

# PEKING REVIEW

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October 11, 1963

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## The New "Holy Alliance" Will End Up No Better Than the Old

A *Hongqi* commentary (p. 12).

## International Communist Movement Is Making a Momentous Choice

Comrade D.N. Aidit's speech on certain questions in the  
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*The Japanese Industrial Exhibition*

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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

October 11, 1963 Vol. VI No. 41

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## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• The friendship between the peoples of China and Japan reached a new peak last week with:

— The inauguration of the China-Japan Friendship Association.

— The opening of the Japanese Industrial Exhibition in Peking.

— The commemoration of the 1,200th anniversary of the death of the famous monk Chien Chen.

— The premiere of the Japanese "Warabiza" National Song and Dance Ensemble in Peking.

• The Indonesian Co-operation Parliament Delegation led by M.H. Lukman visited Shanghai after touring Peking and the northeast.

• Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi held talks with the Algerian Government Delegation led by Minister of State Amar Ouzegane.

• Scientists from 22 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania held a preparatory conference for the 1964 Peking Symposium and decided that the symposium would be held in Peking next August.

• *Renmin Ribao* published the full text of an article entitled "Peace or Violence?" from the latest issue of *Hoc Tap* (No. 9), theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.

• On September 29 *Renmin Ribao* published excerpts of an article in the Albanian paper *Zeri I Popullit* of September 13 entitled "The Outcome of Khrushchev's Visit to Yugoslavia."

It also reported a recent article in the Japanese paper *Akahata*, criticizing the Japanese anti-Party revisionists for taking the Titoites as their teachers.

• The Chinese press reported a speech made by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, at the Party headquarters in Djakarta on September 29 on certain questions in the international communist movement. He said that a conclusion would be eventually reached as to who are the true Marxist-Leninists and who are the fakes.

• The Chinese Foreign Ministry in a note to the Indian Embassy in China on September 18 strongly protested the crossing of the line of actual control of November 7, 1959, from Parigas in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border and intrusion into the Chinese village of Demchok on August 13 by three mounted Indian soldiers.

### China-Japan Friendship Association Founded

A new landmark in the history of friendly relations between the Chinese and Japanese peoples was the founding of the China-Japan Friendship Association in Peking on October 4.

The new association will strengthen co-operation with the Japan-China Friendship Association and other friendly Japanese organizations, promote cultural and economic exchanges

and work for the early normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The association was set up under the auspices of 19 people's organizations, including the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the National Women's Federation, the All-China Youth Federation, the China Peace Committee, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries. The

sponsoring organizations elected Kuo Mo-jo the association's honorary president; Liao Cheng-chih, president; Nan Han-chen, Chao Pu-chu and Chou Erh-fu, vice-presidents; and Chao An-po, secretary-general. The association's council members, numbering well over a hundred, include leading figures in the fields of economics, culture, art, journalism, Buddhism and other circles.

A mass rally was held in Peking to celebrate the inauguration of the association. Among those who attended were Vice-Premier Chen Yi, leading members of the various people's organizations and over 500 Japanese friends visiting Peking.

Chu Tu-nan, President of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, delivered the opening address. He recalled the profound, traditional friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples and said that the movement for friendship between the two countries had today become an irresistible historical trend. Noting that normal relations between the two countries had not yet been restored, he said: "This is mainly due to obstruction by U.S. imperialism and is diametrically opposed to the aspirations of the majority of the Japanese people. Supporting one another in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism, the friendship between the peoples of our two countries has been growing day by day."

Kuo Mo-jo, honorary president of the association, referred to the formation of the association as a great event which would write a brilliant page in the annals of friendly relations between the Chinese and Japanese peoples. "It augurs a still faster growth of their friendship in the days to come," he said.

Liao Cheng-chih, president of the newly formed association, in his speech, said that the formation of the association marked a big advance in the friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples and demonstrated its bright future. On behalf of the council and staff of the China-Japan Friendship Association, Liao Cheng-chih pledged that they would advance the friendly relations between China and Japan in the economic, cultural and other fields and, on the basis of the ten principles of the Bandung Con-

ference, strive for the establishment of normal relations between China and Japan.

Five Japanese friends spoke at the rally, congratulating the association on its establishment and hailing the continued growth of friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

Tanzan Ishibashi, President of the Japanese Industrial Exhibition, said that the peoples of Japan and China must make common efforts to increase their mutual understanding and conduct political, economic and cultural exchange on a greater scale. He pledged himself to devote all his efforts to strengthening Sino-Japanese friendship.

Kazuo Suzuki, Vice-President of the Japan-China Friendship Association, said that the Japanese people's desire for friendship with the Chinese people was growing stronger with each passing day. The movement of the Japanese people for Sino-Japanese friendship, he declared, had become a vigorous struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and called for the unity of the whole Japanese people to make still greater contributions to this friendship and to Asian and world peace.

