formally put forward the slogan of building a "socialist pattern of society." Since then the party has ostentatiously launched what it calls "a socialist campaign," and stepped up its propaganda for this purpose. Certain revisionists in India and the Tito clique of Yugoslavia have also done their best to laud Nehru to the skies, asserting that he is genuinely carrying out socialist policies and that "socialism" is being realized in India, and so on and so forth.

Anyone who faces up to the realities of India and recognizes facts knows what Nehru's "socialism" really is. It is not true socialism at all, but one of the modern forms of "reactionary socialism" denounced long ago by Marx and Engels. The Indian National Congress, a political instrument of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords, waves the banner of socialism. But its deeds show that this is designed solely to meet the needs of the rule of the big capitalists and big landlords. Although the Congress Party is extremely evasive and deliberately vague in its interpretation of "a socialist pattern of society," it is not long before the show is given away. Even the Indian bourgeois economist H.D. Malaviya, a faithful follower of Nehru, complains naively in his book *Kerala* written in 1953 that when an official Congress publication interprets "a socialist pattern of society," "not at one place does it make clear that socialism involves the ending of exploitation of man by man," and that "their attempt is to present socialism as something sharply distinct from communism. . . . In their [members of the Congress Party] hands socialism is merely a weapon to fight the Communists."*

The So-Called Planning Method

What after all is the real content of "socialism" as flaunted by Nehru? To answer this question, we must first examine India's so-called economic planning.

In *Economic Review*, a magazine of the Indian National Congress, Nehru published in 1958 an important article entitled "The Basic Approach" written to unify the views of the leaders of his party. His basic approach is that "democracy and socialism are means to an end, not the end itself." What he called "socialism" means

*H.D. Malaviya, *Kerala*, Eng. ed., Second Printing, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1959, p. 119.

carrying out some kind of "planning," that is, the attempt to "reduce the evils of capitalism" by the methods of planning while leaving intact the capitalist relations of production. In fact, Nehru had peddled this idea on some previous occasions, for instance, in *The Discovery of India* written in 1944. Following the proclamation of independence, the regime of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords in India has since 1951 pushed ahead with the so-called economic construction plan according to Nehru's idea. India has now entered the period of its so-called Third Five-Year Plan.

Marxism-Leninism holds that a genuinely planned economy can be realized only when the proletariat has seized state power, changed the capitalist relations of production and established socialist public ownership. It is utterly impossible to carry out economic planning under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and on the basis of a capitalist economy. This is an irrefutable truth which has been confirmed by practice. In recent years, however, the revisionists of the Yugoslav Tito clique, renegades to Marxism-Leninism, have constantly alleged that planning of the national economy has been increasingly accepted by capitalism and has become an important condition for the "peaceful transition" of capitalism into socialism. Moreover, playing up India's implementation of its "economic construction plan," they preach that "the aim of socialism is being realized" in India. But how do things really stand? What does India's much-advertised "economic planning" amount to?

There has been a steady stream of comments by people from various walks of life in India on the "planning" measures adopted by the Congress government and their consequences. These comments and the economic facts they disclose help clarify these questions for us.

"Nehru's Fads"

Shortly after the Avadi session of the Indian National Congress and the Rajya Sabha announced their decisions to build "a socialist pattern of society," the *Times of India* said in a commentary: "The view is widely prevalent in the country that barring a few leaders in the Central Government, the rest have no sympathy either for the plan or its objectives and dismiss both as some of the Nehru fads. . . ." The commentary added: "As things are, not only the rank and file, but even the second- and third-rank leadership of the ruling party is unaware of what the plan is about. . . ."

The "economic construction plan" of the Nehru government consists of two parts: the "public" sector belonging to the state under the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords, and the private sector belong-

*The *Times of India*, July 10, 1958.

ing to private monopoly capital. The government invests in the "public" sector while the private enterprises controlled by the Indian big monopoly groups and foreign capital make the bulk of investments in the private sector which is assisted by government subsidies. In a country where the big bourgeoisie and big landlords wield state power, such an "economic construction plan" naturally can only be regarded as a "plan" to co-ordinate to a certain degree the development of state and private monopoly capitalism. By "co-ordinated development," we mean that state-monopoly capitalism, or bureaucrat-monopoly capitalism, which Nehru has taken great pains to foster, in the last analysis, serves private monopoly capital and the small privileged bureaucratic stratum.

Legacy of British Colonialists

According to statistics released by the Nehru government, the "public" sector had a slightly greater share of the total investment in the Indian national economy than did the private sector during the period of two so-called five-year plans from 1951 to 1961. The investment in the "public" sector is concentrated mainly on communications and transport, electric power, water conservancy and irrigation; it is also used to build steel, engineering and other plants. This is actually to create conditions for the development of private monopoly enterprises, providing them with machines, equipment, raw materials and semi-manufactured products. These kinds of state enterprises, as they are called in India, existed in that country as far back as its pre-independence days. In April 1945 the British colonial government in India issued a statement on industry, saying that "apart from ordnance factories, public utilities and railways, basic industries of national importance may be nationalized provided adequate private capital is not forthcoming. . . ." The Nehru government has carried on this practice of the British colonial government. In the early days of Indian independence, although the domestic private monopoly groups had come into being, difficulties arising from shortages of capital, technical skills, equipment and industrial raw materials still handicapped the development of capitalism. To create conditions for development, private capital, particularly the monopoly groups, found it necessary to make the maximum use of the state apparatus in the hands of the big capitalists to raise large funds, and import machines, equipment and industrial raw materials. The *Hindustan Times* of the Birla monopoly group made this point very clear. It said that the three steel plants built by the state together required 6,000 million rupees, but that in the condition of the Indian capital market, private capital faced difficulties even in raising 100 million rupees to build an enterprise. It added that most of the products of the three steel plants would be processed by private enterprises, thus providing the biggest industrial opportunity ever since the textile industry boom at the beginning of this century. Desai, the Indian Finance Minister, also said: ". . . The private sector had expanded by four to five times during the last four or five years. If the public sector had not been there, the private sector could not have done this. Who would have supplied the necessary steel and machinery?"* Even Birla himself, a big Indian capitalist, stated: "Those who believe that the public

sector is treading on the toes of the private sector are taking a short-sighted view. The public sector is even now helping to give a tremendous push to the private sector. The public sector is going to act as a generator of private enterprises."** We would like to point out in passing that Birla is fairly "far-sighted" indeed. He was one of the first big Indian capitalists to finance the Indian National Congress and take part in its campaigns. He was quick to recognize that "the Congress movement was not a mass movement. If Congress came to power the real power would pass into the hands of the capitalist group."*** Subsequent events have borne out his predictions.

Widening Gulf Between Rich and Poor

The Nehru government declared that by the end of March 1961, two "five-year plans" had been "completed." But whom have these "plans" benefited after all? As many bourgeois newspapers and Members of Parliament in India have made clear, the implementation of the "plans" has caused even greater difficulties than previously for the broad masses of workers, peasants, and people of the middle and low social strata, widening the gulf between rich and poor.

An investigation by the Indian central statistical organization shows that the number of people who earn an annual income of less than 200 rupees—that is, below the lowest recorded level of income and in a state of starvation—increased from about 50 per cent of India's total population in 1951-52 to 62 per cent in 1956-57. A recent study by the Indian Planning Commission reveals that one-tenth of India's population gets more than two-thirds of the national income, against the less than 2.5 per cent got by another one-tenth of the population with the lowest incomes. Shri T.J. Samuel made the following estimate in the *Economic Review* of November 22, 1960:

	Share of the national income received by the richest 20 per cent
Puerto Rico	56
India	55
Britain	45
U.S.A.	44

This means that a handful of wealthy persons in India grab a greater share of its national income than their counterparts in Britain and the United States.

During the debate on April 24, 1961, in the Indian Rajya Sabha on budget appropriations, members of the opposition parties criticized the government's economic policies for impairing the interests of medium-sized and small enterprises and strengthening the position of a few big monopoly groups. Gurupadaswamy, a parliamentary member of the Praja Socialist Party, brought to light the fact that about 100 small companies closed down every month in India and were then taken over by big financial groups. Eight such groups alone control 67 per cent—or 8,500 million rupees—of the paid-up capital of all public companies. Of the eight, two together control 5,000 million rupees. After citing these facts, he said: "All that showed how enormously the

* The *Times of India*, April 4, 1959, Birla's statement at the 16th ordinary general meeting of the United Commercial Bank Limited held on April 2, 1959.

** Debagyoti Burman, *Mystery of Birla House*.

* The *Statesman*, May 13, 1960.

wealth of a few had increased during the first decade of planning.”*

Law of Capitalism in Operation

From this one can see clearly which law is operating in India's so-called planned economy, the law of capitalist economy or the law of socialist economy?

The resolution adopted in the early days of the Nehru government on industrial policy placed “restrictions” on the establishment of certain industrial enterprises by private capital. In fact, operation of most of these enterprises was then either beyond the reach of private capitalists or not to their liking. With the strengthening of private monopoly capital as a result of the implementation of two “five-year plans,” the “restrictions” have been gradually removed; private individuals are no longer forbidden to establish certain important industrial enterprises, such as oil, fertilizer and aluminium plants. The question of “nationalizing” private enterprises has been shelved for an indefinite period. The report on the Third “Five-Year Plan” has explicitly stated that in economic construction “wider opportunities of growth arise for both the public and the private factories and in many ways their activities are complementary.”

India's state-monopoly capitalism itself represents a bureaucrat-monopoly group which also serves the private monopoly groups. It seems that the Indian big capitalists and big landlords know very well how to use the state machine to make fortunes. They skilfully grab national wealth under the pretext of promoting the public interest in their capacity as government officials. Leaders of the Indian private monopoly groups and their agents not only join the policy-making or advisory organizations in charge of “state planning,” but also play a direct part in the management of the “public-run” enterprises, working as directors of the important ones, or, like Tata in Air India International, as chairmen of the boards of directors. Managers and technicians of the “public-run” enterprises are often transferred from private enterprises or hold posts in both. Close relatives of many top-ranking government officials draw high salaries as staff members of private-run companies and so do many retired officials and military officers. At the same time, large numbers of “public-run” enterprises have formed a partnership with private concerns in the form of “joint-stock companies” or “mixed corporations.” The number of these “joint public-private run” enterprises is increasing. Some of the “public-run” enterprises also turn over part of their shares through the stock exchange to private enterprises. In short, the Nehru government sees to it that the Indian national income passes in various forms and without interruption through the channel of state-monopoly capital into the coffers of the capitalists and bureaucrats.