### World Scientists' Peking Centre

Scientists from a score of Asian, African, Latin American, Australasian and European countries gathered in the Chinese capital on September 25 to celebrate the founding of the Peking centre of the World Federation of Scientific Workers. It was a significant occasion deepening unity and friendly co-operation between Chinese scientists and their colleagues in foreign lands.

The Peking centre was founded in accordance with the decision unanimously adopted at the 24th Executive Council of the W.F.S.W. held in Moscow in September 1962. Professor Chang Wei, China's well-known specialist in engineering mechanics and Vice-President of Tsinghua University, is director of the centre.

Presiding at the founding ceremony was Professor Chou Pei-yuan, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Scientific and Technological Association. Extending a warm welcome to all the visiting scientists from abroad, Professor Chou

expressed confidence that the meeting celebrating the founding of the Peking centre and the subsequent preparatory meeting for the 1964 scientific symposium to be held in the Chinese capital would contribute to promoting science in all countries and strengthening the unity and friendship between scientists all over the world.

In his report to the meeting, Professor Chang Wei said that the Peking centre would devote itself to the promotion of international scientific interchanges for the advancement of science in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The first item on its programme was the 1964 scientific symposium which it was sponsoring in collaboration with the Chinese Scientific and Technological Association. Pointing out that the main factor hindering scientific and cultural development in Asian, African and Latin American countries was aggression and enslavement by imperialism and old and new colonialism, he said that it was necessary to oppose this oppression and enslavement. He noted that, with the vigorous progress of the national revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the winning of political independence by many countries on these continents, friendship among these countries had entered a completely new stage. "To enhance the development of science in our countries," said Professor Chang Wei, "the Peking centre is willing to shoulder its responsibilities in strengthening international interchanges and to organize scientific symposia. We hope that the projected 1964 scientific symposium will be a good beginning for strong unity among scientific circles."

Professor Li Ssu-kuang, Chairman of the Chinese Scientific and Technological Association, and guests from many countries also spoke, wishing the meeting every success.

During its four-day discussions from September 27-30, the preparatory meeting for the 1964 scientific symposium decided to hold the symposium in August next year.

### Chinese Sports Delegation For GANEFO

Jung Kao-tang, Vice-Chairman of the State Commission for Physical Culture and Sports, will head the Chinese contingent for the First

Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) to be held in Djakarta next month.

Most of the Chinese sportsmen selected for the GANEFO are reigning national champions or national record holders. Among them are Chuang Tse-tung, who twice won the world table tennis championship for the men's singles; Li Fu-jung, runner-up for the men's singles at the last two World Table Tennis Championships; Cheng Feng-jung, China's one-time world record holder in the women's high jump; Mo Kuo-hsiung, ace breaststroke swimmer; weightlifter Chao Ching-kuei and archers Hsu Kai-tsai, Li Shulan and Wang Hsi-hua. Ni Chih-chin, who recently cleared 2.20 metres in the men's high jump, and crack women sprinters Chiang Yu-min and Liu Yu-ying are also going to Djakarta.

The teams for the various ball games include the best players selected from all over the country. They include Chang Hung-ken, Chen Chia-liang and Sun Pao-jung, well-known football players; Chien Cheng-hai, Yang Po-yung and Hu Li-teh, outstanding basketball players; and Feng Cheng-hai, Li Tsung-yung and Teng Jo-tseng, veteran volleyball players.

At the meeting held for the formal constitution of the group, Vice-Premier Chen Yi stressed the importance of the GANEFO. "It was proposed by Indonesia," he said, "and has received support and approval from many countries. It has become a part of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism by the people in the countries of the new emerging forces." He called on Chinese sportsmen to do their best to help make the games a success and to cement friendship with sportsmen from all the participating nations.

Later the members of the delegation were received by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premiers Ho Lung and Chen Yi.

### Guinean National Day

Guinean Ambassador to China Camara Mamady gave a reception in Peking on October 2 to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Guinean Republic. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and

Po I-po were among those who attended and gave their greetings.

Ambassador Camara Mamady, in his reception speech, described the achievements the Guinean people had scored under the leadership of President Sekou Toure and their successes in safeguarding and consolidating their national independence. "The Guinean people," he said, "have exposed and frustrated all the schemes concocted against our independence and all attempts at subversion di-

rected from outside." Declaring that Guinea was prepared to wage a relentless struggle against colonialism, imperialism and their agents, Ambassador Camara Mamady said: "Together with the peoples of other African countries, the Republic of Guinea is fighting to drive out the remnant colonial forces from their final lairs. We hold that the struggle waged by the people of various countries against imperialism is an important contribu-

*(Continued on p. 19.)*

## Chinese Exhibitions Abroad

### Exhibition in Algiers

Over 150,000 people saw the exhibition on economic construction in China during the four weeks it was shown in Algiers. It was opened by President Ben Bella before a big crowd on August 31 and public interest in it never flagged. Some 8,000 visitors passed through its doors on the closing day.