An Appendage of Imperialist Capital

India's “economic planning” not only benefits the handful of exploiters at the expense of the people's interests but also secures profits for foreign monopoly capital, seriously jeopardizing the country's national independence.

*Hindustan Times, April 25, 1961.

Implementation of the “economic construction plan” requires a solution of the question of funds. In his article “The Basic Approach,” Nehru has had to admit that India is very poor, tends to become poorer and so has no surplus funds for investment. While ruthlessly exploiting the people at home* by tax levies, the issue of public bonds and other fiscal measures, and with the help of commercial and usurious capital, the Nehru government relies mainly on imperialist “aid” for the funds used to implement its “economic construction plan” and to develop state-monopoly capitalism.

Apart from some enterprises taken over or bought from the British colonial government, most of the enterprises of state-monopoly capital in India were built or expanded with foreign aid. For instance, the Rourkela Steel Mill and the Durgapur Steel Mill, each producing one million tons of steel a year, were built with West German and British capital. The Bhopal heavy electric equipment factory was built with British capital. It is the U.S.-controlled World Bank which has provided loans and technical equipment for the construction and expansion of railways, ports, water conservancy engineering works and power stations, etc., in India. Harsh conditions are attached to imperialist “aid.” Aid to India is no exception.

Foreign “aid” makes up an ever bigger proportion of the investments in the “public” sector of India's Third “Five-Year Plan.” According to estimates of the Indian bourgeois economist B.R. Shenoy, 54 per cent of the total investment in India's Third “Five-Year Plan” will come from foreign “aid.”** The weekly *Capital*, mouthpiece of British monopoly capital in India, commented on this in the following terms: “It may fairly be stated that almost the entire third plan depends on this one component of the sources [foreign aid]: if the foreign aid does not come, the plan will have to be scrapped, since India's own foreign exchange reserves are already below the minimum considered necessary.”†

According to a report of *Indian Express* on January 4, 1963, it is estimated that from now up to 1970, India will need foreign economic “aid” to the tune of about U.S.

* According to the figures published by the Nehru government, during the First “Five-Year Plan,” the funds raised from internal borrowing (including public bonds and semi-compulsory savings) amounted to more than 5,000 million rupees, making up 26 per cent of the plan's total expenditures; budgetary deficits amounted to 4,200 million rupees, making up 21 per cent of the total. During the Second “Five-Year Plan,” internal debts increased to 11,800 million rupees and budgetary deficits to 9,480 million, making up over one-fourth and one-fifth of the plan's total expenditure respectively. During the Third “Five-Year Plan,” two-fifths of the total capital investments and overhead expenses in the “public” sector came from increased taxation (commodity tax paid by the masses of people) and internal loans. Tax increases were 70 per cent higher than those of the Second “Five-Year Plan.”

According to a report carried in an article in the *Times of India*, (November 20, 1962) India's budgetary deficits in 1962 amounted to 1,890 million rupees, public debts amounted to 62 per cent of the total national income and debt charges accounted for 20 per cent of state revenues.

** *Hindustan Times*, August 19, 1960.

† *Capital*, (Published in Calcutta) July 7, 1960.

\$13,000 million. Nearly half of this will be provided by the United States in the form of loans or "aid." (This figure is not far away from that given by U.S. President Kennedy's economic adviser, John Prior Lewis, on the basis of his one-year investigation in India.)

In fact, as the article "Foreign Aid and India's Economic Development" in the August 1962 issue of *United Asia* has pointed out, any drastic cuts in, or cessation of, foreign aid would immediately engender a major economic crisis in India, accompanied by the closing down of large numbers of companies, reduced production, unemployment and uncontrolled inflation. That is to say, the whole national economic life would be ruined.

Begging for U.S. "Aid"

That is why the Nehru government has by hook or by crook tried to get foreign aid, making its procurement, particularly from the United States, the primary national policy of India. In order to beg for U.S. "aid," the Nehru government has resorted to every possible means, ranging from anti-China and anti-communist campaigns to the provoking of armed conflict on the Sino-Indian border. In an article published in the *Hindustan Times* G.D. Birla, an Indian financial magnate, openly stated: "the war [against China] has created sympathy for us in all the friendly countries of the West so that we can expect to get much more assistance in the future." Using "aid" as a bait, U.S. imperialism has turned the reactionary Indian ruling groups into its willing tool for trouble-making in Asia and Africa and for gaining control of India's economy and market. To this end, in 1958 U.S. imperialism, through the World Bank, organized a so-called "Aid-India Club" including West Germany, Britain, Japan and Canada. The Nehru government must act on the orders of this neo-colonialist organization, which now exercises supreme authority over the Indian economy. Today India is one of the countries in the world which has acquired a lion's share of U.S. "aid." By July 1962, the Nehru government had received more than U.S.\$6,500 million. More than half of this was given after the Nehru government had launched the anti-China campaign in 1959.

It can be imagined, however, that for this the Nehru government must pay a big price which a sovereign state can ill afford. The above-mentioned article "Foreign Aid and India's Economic Development" angrily commented that "undue reliance on foreign aid has been productive of national humiliation." In July 1961, after the United States promised to give India more than U.S.\$1,000 million of "aid," the Washington correspondent of the *Times of India*, H.R. Vohra, in a dispatch to New Delhi headlined "Aid With Strings," wrote: "The U.S. will now insist that aid should be deserved before it is claimed. . . . In the first place U.S. experts will study the claimant's budget, its programmes and plans and its structure. They will look into fiscal policies to see what it is doing to stem inflation and its economic policies to examine if it is keen to attract capital." Since its establishment, the "Aid-India Club" invariably holds several meetings a year to examine India's economic plans and its international payments situation, providing "aid" to India on a year-to-year basis and depending on the conditions prevailing. At each meeting, India's economic plans and policy are

subjected to unrestrained censure and criticisms, and proposals such as giving better terms to private foreign investors are put forward. The adjournment of the meeting of the "Aid-India Club" on May 28, 1962, without making a decision on the amount of "aid" to be given to India promptly led to a slump on the Indian stock exchange market and financial disturbance. This gives an idea of the immense power foreign aid holds over the Indian economy.

Making Concessions to Foreign Monopoly Capital

To beg for foreign aid, the Nehru government has had to make one concession after another to foreign monopoly capital. Since 1957, because of the rapid run-down of foreign exchange reserves, a steady increase in financial expenditure, and the stagnation and decline in industrial and agricultural production, the Nehru government has increasingly felt the pinch of the shortage of funds. In the face of this situation, it has made even more pronounced concessions to foreign monopoly capital. The policy of nationalization has been practically abolished. Official permission has been given to foreign investors to remit the whole of their profits back to their own country. Foreign investors have been exempted from taxes, or given tax concessions, and the period in which they can claim exemption from taxes in the first few years of the establishment of an enterprise has been lengthened. In June 1960, the Nehru government signed an agreement with the United States on the setting up of an "investment centre" in New Delhi, which is an information and liaison organization to facilitate the infiltration of U.S. capital into India. To reward the "aid" given by the "Aid-India Club," the Nehru government has taken steps from time to time to welcome and encourage the investment of foreign monopoly capital in India's industrial machine, non-ferrous, power, machine tool, chemical fertilizer, oil and other important industries.

Joint Operation by Foreign and Indian Capital

Mention should particularly be made of the fact that the number of enterprises operated jointly by foreign capital and Indian capital (both state and private) has increased rapidly. Joint management is an important means by which foreign capital penetrates and controls the Indian economy. Britain depends to a large measure on this method to maintain its economic position in India. U.S. monopoly capital, coming in the wake of Britain's, has adopted similar tactics. In the first three years after India's proclamation of independence, there were only a few score projects operated jointly by the Nehru government and foreign capital. The number of such projects increased to 109 in 1953, to 390 in 1960 and to 402 in 1961. This shows how far the big Indian bourgeoisie has gone in colluding with foreign monopoly capital.

According to incomplete statistics given in the bulletin of the Reserve Bank of India (October 1962), from 1948 to 1960, foreign investments in India's enterprises (banks not included) increased from 2,558 million rupees to 6,905 million rupees, an increase of nearly 2.7 times. Although British capital still takes first place, the growth rate of U.S. capital is far ahead of Britain's. This tendency has become particularly pronounced since 1959.

Foreign monopoly capital has acquired fabulous sums in interest and profits from India. Nehru himself has said that "The U.K. companies [in India] are making more profits now than under British rule."* According to a report of the special correspondent of *Hindustan Times*, in 1962-63 (up to March of 1963), foreign debts incurred by the Nehru government would amount to 15,207.7 million rupees and the interest paid for these debts would amount to approximately 500 million rupees. Incomplete statistics published by the Reserve Bank of India show that from 1954 to 1960, the profits made by companies under the direct control of foreign capital amounted to 2,768 million rupees, of which 1,846 million rupees or 67 per cent of the total profits earned, were remitted abroad to the foreign monopolists. A very small part of their profits was reinvested in India. This is another reason why India is short of funds for construction.

Imperialism is, after all, imperialism. The inherent nature of imperialist capital is to plunder and this will never change. Wherever imperialist "aid" appears, genuine economic sovereignty and economic independence vanish for all practical purposes. After proclaiming independence, India has nominally shed the political appearance of a colony. In reality, however, this has not changed all those things characteristic of a colonial economy. On the contrary, as more imperialist "aid" has come to India, particularly after 1957, the colonial character of the Indian economy has actually become ever more marked.

Facts have fully shown that the comprador state-monopoly capital which the Nehru government has built up by means of so-called planning and with foreign aid is not of a socialist character as is claimed by the modern revisionists, nor is it a force capable of promoting independent economic development of the nation as is asserted by certain economists. On the contrary, it is a force which is hostile to the interests of the people and hinders the nation's independent economic development, and reduces the Indian economy to an appendage of foreign monopoly capital. In the same way it helps rather than restricts the development of private monopoly capital. This comprador state-monopoly capital is precisely one of the basic causes of India's poverty today. Its growth shows that the Nehru government represents through and through the interests of the reactionary big bourgeoisie and big landlords in India and foreign monopoly capital, and seriously harms the interests of the broad Indian masses, including those of the middle and petty bourgeoisie. Naturally it is not difficult to judge what domestic and foreign policies will emerge from such an economic base, but we are not going to discuss this point here.

Nehru's New Religion

Apologists for imperialism and some modern revisionists practically agree that "aid" provided by imperialist capital is economically indispensable to the "underdeveloped" countries. They talk such nonsense as that enslavement and exploitation of the oppressed nations by the imperialist countries have now been replaced by what

they call "economic aid" from the "developed" to the "underdeveloped" countries. And they term the "theory" on the necessity of such "aid" — a reactionary argument in apology for neo-colonialism — "economics of underdevelopment." Nevertheless, they cannot deny the fact that although the imperialist countries headed by the United States have poured large sums of "aid" into the "underdeveloped" countries, the economic conditions there are daily deteriorating instead of changing for the better. One such example is India. So they have had to try to defend their argument by declaring that certain conditions are necessary for a recipient country to make the "aid" play its expected role. According to the [former] U.S. Ambassador to India, John K. Galbraith, who is also a bourgeois economist, these conditions are: (1) "A substantial degree of literacy" and "an educated elite of substantial size" (meaning a substantial number of cultured lackeys and comprador-intellectuals in the service of imperialism); (2) "a substantial measure of social justice" (meaning sufficient reactionary measures to suppress and deceive the people); (3) "a reliable apparatus of government and public administration" (meaning a government loyal to and serving imperialism); (4) "a clear and purposeful view of what development involves"* (meaning to act heart and soul to meet the wishes of imperialism and to obey its orders). What Nehru and his government think of Galbraith's views we do not know. But we do know that the Nehru government and the U.S. imperialists have one thing in common, that is, neither of them will tell the people the truth. Nehru, for instance, has ascribed India's tendency "to become poorer" merely to "the pressure of an increasing population."

However, the author of *Kerala*, whom we mention at the beginning of this article, has told his readers something of the truth. In that book written in 1958, he said: "The legacy of British rule apart, the single source that has given rise to this growing misery of the Indian people is the ten-year-old rule of the Congress." "Between the people and the Congress" there is a "growing gulf of hostility." India is facing "an economic and a political crisis engulfing the nation." He also added that "all the might of the British empire could not subdue the righteous anger and action that was thus generated by the sight of mass hunger and misery, and there is no reason why even a government under an eminent Indian like Nehru should not rouse the same sentiments."

A Signboard to Deceive the People

The catchwords "socialist pattern of society" of the Congress Party and Nehru have a lot to do with the situation described in that book. Even before the end of India's First "Five-Year Plan," there was strong public discontent with the rule of the Congress Party while an economic and political crisis was looming large. The democratic and progressive forces in India, with ever growing influence, were challenging the Congress Party in the elections. Moreover, the impact of the achievements of construction in the socialist countries on the Indian people, especially the tremendous achievements of socialist con-

* John K. Galbraith, "A Positive Approach to Economic Aid," *Foreign Affairs*, April 1961.

* *Blitz*, March 2, 1963.

struction in China, one of India's neighbours, was growing daily. It was under these circumstances that the representatives of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords turned to the signboard of "socialism" in an attempt to use this as an additional means, and a sugar-coated one at that, to further their cruel dictatorship, deceive the people and maintain their rule by giving a socialist glint to their reactionary ideology and deeds.

Exactly in the way described by Hanumanthayya, who is a former Congress chief minister and who is quoted in the book *Kerala*, Nehru, in the face of the domestic and world situation, was compelled to borrow some political ideas from the United States and other western countries, some from Russia and some from China. Like Emperor Akbar of the Mughal empire in 16th-century India, Nehru has invented a new religion which he calls "socialism" to combat Marxist-Leninist scientific socialism. While whitewashing himself with the slogan "socialism," Nehru also equates scientific communism with fascism. In the article "The Basic Approach" he slanderously alleges that communism worships violence and does away with personal freedom, that it seeks only "to change . . . by coercion and indeed by destruction and extermination. Fascism has all these evil aspects of violence and extermination in their grossest forms." In saying so, he apparently hopes to discredit the socialist countries.

India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords have a bitter hatred for socialism, but they nevertheless attempt to use socialism as a slogan to swindle the people. Hence the resolution of the Indian National Congress in Avadi.

What are the contents of Nehru's new religion, that is, what is the real substance of Nehru's "socialism"?

As Nehru sees it, modern capitalism has changed. "Democracy allied to capitalism has undoubtedly toned down many of its evils and in fact is different now from what it was a generation or two ago." ("The Basic Approach.") But capitalism *per se* still has defects that need to be overcome. "Capitalism itself has, therefore, developed some socialistic features even though its major aspects remain." ". . . I think it is true that the wide gap between them tends to lessen because many of the ideas of socialism are gradually incorporated even in the capitalist structure." (Ibid.) What then are those socialist ideas that have been gradually incorporated in the capitalist system? Nehru's answer is the "method of planning," which can get rid of the defects in capitalism itself. This is because planning means "a thought-out approach of how to strengthen the base and pace of progress so that the community advances on all fronts." (Ibid.)

That is to say, as Nehru sees it, India's social system of a "socialist pattern" can be nothing but the kind of capitalist system that has incorporated the "method of planning" while preserving the "major aspects" of capitalism.

But, as the facts cited above show, the "acceptance" of the "method of planning" by the capitalist class, or, capitalism having "incorporated" the "method of planning," is sheer nonsense; this cannot be socialism as Nehru claims, nor can this create conditions for a "peaceful transition" to socialism as the modern revisionists say.

In a country like India, it does not even amount to an independent development of capitalism for it will only result in subordinating the Indian economy to foreign monopoly capital. When Nehru speaks about using the "method of planning" to cause "the community" to advance "on all fronts" and achieve "socialism," he is actually using the "method of planning" to develop bureaucrat-comprador monopoly capitalism, thus further impoverishing India. He is also vainly trying to "eliminate" socialism or to limit its influence. And this is all that there is to it.

Replacing Proletarian Socialism With Bourgeois "Socialism"

The 1960 Statement of the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties says: "Communists expose attempts by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation; they expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose." But in India there are certain revisionists, who, far from exposing the Nehru clique's shameless attempt to represent the narrow class interests of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords as those of the entire Indian nation, keep on telling the Indian people that the policies of the Nehru clique represent the interests of the whole Indian nation, that they must rally around Nehru without any reservation. Far from laying bare Nehru's "socialism" for what it is, they want the Indian Communists and people to believe that Nehru is actually pursuing "socialist" policies to which unconditional support must be given. These revisionists have done this to help the bourgeoisie corrupt the proletariat in an attempt to replace proletarian socialism with bourgeois "socialism" inside the working-class movement.

As a matter of fact, the bourgeoisie themselves are not very serious about Nehru's "socialism" to which modern revisionists have given much publicity. In May 1956, soon after the Indian National Congress in Avadi adopted the resolution to build up a "socialist pattern of society," G.D. Birla, an Indian financial magnate and one of Nehru's backers visited the United States. At a New York meeting attended by 60 U.S. bankers, monopoly capitalists in industry and commerce, Birla especially explained the economic policy of the Nehru government. He declared that Indian capitalists "had nothing to fear, and everything to gain," from the Nehru government's plans to develop a "socialist pattern of society."⁸ He added that what the Nehru government expected to gain was just the things the United States has gained, that the road India is to take is the U.S. road of a "welfare state!"

The explanation of this Indian financial magnate has really hit the nail right on the head. The false teaching of Nehru's new religion cannot deceive the Indian people for long. There is no doubt that those who try to deceive the people in this way will not succeed. Their efforts will actually produce results quite contrary to those conjured up by their wishful thinking. They will merely reveal more clearly their ugly features, awaken the Indian people to a new understanding and thus hasten their own bankruptcy.

⁸ *Hindustan Times*, May 3, 1956.

U.S. Lines Up Nehru and Chiang Kai-shek Against China

WITH U.S. imperialism pulling the wire, Nehru has stepped up his collaboration with the Chiang Kai-shek gang in joint opposition to China.

A New Delhi dispatch published by the *Washington Post* on March 30 revealed that the Indian External Affairs Ministry had received a representative of the Chiang Kai-shek gang. The dispatch said that "the dapper visitor from Taipeh who made his headquarters for the month of February at the Janpath hotel" was "observed slipping into the most important offices in the External Affairs Ministry. . . ." It added that Nehru "interested himself" in the discussions in February and "sent his personal good wishes to the generalissimo [Chiang]." It said that the discussions led to the sending of Chiang Kai-shek men to India, that the Indian Government "would issue the necessary visas" to them, and that "Kuomintang offices and front organizations" would be set up in April in Calcutta, Bombay and New Delhi.

A report in the *New York Herald Tribune* on April 1 indicated that the Indian Government told visiting U.S. officials in February of its long "worry" in coping with "red Chinese activities in India." "The Americans suggested the nationalists as an aid," and it was agreed that men of the Chiang Kai-shek gang would "soon be sent to India."

Military Collaboration on "Two Fronts"

Although they were established stealthily, these connections between India and the Chiang Kai-shek gang have now become notorious.

Indian and U.S. newspapers report that a major point of significance in the collaboration between India and the Chiang Kai-shek gang is that they will co-ordinate and support each other in the military field on "two fronts" in furtherance of the U.S. strategy of "containing China" in the Far East. Early in November last year, the Indian press came out with demands for "two fronts" against China. The Indian weekly, *Blitz*, declared last November that "we must, if necessary, back up Chiang Kai-shek if he can help us with a second front against the Chinese mainland." The *Indian Express* in an editorial of November 7, 1962, said that "India should manoeuvre to spring a second front on the Chinese." "This means that we must do everything to activate Formosa's [Taiwan] invasion threat on the South China coast . . . to this end liaison with Taipeh and more so with the Pentagon is obviously called for." AP reported on March 24 that the Chiang Kai-shek gang had established contacts with the Indian Government since last October.

One of the specific tasks, as reported recently by the press, in the military co-operation between India and the Chiang Kai-shek gang is the collection of military in-

telligence on China. The *Washington Post* said on March 30 that "India is hungry for intelligence on China in general and Chinese troop dispositions along the Tibet border in particular." The paper revealed that in the absence of a highly developed intelligence arm, India needed help from the Chiang Kai-shek gang. An article in the April 3 issue of the *Indian Express* said, "Taipeh's intelligence resources about mainland China would prove most invaluable to the Indian Army which seems to be at present very poorly served in regard to information on Chinese army and internal conditions." The *New York Herald Tribune* reported on April 1 that New Delhi and Taipeh will conduct "an exchange of cold-war intelligence data" jointly aimed at Peking.

The collaboration between India and the Chiang Kai-shek gang also covers such matters as Nehru's desire for the Chiang Kai-shek gang to pass on to him its experience of rule by secret service agents, thus helping the Indian authorities in their persecution of Chinese nationals in India.

A "Short-and-Long-Term" Programme Against China

The *Christian Science Monitor* on March 22 carried a New Delhi dispatch to the effect that Washington hoped the Indian Government would pursue a "short-and-long-term" strategic programme against China. The programme requires the Indian Government not only to keep China occupied militarily on the Himalayan flanks but also to effect "a basic re-orientation" in its economic planning and in thought processes. The paper said that "behind the scenes there is a new Indian attempt to repair the bridges of old friendship with Formosa [Taiwan]." This, plus India's connivance at the promulgation of a "constitution of Tibet" by Tibetan rebels in India in the name of the Dalai Lama, and the widespread publicity being given to it, shows that the Indian Government "moves along new grooves of thought and action."

After the presence of a Chiang Kai-shek agent in the Indian External Affairs Ministry became known, a spokesman of the ministry hastened to announce on April 3 that there was "no change in the policy of the government about the Kuomintang Chinese," and that "there is no proposal to establish consular or other similar Kuomintang governmental agencies in India." With a guilty conscience, however, the spokesman dared not deny either the secret talks with the "dapper visitor from Taipeh" in the Indian External Affairs Ministry, or the establishment of Chiang Kai-shek's non-official agencies in India.

Why did the Nehru government prevaricate? The *Washington Post* revealed Nehru's misgivings when it said on March 30 that an overt Indian association with Chiang Kai-shek would incur the charge that Nehru was "a secret ally" of Chiang Kai-shek and "the foundations of the

Nehru non-alignment policy would be correspondingly weakened."

Chiang Kai-shek's *Central Daily News* was more straightforward in its "friendly call" to the Indian Government on March 30. It said: "Any country, whatever be its stand in the past, can become our friend, so long as it today stands firm on the side of freedom and makes

practical efforts against communism and against aggression. This is our basic stand and attitude towards India."

The foregoing facts make it clear that the Nehru government and the Chiang Kai-shek gang are colluding more closely; their association has now reached a stage where they are jointly organizing their political and military opposition to China.

Niteroi Conference

In Solidarity With Cuba

by HSIAO MING

THE Seamen's Union Hall in Niteroi, capital city of the state of Rio de Janeiro on the southeastern Brazilian coast, witnessed the Latin American people's militant unity in fighting U.S. imperialism and defending Cuba, when the American Continental Congress in Solidarity With Cuba was held there (March 28-31).

Only a week earlier, the U.S. President had conferred with the heads of six Central American countries to work out measures to isolate Cuba and suppress the national and democratic movement in Latin America. The Latin American people, on the other hand, have lately organized big campaigns against intervention in Cuba and against U.S. aggression. One such move was the Niteroi congress which gave a powerful rebuff to Washington's counter-revolutionary schemes.

Common Will of the Latin American People

With General Gonzaga Leite presiding, the congress was attended by delegates from the Americas and observers from China and other countries. Three delegates from the Venezuelan National Liberation Front who had taken part in the seizure of the freighter *Anzoategui* were elected members of the presidium. The congress was addressed by such prominent Brazilians as Francisco Juliao, Member of the Federal Parliament and President of the Peasants' League of Northeast Brazil, and delegates from other countries who all condemned U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Latin American countries. It finally adopted the Declaration of Niteroi to All American States that "the Americas will never give up the cause of Cuba which symbolizes the emancipation to be achieved by all our peoples." It also adopted five resolutions. Both the Niteroi declaration and the five resolutions condemned in strong terms U.S. imperialist aggression against Cuba, and its control and enslavement of Latin American countries. The congress also expressed resolute support for the five just demands of Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro. It proposed that an extensive movement in support of Cuba be developed in Latin America and throughout the world in the week beginning April 19 and in the fortnight beginning July 15.

Delegates expressed with one accord their determination to defend Cuba at any cost. One resolution suggested that countries in the continent strengthen, develop and

enhance their nationwide campaigns for solidarity with Cuba. Another called for intensified struggle for freedom of communication among the Latin American countries and for the establishment and strengthening of diplomatic relations with Cuba.

The congress laid special stress on defence of national sovereignty and the principle of non-intervention. This was inspired not only by U.S. imperialist encroachment on Cuba's sovereignty and its intervention in the Cuban revolution, but also by its infringement on the sovereignty of other Latin American countries and its meddling in their internal affairs. The resolutions of the congress correctly point out that the struggle of the peoples must be strengthened in order to ensure the right to self-determination and the principle of non-intervention.

Events have shown that U.S. imperialism will not renounce its aggressive ambition to destroy the Cuban revolution and it has never respected the sovereignty of the Latin American countries. The Latin American people know from their personal experience that they can never pin their hopes on the "goodwill" of U.S. imperialism. It is impossible to defend the Cuban revolution and safeguard the sovereignty of the Latin American countries without waging a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism, or more precisely, without relying on the strength of the masses to fight against U.S. imperialism.

Fighting the Common Enemy

The most valuable contribution made by the Cuban revolution to the cause of the Latin American people is that it has pointed out the way to get rid of U.S. imperialist enslavement and control. As the Peruvian delegate Luiz de la Fuente said, "the only road is that of the Cuban revolution, that is, the road of armed struggle." "The Cuban revolution," said General Leite, "is part of the historical process in the destruction of imperialism. It stands as a beacon for all the Latin American people."

Having overthrown U.S. imperialist rule and broken the chain of U.S. enslavement, the Cuban people have stored up rich experience which is useful for the other Latin American people. The Cuban revolution has also provided more favourable conditions for the other Latin American people to win victory in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. This is why the people of other Latin

American countries have considered it their duty to defend the Cuban revolution and closely link this struggle with the struggle for their own liberation. As far as the Latin American people are concerned, the defence of the Cuban revolution means to preserve the right to fight for their own liberation. This was well expressed by Francisco Juliao when he said: "We have a common cause, because we have a common enemy, U.S. imperialism."

The U.S. imperialists' propaganda machine wants the people to believe that Cuba has been isolated in Latin America after the "Caribbean crisis." This is nothing but a daydream. The fact is that the prestige of revolutionary Cuba is now higher than ever before and the mass "defend Cuba" movement has grown both in depth and breadth. Justice, popular sympathy and strength are on the side of Cuba. At the San Jose conference, Kennedy called for the building of "a wall around Cuba." In fact, the position is just the opposite. It is the U.S. aggressor himself who is now besieged by the Latin American and other peoples. And the Niteroi congress is convincing proof of this.

China Hails the Niteroi Congress

The Chinese public has followed closely the proceedings at Niteroi. Greeting the congress, Premier Chou En-lai sent a message in which he declared that the Chinese Government and people gave full support to the Cuban people's struggle to defend their motherland and the revolution and to the rest of the Latin American people in their fight for independence and liberation. Premier Chou added that the Chinese Government and people, together with the Latin American people, would fight resolutely against their common enemy, U.S. imperialism. Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, in his message said: "To support Cuba is not just the duty of the Latin American people, it is also the duty of all in the

world who uphold justice and love peace." The All-China Federation of Trade Unions and other mass organizations representing China's youth, students, women and jurists all sent messages of greetings to the congress pledging China's support to their brothers and sisters on the Latin American continent. A joint message was also sent by the presidents of the China-Cuba Friendship Association and the China-Latin American Friendship Association.

All the leading national dailies in China published the full text of the Niteroi declaration and the texts, in part or in full, of the five resolutions. *Renmin Ribao* (April 4), in its editorial entitled "Get United, Fight Together to Defend Cuba!", warmly saluted the success of the congress and expressed its conviction that final victory belongs to those defending the Cuban revolution, to the Latin American people fighting for independence and liberation, and to the people of the whole world fighting against imperialism and defending world peace. *Da Gong Bao* also wrote editorially (April 5) that the congress was convened at a time when the anti-U.S. struggle on the continent had reached a high tide. It noted that no force on earth could halt the advance of the surging and sweeping movement of the 200 million Latin Americans against U.S. aggression and for their complete liberation.

Symbol of Unity

The Niteroi congress is an important landmark on the Latin American people's road to unity. The Declaration of Havana has well expressed the conviction of the Latin American people: Latin America, united and victorious, will soon be free of its bonds and march on.

For the last two years and more, the people of Latin America have strengthened their unity steadily in their fight against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism. Now delegates from many countries, in spite of the obstructions of U.S. imperialism and its agents, have succeeded

NEWS IN BRIEF

Vice-Premier Tan Chen-lin received the visiting Vietnamese meteorological delegation on March 27.

An exhibition on Hungarian architecture closed on April 2 after a fortnight's showing in Peking.

Peking's children held an evening party on March 30 at the Peking Children's Palace to welcome the visiting delegation of the Korean Democratic Youth League. The delegation is in China for a study of the work of children's palaces.

A British water-colour painting exhibition opened in Peking's Exhibition Centre on April 1. On display are more than 150 works by British painters of the past 300 years. The British artist, Richard

Cotton Carline, chairman of the art committee of the Britain-China Friendship Association, brought the exhibition and helped to arrange it.

The Japanese Buddhist leader Eijun Otani, President of the Japan-China Buddhist Exchange Association, and his wife concluded their visit to China and left Canton for home on April 2. In Peking, they were received by Lin Feng, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C. During their visit, they toured a number of Chinese cities.

A photo exhibition devoted to China's sports was held at Kandy, Ceylon, from March 31 to April 4.

Premier Chou En-lai has sent congratulations to His Excellency Dr. Tulsi Giri on assuming the chairmanship of

the Council of Ministers of the Kingdom of Nepal.

A Chinese medical team left Peking for Algeria on April 6. They are going to work there at the request of Algeria's Ministry of Public Health.

Between 12:42 hours and 13:02 hours on April 8, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the area of Yunghsing Island, Shih Island and Pei Island of the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province.

Earlier on the same day, between 05:59 hours and 06:59 hours a U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters east of Paichuan in Fukien Province.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued the 238th serious warning to the U.S. concerning these military provocations.

in meeting together to discuss questions of common interest and have made their voice heard. This shows that a closer unity of the 200 million Latin Americans has been achieved. U.S. imperialism and the forces of reaction will still try to use every opportunity to split and disintegrate the Latin American people's anti-U.S. united front. But the people's joint struggle and common destiny have kept them closely united and this unity will not be destroyed as long as they all maintain a high degree of vigilance against enemy plots.

Not long ago the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference at Moshi issued a proclamation condemning both

old and new colonialism. Now the American Continental Congress in Solidarity With Cuba has also indicted U.S. imperialism. The Asian, African and Latin American peoples have become ever more closely united in their struggle against the common enemy.

To quote the words of a Costa Rican M.P. lauding the congress, "The conference in Costa Rica [the San Jose conference] flickered with the lamp of the sepulchre. But the Continental Congress in Solidarity With Cuba will be ablaze with the shining torch of Latin American liberation. One represents the past, the other represents the future."

Murder of Laotian Statesman

U.S. Imperialists Are the Real Culprits

by CHAO KUO-CHING

ON the evening of April 1, Quinim Pholsena, Foreign Minister of Laos, was assassinated when entering his home in Vientiane. This grave event has attracted the close attention and deep concern of all who are interested in the Laotian situation and peace in Southeast Asia.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi sent on April 3 a message of condolence to the Laotian Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma on the untimely death of this outstanding patriot and statesman. Leading Chinese papers strongly condemned this criminal act.

U.S. Imperialists Hated Him

Quinim Pholsena made tremendous contributions to the peace, neutrality, independence, sovereignty, and national concord of his country. He had won the respect and trust of the Laotian people. Who then are his real murderers—the perpetrators of a crime to wreck the Laotian Government and undermine the peace and neutrality of that country?

A review of events, past and present, shows that they are none other than the plotters in Washington and their lackeys.

Quinim Pholsena had long been a thorn in the flesh of the U.S. imperialists and their followers. When the Provisional Laotian Government of National Union was being formed, the United States openly opposed his appointment as Foreign Minister. The U.S. imperialists at that time vented their profound hatred for him by vicious attacks and slanders through their propaganda media. Recently newspapers inspired by Washington have heaped abuse on him.

Full light was thrown on the careful preparations for the assassination by the significant fact that a spokesman for Washington and the assassin have sung the same tune. The day after the murder, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Harriman made grotesque insinuations in Wash-

ington, alleging that "Quinim was instrumental in the assassination of a neutral colonel who was loyal to Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma" and that "Quinim was trying to undermine General Kong Le." According to AP, Harriman made the special point that "while Quinim was technically a neutralist, his death should not be considered an attack on neutral Prince Souvanna Phouma, who heads the coalition."

On the evening of April 2, reporters in Vientiane were shown a "statement" allegedly written by the assassin, in which he charged that "Quinim wanted to double-cross Kong Le and overthrow the coalition," and that he had been responsible for the "shooting down of an American plane." Could it be a pure coincidence that a soldier of 19, in a statement prepared in advance in the form of a political declaration, should have used practically the same trumped-up charges against Quinim Pholsena as the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State on the other side of the ocean?

The haste with which Washington released the "statement" also gave the game away. The "statement" handed out at 1 p.m. on April 2 and released by the commander of guards in Vientiane without the authorization of the coalition government was immediately broadcast at 4 p.m. on the same day by the Voice of America and at 6 p.m. by Radio Saigon. News agencies on the Plain of Jars could not obtain copies of the "statement" until about 6 p.m.

It is clear who has pulled the wires behind the scenes. No wonder the U.S. press could not contain its joy in reporting the murder and its repercussions. UPI reported on April 3 from Saigon: "The assassination of Laotian Foreign Minister Quinim Pholsena has indisputably altered the delicate structure of Laos' coalition government in favour of the West." AP reported on April 2 from Washington that the assassination "could be the start of a very serious feud in the shaky coalition government of Laos." These reports clearly reflect the persist-

ent U.S. imperialist schemes to create chaos in Laos and to fish in troubled waters.

Violation of Geneva Agreements

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have trampled underfoot the 1962 Geneva agreements for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. They left behind in disguise their armed forces in Laos—900 U.S. military personnel, 8,000 troops from the U.S. vassal countries and remnant Chiang Kai-shek bandits. Behind the back of the Laotian Government, the United States has continued its assistance to the Laotian forces under its wing. It has airdropped bandits, special agents, ammunition and weapons into the liberated areas in Laos. It has not abandoned its design to put Laos under the "protective umbrella" of the U.S.-controlled SEATO military bloc. Moreover, to clear the way for further control of that country, the U.S. imperialists do not hesitate to use any conceivable means to disrupt the unity of the Laotian patriotic forces, sowing dissension between the Neo Lao Haksat and the Laotian neutralists and among the neutralists themselves. This explains why the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have murdered in cold blood Quinim Pholsena, an ardent supporter of Laotian unity and a resolute opponent of U.S. imperialist aggression against his country.

A Historical Record

This recalls another murderous act committed by U.S. imperialism in Laos in 1954. In that year, Kou Voravong, Defence Minister of the Royal Government of Laos, took part in concluding the 1954 Geneva Agreements. After his return to Laos, he stood for strict observance of the ceasefire in Laos and for holding peaceful negotiations between the Royal Government and the Pathet Lao Fighting Units. But U.S. imperialism stepped in. It assassinated him, forced the government headed by Souvanna Phouma to resign and instigated civil war. With the defeat of the U.S. imperialist scheme, a coalition government was formed in Laos in November 1957. But U.S. imperialism would not accept this. Employing various tactics to break up the unity of the

Laotian people, it again overthrew the government, put pro-U.S. agents in power and rekindled the Laotian civil war. When Prince Souvanna Phouma again assumed office in August 1960 as Prime Minister with the support of the people, and held talks with the Neo Lao Haksat, U.S. imperialism again intervened. Frustrated in its desire to sabotage the talks, it urged its followers to attack Vientiane and set the civil war aflame anew.

These historical facts show that trying to disrupt the unity of the Laotian patriotic forces is a favourite tactic employed by U.S. imperialism. Whenever the Laotian people took a step forward along the road of peace, neutrality, independence and national amity, U.S. imperialism lost no time in resorting to this tactic for the purpose of intensifying aggression and intervention against Laos. This shows the true features of U.S. neo-colonialism.

But the Laotian people have gained rich experience in their long struggle against their sinister and ferocious national enemy, U.S. imperialism. At present when the U.S. neo-colonialist tactics are being repeated more flagrantly than ever in Laos, the people will not be taken in and will not allow the arch murderers in this sanguinary crime to go scot-free. The Laotian Committee for Peace and Neutrality issued a statement on April 2, calling on members of the committee and the Laotian people to strengthen their struggle against the U.S. imperialist plot of creating splits and sabotage. Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, in a statement broadcast on April 4 condemned U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for murdering Quinim Pholsena. He demanded that ensuring security in Vientiane be entrusted to a mixed police force, that U.S. imperialism and the Savannakhet side strictly observe the 1962 Geneva agreements, and that in particular the United States pull out all its military personnel and troops and those of its satellites. He called on the Laotian people to transform their bitter hatred for U.S. imperialism and its lackeys into greater vigilance and to strengthen their unity in waging resolute struggles to uphold and realize the 1962 Geneva agreements and bring about genuine national harmony.

Pen Probes

When McNamara Cried

THOSE who live in glass houses, says the old saw, shouldn't throw stones. This is the rule usually observed by U.S. politicians in their in-fighting so as to avoid exposing the family skeletons to public view. But in the scramble for money and power in Washington, emotions on occasion run so high that someone can't refrain from heaving a few bricks. In the resulting crash, the public catches a glimpse of the unsavoury mess behind the glass and chromium facade of modern "U.S. democracy."

A few weeks ago, one U.S. Congressman was publicly pilloried for making a profligate trip abroad, hitting the West European hotspots at public expense, for tax eva-

sions, nepotism, profiteering, etc., etc. Stung by the sanctimonious noises which his congressional colleagues felt compelled to make, the Congressman curtly replied to his accusers: "I will always do just what every other Congressman has done, is doing, and will do."

No sooner has this scandal settled back into the murky waters than another erupted in the Senate. A row over a fat military contract, it quickly reached the highest circles and news of it began to leak out despite all efforts to hush it up.

The trouble began when the Defence Department decided to order a new type of jet plane from General Dynamics rather than Boeing which had reportedly submitted a lower tender and better design. Though the initial contract awarded was for \$28 million, according to *U.S. News and World Report*, future orders for such aircraft will amount to \$7,000 million. This was more



than Boeing and its backers could stomach. They went into action: McNamara, they said, was guilty of favouritism in awarding the contract to General Dynamics. It was pointed out that McNamara was former director of the Ford Motor Co. and closely connected with the Rockefeller group, one of the financial giants behind General Dynamics, while his Deputy Defence Secretary Gilpatric was a partner in the Wall St. law firm of Cravath, Swaine and Moore, legal consultants to Rockefeller.

Such pressure was built up that finally a secret senate sub-committee hearing was called to enquire into the case. It was a stormy session. McNamara, Gilpatric and others were bombarded with searching questions whether their decision was made out of personal interest. They were asked to give a straight "yes" or "no" answer. Under "fierce cross-examination" on March 21, McNamara broke down and wept. With tears streaming down his cheeks, he said that his son was asking, "When is my father going to be proved an honest man?"

The commotion of the day was so great that apart from McNamara's tears, another man collapsed from nervous exhaustion and needed medical care for a fortnight while two others showed signs of "deep fatigue."

Washington buzzed with talk that Vice-President Johnson, too, had a finger in the pie: General Dynamics will build the new planes in one of its plants in Texas, the state Johnson represents. To get a fat order for one's own state, of course, means big "political capital" in the United States.

But who are the Senators spearheading this crusade against "favouritism" and "personal interests"? It is Henry Jackson of Washington, widely known as the "Senator from Boeing," and around him are rallied other Senators connected either with the same firm or with the First City Bank of New York, Boeing's financial boss. Countering Jackson's charge of "personal interest," Pentagon officials "leaked" to the press the news that the Senator was doing his best to get the lucrative order for Boeing.

The scandal rolls on. Mr. McNamara seems to have good reason to worry about his "honesty," but what he seems to be blissfully unaware of is that what has really been called into question is not merely his "honesty" or that of Senator Jackson or a score of others, but the whole profit-grabbing system of which they are perfect representatives.

"Virtue Will Triumph"

IN Saigon, U.S. army public relations officers must have racked their brains to coin propitious code-names for their ill-starred "mopping-up operations." Their latest brain-child is "Virtue Will Triumph," and the earlier ones include operations "Morningstar" and "Sunrise."

Commercialized America has a knack of inventing attractive names for the crudest products. But "virtue" in this case has a particularly ironic ring in view of the fact that the world is condemning the use of toxic chemicals by the U.S. "special warriors" in south Viet Nam. Tens of thousands of defenceless civilians, including old folk, women and children, have been affected as American aircraft sprayed these chemicals on paddyfields and densely populated hamlets.

Mark Twain, protesting against American atrocities in the Philippines at the turn of the century, proposed that imperialist U.S.A. should have the white stripes of its flag painted black and the stars replaced by a skull and crossbones. To be honest, the publicists in General Harkins' Saigon headquarters should name their next operation "Cannibalism Will Out."

Cruelty, however, does not bespeak strength. Just as the Pentagon's germ-carrying army of rodents and flies failed to save the U.S. invaders from defeat in Korea's rugged mountains, so noxious chemicals have not made the going any the easier for the United States in south Viet Nam's marshy jungles. "Virtue Will Triumph," the biggest operation since the beginning of 1963, was launched in mid-March by 5,000 U.S. and Ngo Dinh Diem troops supported by many American helicopters, fighters, bombers, armoured cars and artillery. Three days later, UPI glumly reported that the operation "was fizzling out." In the same area, the Plain of Reeds, another massive attack made by U.S. and Diem forces earlier in the year resulted in what the U.S. military conceded to be "the most humiliating defeat" so far.

As "Virtue Will Triumph" fell flat, Ngo Dinh Diem, that incarnation of "virtue" according to Washington's ethical standards, was reported to have ordered that an underground tunnel be dug from his "presidential palace" so that he could flee and save his skin when things come to a head. To keep the location of the emergency exit strictly secret, Diem had the sappers who built it sent away to an unknown destination. So Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem is preparing for the last hour when true virtue will triumph.

ROUND THE WORLD

INDIA

Collusion and Aggression

The latest exchange of high-level envoys between Washington and New Delhi makes more obvious, first, their military collusion against China and, secondly, Washington's plot to use India as a tool of aggression in Southeast Asia.

B. Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa and Nehru's confidant, went to the United States in March. In return, Walt Rostow, Chairman of the State Department Policy Planning Council and one of Kennedy's brain-trusters, flew to New Delhi in early April. These two visits, which were preceded by the joint U.S.-British Commonwealth military mission to India, prepared the ground for still more important political exchanges in the future.

Patnaik was in the United States to beg for more and faster "military aid." He discussed with Washington officials both short- and long-term programmes directed against China. Speaking in the U.S. capital, he told newsmen that India's military preparations envisaged the doubling of its firepower within the shortest possible time. He noted that the six Indian mountain warfare divisions under formation would be supported by "volunteer forces" in the border states trained for guerrilla operations. Commenting on this, the U.S. *Christian Science Monitor* disclosed that India was planning a standing army of up to 2 million men to "exert steady and constant pressure on the Himalayan flanks to keep communist China continuously occupied."

Patnaik also took to Washington a scheme to secure U.S. "aid" for the Indian Air Force and to provide bases for use by Western air forces. Patnaik stressed to U.S. officials India's need for ground-to-air and air-to-air missiles, radar equipment, and fighters carrying air-to-air missiles. He spoke of the need for "more radar in border areas, possibly tied in with the SEATO network. . . ."

This is revealing because there is current talk in the West of a new "defence arrangement" for Southeast Asia which will include India and so completely open up the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean to the U.S. and British navies. The London

Daily Telegraph had earlier disclosed that "the use of U.S. aircraft carriers in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea may be under consideration." It reported the construction of an Indian naval base in the Andaman Islands, close to the coasts of Burma and Thailand and "well situated to dominate the northern exit of the Straits of Malacca, between Sumatran Indonesia and Malaya and Singapore." A West German DPA dispatch also mentioned the building up of a U.S. fleet in the Indian Ocean to "stamp out local brushfire fighting quickly and effectively."

Referring to the many exchanges between Washington and New Delhi, the *Christian Science Monitor* pointed out: "All are concerned with defence arrangements and planning of long-term strategy which daily seem to be moving India closer, without formal pacts, into the United States' worldwide defence orbit." It wrote that India must "through its strength, both economic and military, help safeguard the independence of such countries as Nepal, Burma and Malaya." When all this is put together, it is clear that U.S. imperialism is preparing to turn India into a base directed not only against China but also against the countries of Southeast Asia.

U.S.A.

Millions Without Work

So serious has the unemployment problem become in the U.S.A. that Kennedy was recently forced to admit publicly that it is the country's "No. 1 domestic concern."

In the blunderland of capitalism, 4.9 million people, or 6.1 per cent of the labour force, are jobless. This February figure of unemployed is the highest in 15 months, 246,000 more than in January, and 1,131,000 more than in last December.

Aside from these totally unemployed, at least one in every five persons in the U.S. labour force will be unemployed some time this year. Yet a further 2.6 million workers will be restricted to part-time employment because full-time work is unavailable.

By the Kennedy Administration's own admission, 2.2 million workers have been unemployed so long that

they have exhausted all their unemployment compensation benefits — and the total is growing by 40,000 a week. More uncounted millions have been forced into involuntary retirement for lack of work. The brunt of the burden falls on young and older people, on Negroes and the unskilled.

The number of depressed areas is increasing. At the end of March, there were no fewer than 18 "major," 103 "smaller" and 454 "very small" depressed areas. By official U.S. definition, these are all areas of "substantial and persistent unemployment."

Even George Meany, the Right-wing president of A.F.L.-C.I.O., foresees a major depression coming unless the worsening unemployment problem is solved. "We face a period right now in which the unemployed themselves, leaving the consumer market, are creating more unemployment. It is a vicious cycle," he said.

YANKEE IMPERIALISM

Export of Counter-Revolution

At the recent conference of U.S. and Central American Interior Ministers in Nicaragua, it was decided not only to restrict normal travel between these countries and Cuba, but also to form a Central American police organization fashioned after the notorious F.B.I.

This sinister move is fully in line with Washington's increased recourse to military force to suppress national and democratic movements in Latin America. Realizing that its stooges there are detested and their regimes shakier than ever, it is resorting to "special warfare" methods to prop them up.

In a dispatch datelined Panama, a *Chicago Sun-Times* correspondent reported a "new Kennedy focus on military matters" in Latin America. His conclusion after a two-week, 6,000-mile tour in the Caribbean and Central America was that Washington had launched a double-barrelled attack in the area: along with reinforcements of U.S. guerrilla and commando forces, it was speeding up training of local military and police in "counter-insurgency" techniques. He revealed that the U.S. "special forces" stationed in the Panama Canal Zone had been reinforced by another several thousand last year. These men, he wrote, had been sent there because they were "capable not only of instructing Latins in counter-insurgency but also of fight-

ing brushfire wars anywhere in South America. . . . They are already at work in a number of countries in Latin America, but officials decline to pinpoint their exact locations for fear of political repercussions in those areas."

Of the training of local "special forces" in the Canal Zone, he recounted: "About 2,500 were enrolled in courses three years ago, while the total this year is expected to reach 5,700 and expand still further next year." An article in the *Christian Science Monitor* (March 26) listed a whole range of U.S. schools in the Canal Zone engaged in this unholy work, and said that U.S. training teams were sent to 15 Latin American countries last year for the same purpose. The same article stressed the "notable change" in U.S. "military assistance" to the Latin American countries in the last couple of years. "The emphasis is [now] on weapons and training for counter-insurgency and internal security." The reason for this, it explained, was that Washington now viewed the people's movements as the "main threat" in Latin America.

In plain words, fearing the rising people's movements in Latin America, the Kennedy Administration is busy using all the paraphernalia of "special warfare" to export counter-revolution.

GUATEMALA

Coup Cracks Another Facade

Washington's facades are often rickety even before they are readied for display.

On March 18-20, Kennedy waxed eloquent at San Jose about hemispheric "freedom," "democracy" and "progress." Ten days later, on March 30, Guatemala, one of the participating countries, had another coup.

Headed by Defence Minister Enrique Peralta Azurdia, a group of military officers of the extreme Right seized power from dictator Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes and announced: suspension of constitutional guarantees, dissolution of parliament, banning of all political activities and parties and "eradication of communism." They also ordered the arrest of Juan Jose Arevalo, a former President who had braved Ydigoras' threats and returned to the country to participate in the presidential elections scheduled this autumn.

The coup was an effort to bolster rather than replace the unpopular, pro-U.S. dictatorial regime. With anti-

government guerrillas active in the mountainous north and popular discontent rife in the cities, Ydigoras had stepped up his repression. Only a few days before the coup, he decreed a state of siege. Earlier, there were large-scale arrests of trade union leaders. Still, the power behind him was worried that his rule would not last.

Washington and Ydigoras supplied eloquent footnotes to the coup. A State Department spokesman said that it was "not unexpected," but realizing that he might be letting the cat out of the bag, he hastened to add he was withholding "substantive comment" pending further study. And the former dictator? He told newsmen on arriving in Managua, Nicaragua, that the military coup was "good for Guatemala and the rest of Central America." "They [Azurdia and his gang] can fight communism better," he said.

Nine years ago, Yankee imperialism subverted the duly elected democratic government in Guatemala and drowned it in blood. Now it is trying to hold the people down by bloody repression.

ALGERIA

The Fight Goes On

The Algerian Government is confiscating a number of French estates in the departments of Algiers and Orleansville. Several thousand hectares in area, they belonged to the most notorious of the French colonial-

ists—the driving force behind the dirty war against the Algerians. (One Henri Borgeaud, whose estates were thus seized, owns thousands of hectares of vineyards. He is also head of ten influential firms and holds controlling shares in two big tobacco companies.) Now these estates are back in Algerian hands and are run by administration committees set up by former liberation fighters.

The Algerian Government has also issued a decree declaring vacant properties abandoned by European settlers. The latter own most of Algeria's industry, mining, financial and commercial enterprises, as well as some two million hectares of the best land. They are silent testimony to the wholesale robbery and exploitation of Algeria by the French during the 130 years of their rule. These interlopers, fleeing the country with their ill-gotten wealth, arrogantly thought that the Algerians could not carry on without them. However, this plot to sabotage Algeria's economy has been thwarted. Administration committees set up by the Algerian Government have taken over these properties and kept production going.

The Algerian people support these important measures of their government. But the French and other imperialist powers are trying to use the Evian agreement and "aid" to put pressure on Algeria. So, the fight against colonialism continues, though in forms different from those of the liberation war.

THE PASSING SHOW

Dream House on Rattlesnake Ridge

The John F. Kennedy's new hideaway on Rattlesnake Ridge in Virginia is a regular dream house (writes a gossip columnist). It has "suntan" stucco walls, lovely brick fireplaces, pastel shade paintwork and a fall-out shelter, all for around \$100,000. The U.S.' First Family will weekend here when they are not in the White House, Camp David, Hyannis Port, Palm Beach or somewhere else.

"In the shadows of the city, far from its heart, New York maintains special neighbourhoods for people it doesn't want to see" (writes *Look* magazine). "One is West 104th Street, off Central Park, a great, sour, chunk of urban rot. . . ." Three hundred and sixty thousand poverty-stricken people live a life here of "living death." "The babies in these slums are hunks of flesh, laid down in dark rooms to age like meat, to be eaten when their taste appeals to rats, sodomites, drug pushers." *Look* quotes a landlord as saying: "I run a pigsty for the city of New York. We're partners, see?"



Good Farm Prospects In Central-South China

by CHANG PEI

ON a recent trip through central-south China we found the peasants working hard to raise a good harvest this year. We found them in high spirit and confident whether in the foothills of the Tapieh Mountains in Honan and Hupeh Provinces, on the shores of Tungting Lake in Hunan or far to the south in the delta of the Pearl River in Kwangtung. Many areas in this great region reaped good harvests last year. Whenever the talk turned to this topic the peasants told us how heartily they welcomed the Communist Party's policies on the rural people's communes. We found the communes firmly rooted, their collective economies well set and beginning to return the fruits of the efforts put into their creation.

With the spring work going ahead well—indeed, ever since preparations for it started last winter—the farmers have grown more and more confident of a better crop this year. Their confidence is well-founded.

Grounds for Confidence

First and foremost is the extensive campaign for a socialist education that was launched in the central-south provinces last winter and this spring. This helped to clarify in everyone's mind what the Party's rural policies are and it also enhanced the socialist outlook and spirit on the farms. A million production teams of the region held meetings to work out the production goals of this year's work. There were meetings of individual households, and of each team's members or their delegates. Matters were thoroughly discussed and thrashed out. As a result, every commune member now knows exactly what crops will be sown, what their yields are expected to be, how many work-days they will contribute to the collective tasks and roughly how much they will earn in cash and kind.

Farm production plans were thus formulated in the basic units and co-ordinated at higher levels. Questions of production and of distribution were discussed and co-ordinated simultaneously. In this way the interests of the state, the collectives and individuals were brought into harmony. This has spurred individual initiative and the production plans have been made into effective means of mobilizing and organizing the peasants to work for a better harvest. The heartening results of this were what impressed us most strongly during our travels over the region.

In all the provinces we visited, a great many production teams have mapped out their ambitious but thoroughly practical production plans. Both the leading state bodies and the teams describe these plans as "the products of the socialist education." This campaign has

become a tremendous force powering the new upsurge on the farms and consolidating the people's communes.

Secondly, the production teams have a stronger material foundation for their plans as a result of the construction work done since 1958. This year, for instance, they are confident that they will have adequate water supplies for their crops. The widespread building of large and small water conservancy works in the past five years was a major factor in raising a good harvest last year. These works were repaired during the past winter months and early this spring and so in this respect the situation is better than ever before. More farmland under irrigation and more fertilizers in store mean a big step towards ensuring a good harvest. This situation has brought home the fact that the big leap forward in the national economy must be judged and evaluated according to its effects over a certain historical period rather than in its results over one or two years. The water conservancy works built since 1958 are showing their effects today.

The third factor making for the confidence is the improvement in the methods of work and style of work of the rural cadres. In all the places we visited we found dedicated cadres working well, especially at the basic level, following the mass line of the Party—working in close touch with the masses, "seeking truth from facts" and practical results, and taking a scientific attitude: carefully considering objective conditions and allowing for all possible contingencies. Production targets were worked out only after all-round consideration had been given to possible adverse factors. Then the masses were rallied to fulfil the plans in full knowledge of what was at stake.

Goals and Means

Spring ploughing marks the start of another farm year but actually here in the central-south preparations for it began well ahead last winter in the building of water conservancy works, the collecting of fertilizer and the laying in of stocks of improved seed. By mid-March it was already apparent that the central-south region had done its "home-work" well. "Better than last year!" We were told on every side.

HONAN. In the past few years the people of Honan have had to put up a stubborn fight against a sequence of serious natural calamities but they have come through better than they themselves expected. Now, far from resting on their achievements, they all—Party members, cadres and commune members—are looking ahead to new successes.

No less than 25 counties of Honan's 127 counties and cities suffer from shifting sand dunes or excessive

alkalinity of the soil. The people of these affected areas are now determined to remedy this situation and change the face of their land in this respect once and for all. They have already done considerable work to prevent water-logging (which raises the water table and brings salts to the surface of the soil), to plant wind-breaks (to anchor sandy soil) and sink wells for irrigation. Judging from what we saw they will gradually solve these problems in the years to come.

HUPEH. In Hupeh Province we found the farmers all talking about boosting cotton output. Hupeh is one of the major cotton-producing regions in China. Its farmers will raise more cotton this year mainly by extending the cotton acreage while maintaining and even increasing grain output by raising per-mu yields. Many counties plan on this principle to get bigger harvests of grain, cotton, oil-bearing and other crops.

A leading comrade of the No. 1 Production Brigade of the Hongzhuan People's Commune, Macheng County, told us that his brigade was looking forward to reaping 10 per cent more grain than last year and getting an even bigger increase in cotton and oil-bearing crops. It had already stored sufficient fertilizer for all its grain and cotton crops.

HUNAN. With its huge area of fertile, well-watered land around the shores of Tungting Lake, second largest fresh-water lake in China, Hunan Province is one of China's major grain producers. The farmers here are confident that this year, as last year, they will be able to supply the nation with plenty of marketable grain. In Yiyang County, to the south of the lake, we learnt that the communes will be planting their regular crop of paddyrice and have also enlarged production plans for other crops and side-lines so as to boost both grain yields and collective and individual incomes, and speed up the sound development of the communes' collective economies.

It is most important for these predominantly grain-producing areas of Hunan to go into side-lines and develop a more diversified economy. These counties around Tungting are heavily populated and because of intensive farming their per-mu yields are relatively high. With the progress of technical reform in farming, a growing part of the labour force can be spared for other productive activities. This and the rising demand for goods as the peasants' standards of living rise, make it necessary for the communes to diversify their productive activities and more and more of them are going in for fish farming, raising ducks and other poultry, etc.



Drawn by Su Li

The Yiyang peasants have decided that their side-lines and other enterprises should be run mainly on a collective basis. This, they told us, was not merely a matter of administrative efficiency but helped to strengthen the collective economy. Collectively run side-lines, supplemented by those carried on by individuals, have opened broad perspectives for the lake-area communes to increase production and income.

KWANGTUNG. Crossing the Wuling Mountains we reached Kwangtung, bordering the warm South China Sea. Here, all traces of winter had gone. It was still early March but the rice seedlings were already forming beds of brilliant green. At night many lights dotted the whole Pearl River Delta area. These were from the electric pumping stations that are here symbols of bigger crops. The delta is another of China's big granaries reaping each year two crops of rice or three crops, one of winter wheat and two of rice.

Can the delta area produce yet more grain? The Yaxi People's Commune in Hsinhui County provides one answer. Its members are implementing a plan of producing an extra 3 million jin of paddyrice this year, and are fully confident that they can do it. Not content

with that they are also diversifying their economy to produce more sugar-cane, groundnuts, oranges and tangerines, oil-bearing crops, fish and pigs this year.

Good Foundations

The guidance given by the Party, the rising socialist consciousness of the masses, the strengthening of the material foundations of the farms and the improved working methods and style of work of the rural cadres have all helped to bring about the present fine situation in China's great central-south region. And we must not forget to mention the important role played by increased urban and industrial aid to the farms.

However, there are still a number of difficulties to be overcome and more will crop up in future. The communes are keeping a sharp lookout particularly for possible difficulties due to weather. Despite the recent rainfall there are still a number of areas suffering from a dry spell in the region. The overall situation in the central-south is excellent. With close adherence to the Party's policies and conscientious and energetic work to turn practical possibilities into realities a good harvest this year can be expected.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Porcelain Links In Sino-African History

A wealth of archaeological evidence proves that Chinese porcelain played a unique and remarkable part in the establishment and development of the age-old relations of friendship between the Chinese and African peoples. Written historical sources indicate that indirect contacts existed between China and Africa as far back as 2,000 years ago in the Han Dynasty. Finds of Chinese porcelain in Africa prove that indirect and also direct relations have a history of many centuries.

Chinese porcelain, world famous today, was renowned throughout the ancient world. Along with silk, it occupied an important position in China's foreign trade. But unlike more perishable silk, porcelain has been preserved in considerable amounts in the remains of ancient settlements in Africa. Porcelain shards discovered over an extensive area in Africa prove that Chinese porcelain was shipped to Africa in quantity during and after the Tang (618-907) and Sung (960-1279) Dynasties.

With Egypt Through Fustat

Many shards of Chinese porcelain have been excavated in Egypt at the site of Fustat (Old Cairo) in the Nile Delta. Most of those are Chinese celadons (fine, greenish porcelain) dating back to the Sung Dynasty. Some of the earliest pieces may even date back to the late Tang and Five Dynasties (907-960). There are also a few shards of blue-and-white porcelain of the Yuan (1279-1368) and Ming (1368-1644) Dynasties. The celadons decorated with incised or impressed designs are mainly of three types: the Yueh Yao, *yingching*, and Lungchuan wares. Most of the blue-and-whites are 15th-century Ming products of the Hsuanteh and Chenghua reign periods.

An interesting fact is that alongside these original Chinese porcelains, there have also been unearthed a considerable number of copies, made by local potters. This indicates the popularity of the imported Chinese wares. At first only celadons were copied. Later, by the 14-15th centuries, blue-and-whites were also produced locally. The shapes and decorative

motifs were all derived from their Chinese prototypes, but the material used was Egyptian clay and these wares often bore the names of their local makers in Arabic.

Friendly intercourse between China and Africa increased during and after the Sung Dynasty. This is reflected in the ever increasing amount of Chinese porcelains of this period discovered in many parts of Africa as scientific excavation developed in the 19th century: along the Nile in Upper Egypt; at Quft (Coptos), Qus and Thebes, as well as at the Red Sea port of Kosseir. Chinese porcelains along with copper coins of the Sung Dynasty were found in Zanzibar in 1888. Sung porcelains have also been found at Pemba Island off the Zanzibar coast. Written chronicles tell of this trade. In his travel book the celebrated Moroccan traveller Ibn Batuta (1304-1377) declares that exports of Chinese porcelain were at that time finding their way as far west as his homeland. Chinese records of the 14-15th centuries also relate that Chinese porcelains were exported to such distant markets as Mogadishu (capital of Somali) and Jobo on the east coast of Africa.

Important Recent Finds

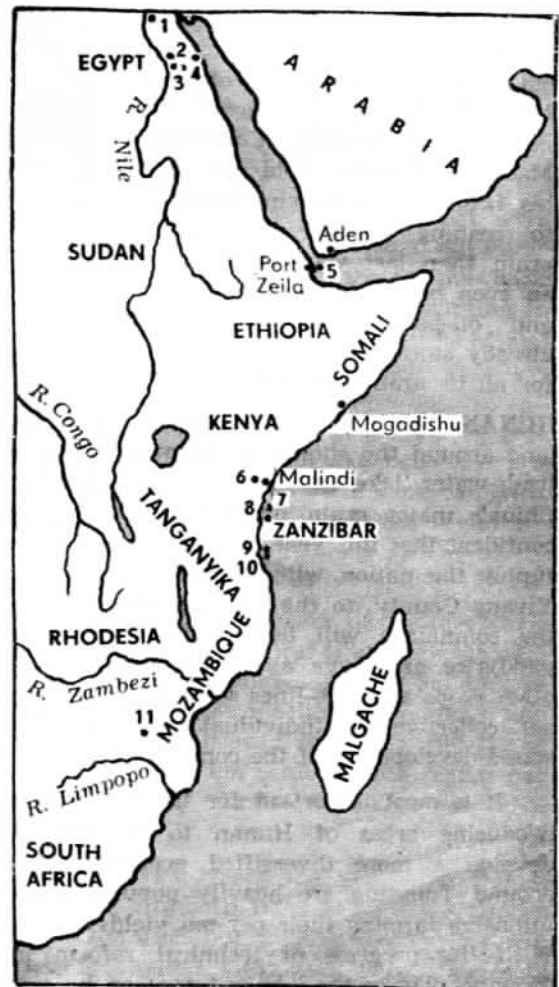
African archaeological studies have been greatly spurred in recent years by the upsurge of the African struggle for national independence. The African scholars are doing an increasing amount of work in the collecting of archaeological data for the study of their own national histories and this, incidentally, has led to many new finds of Chinese porcelain. These finds are astonishingly widely spread.

Chinese porcelains have been unearthed among the remains of three ancient towns on the Somalian-Ethiopian frontier. They are products of the 13th to early 16th centuries, and are mainly celadons, with some blue-and-whites, and a few pieces of under-glaze red ware. The presence of a large quantity of identical shards on Saad din Island (near the Somalian port of Zeila) leads to the surmise that this island on the Red

Sea was an unloading and distribution centre for these wares. Sung porcelains and copper coins of the 11-12th centuries discovered at Mogadishu corroborate the written chronicles.

A rich find of Chinese celadons and some early blue-and-white shards has been uncovered amid the ruins of Aidhab (destroyed in 1426) on the Sudanese coast of the Red Sea. One celadon fragment bears an incised inscription in Mongolian Phagspa script. It seems likely that the Chinese porcelains found in the Sudanese interior were imported through this port.

Many examples of Chinese porcelains have been found at Gedi and several other sites in the vicinity of Malindi in Kenya. These settlements were first founded in the 13th century. Excavations made between 1948 and 1956 show that their earliest layers contain no Chinese porcelain but that Chinese porcelains begin to



The coast of East Africa showing where Chinese porcelain was found

1. Fustat (Old Cairo)
2. Quft (Coptos)
3. Thebes
4. Kosseir
5. Saad din Island
6. Gedi
7. Pemba
8. Zanzibar
9. Kilwa
10. Songo Mnara
11. Zimbabwe

appear in quantity in the cultural layers of the mid-14th century and onwards. These consist for the most part of celadon and white wares and a coarse brown ware. The overseas trade of this region reached its height in the 15th century. This was when Chinese blue-and-white porcelain made its first appearance there and gradually grew in popularity. The celadons, however, still made up the bulk of the trade. By the 16th century, the blue-and-white and coarse ware "Canton jars" led the market. The remains of Gedi also yielded two Sung copper coins (one dating back to around 1195-1200 and the other to 1228-33). Gedi and the Malindi area towns began to decline in the mid-16th century as a result of Portuguese plundering. The Portuguese lost control over Kenya in the second half of the 17th century and several new towns arose in the area including those on Wasin Island off Mombasa, and at Mambrui near Malindi, where shards of 17th century Chinese porcelain have been found.

46 Ancient Sites

Along the coast of Tanganyika to the south of Kenya, 46 ancient settlement sites were uncovered by archaeological teams in the mid-1950s. These all contained such enormous amounts of Chinese porcelain shards that an archaeologist could literally shovel them up by the spadeful. It is an interesting fact that the absolute dates of cultural layers unearthed at these sites can be precisely determined with the help of the Chinese porcelain shards they contain. These shards, according to some scholars abroad can be divided into eight different types of wares. These include some early blue-and-whites that probably belong to the early 15th century and some under-glaze red wares, but the overwhelming majority consist of wares of the 17th century and onwards.

Some shards of 13th-century celadons were found in 1950 on Songo Mnara Island off the coast of Tanganyika. A large quantity of Chinese porcelain shards was also excavated not far from here, on Kilwa Island. These finds can now be seen in the Dar-es-Salaam Museum in the Tanganyikan capital. To Chinese visitors who come upon these exhibits it is a moving experience to see here the living proof of the ancient ties between their country and Africa and know

that those ties are being renewed and strengthened today.

In Rhodesia, to the southwest of Tanganyika, lie the famous ruins of Zimbabwe. When European colonialists first saw these remains of great and perfectly constructed stone structures, they refused to credit that they were built by the African Negroes themselves in antiquity and arbitrarily attributed them to the ancient Phoenicians who were said to have sailed and traded here well over a thousand years before the time of Christ. Excavations conducted in 1929 resulted in the discovery of shards of Chinese celadons and blue-and-white porcelain belonging to the 14th and 15th centuries so placed as to make it clear that far from being founded by the Phoenicians, the Zimbabwe buildings were in fact created by the natives of Africa in medieval times.

Such finds of ancient Chinese porcelains are not confined to North and East Africa. Some years ago, a shard of 17th- or 18th-century Chinese porcelain was found at Mbanza in the Congo, less than 200 miles from the Atlantic coast.

In Ethiopia, in an ancient church on the island of Rima on Lake Tana, an exquisite Ming vase still holds parts of the remains of the Negus Sertse Denghel who was killed in 1597. The ruins of the 17th-century palace at Gondar also contain numerous shards of Chinese porcelain. The walls of a palace hall there were even inset with Chinese porcelains as decorations.

After the 16th century, friendly contacts between the Chinese and the African peoples were obstructed and undermined by the Western colonialists. It is only in recent years, following the victorious struggles of their peoples, that China and Africa have been able to resume their friendly relations. Now, new and stronger ties are being formed between them, ties of fruitful cultural and economic exchanges, ties of joint struggle against their enemy—imperialism, and for the progress of mankind.

— HSIA NAI

Director of the Institute
of Archaeology

SHORT NOTES

British Basso. Martin Lawrence, British bass currently touring China, presented an interesting and varied programme in two concerts in Peking.

It included traditional English songs, operatic arias by Mozart, Verdi, Rossini and Glinka, American Negro and other folk songs, and songs by Schubert. The audience particularly appreciated his sincerely popular approach to his art: the contemporary actuality of his presentation of both classics and folk songs in a richly expressive and resilient voice with crystal clear diction. In a gesture of friendship, he also sang a little Szechuan folk song in Chinese.

New Peking Handicrafts. Peking's flourishing handicraft arts put on a dazzling show of their latest products at a recent exhibition held atop the "Round City" in Beihai Park. Exquisite and original works were displayed in cloisonne, jade and ivory carvings and embroideries, for which Peking has long been famous. The new designs in cloisonne use brighter colours than in the celebrated cloisonne of Ming times. Lacquerware, necklaces, bracelets, ear-rings and brooches in Tibetan, Mongolian and other styles, palace lanterns, toys, and a type of open-weave Peking carpet newly revived after 30 years' desuetude, form another part of the over 2,000 items exhibited. A big screen made of fine silver mesh set with semi-precious stones and framed in carved blackwood was the joint work of the wood-carving, jade-carving and silver-wire ornaments crafts, three of the over 40 handicraft trades represented.

"The Stage Art of Chou Hsin-fang."

This new colour film just released by the Tienma Studio presents the art of one of the greatest Peking opera actors at its best. In the two classical operas filmed, *Hsu Tse Makes Haste to the Gate Tower* and *Sung Chiang Kills His Mistress*, Chou Hsin-fang has created in one the unforgettable image of an upright, just old official and in the other a legendary hero of fiction who finally kills the woman about to betray him and his friends. Through long years of constant improvement in his 60 years on the stage, Chou Hsin-fang has brought his portrayal of these characters to perfection, and made these operas two of the most representative of his art. In the making of the film, directed by veteran directors Ying Yun-wei and Yang Hsiao-chung, Chou, not only as an actor, took a most active part in tackling problems of adapting stage opera to the screen.

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at the Chinese Export Commodities Fair at Canton
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Further particulars and information available on request.

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