The entries in the visitors' book give a good idea of the way this exhibition was received. They praised China for its great achievements in economic construction and expressed admiration for its policy of self-reliance in construction and for the "three red banners of the general line for building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's commune." Many expressed the wish for closer Algerian-Chinese friendship in the common struggle against imperialism and for the strengthening of trade relations between the two countries. On the final day the exhibition staff was showered with requests to "take the best wishes to Chairman Mao Tse-tung."

### Forward, the People's Communes!

A photo exhibition on China's people's communes opened on September 30 in the gallery of the Academy of Arts in Moscow under the title: "The People's Communes Advance."

More than 200 photographs are on display showing various aspects of this new form of organization in China's countryside. The first part makes clear the tremendous role played by the communes in overcoming three consecutive years of serious natural calamities and bringing in rich harvests. The second part tells how the

people's communes came into being in 1958 under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party's general line for building socialism. This was a time when, with a terrific burst of enthusiasm, the members of the agricultural co-operatives had brought about a general upsurge in production. The third part shows the advantages which the people's communes enjoy as compared even with the advanced agricultural co-operatives. The fourth part shows how the people's communes are further consolidating and developing their collective economy by holding firmly to the Party's class line, keeping to the mass line and thoroughly implementing the Party's policies. The fifth and concluding part illustrates the way the whole nation is giving active support to agriculture and the rural people's communes in their advance to the goal of modernizing the nation's agriculture.

The exhibition is sponsored by the Soviet Ministry of Culture in accordance with the 1963 plan for cultural co-operation between the two countries. First Vice-Minister of Culture A.N. Kuznetsov spoke at the opening ceremony, while Chinese Ambassador to the Soviet Union Pan Tzu-li gave a brief account of the birth and growth of the people's communes, their advantages and the Chinese people's achievements after the people's communes were formed. "This exhibition," said Ambassador Pan, "will help to give the Soviet people a better understanding of the people's communes in China's rural areas and promote the further development and consolidation of the great friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union."

# The Socialist Industrialization of China

Written for *Cuba Socialista* of Cuba

by PO I-PO

*This article by Vice-Premier Po I-po was published in Spanish in the October issue of "Cuba Socialista." Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

## PROGRESS OF SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

ONE of the great historical tasks of the Chinese people as they carry on socialist construction after the victory of the revolution is to bring about the socialist industrialization of their country.

### China's Backward Economic Legacy

Old China left a very backward economic legacy. Industry comprised only a very small part of the entire national economy, and its foundations were very weak. The principal industries were light ones, such as textiles and food products. The very few heavy industries that did exist were of a fragmentary nature; they included a small number of mines and metallurgical plants run by the imperialists to rob China of her resources, and an engineering industry capable only of carrying out repairs and assembly. The overwhelming majority of both light and heavy industries were under the control of the imperialists and comprador-bourgeoisie and so were colonial or semi-colonial in nature. In line with this situation, the geographical distribution of industry was extremely irrational with a handful of coastal cities containing over 70 per cent of all the nation's industry. Because of this state of affairs, China, for more than a century, remained a weak country, her people lived in poverty and she was subjected to aggression and oppression by capitalist and imperialist powers.

During the years of reactionary rule, many Chinese hoped to "save the country by building industry" so as to change the country from a backward agricultural land into an advanced industrial state, but all these hopes remained vain dreams. It was only when the Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, overthrew the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, wiped out imperialist influence in China and founded the People's Republic that they were able to realize their ideal of gradually building up their country into a great and powerful socialist industrial state.

The Chinese Communist Party has always attached great importance to the question of the nation's industrialization. In March 1949, on the eve of the nationwide victory of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, speaking at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh

Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, called on the people that they should, after the victory of the revolution, "speedily restore and develop production, cope with foreign imperialism, steadily transform China from an agricultural into an industrial country and build China into a great socialist state."\*

### From Economic Restoration to Planned Construction

With the founding of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, we immediately confiscated the bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises run by the reactionary government of Chiang Kai-shek and changed them into state-run socialist enterprises. With regard to enterprises run by imperialist countries in China, we, according to circumstances, either bought them up or took them under government control, gradually transforming them into state-run socialist enterprises. At the same time we carried out the land reform and thoroughly liquidated the feudal system of land ownership which had prevailed in our countryside for thousands of years. By the end of 1952, after something over two years of work we had successfully completed the onerous task of restoring the national economy and healing the wounds of war.

From 1953 to 1957 we carried out our First Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy. In this period we concentrated our main efforts on large-scale industrial construction which comprised more than 600 key projects, thus laying the initial foundation for socialist industrialization. In 1956 we completed the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, thus winning a decisive victory in the socialist revolution as far as ownership of the means of production was concerned. During the period of our Second Five-Year Plan, 1958-1962, under the guidance of the Party's general line for building socialism, China's industry continued to make great progress while throughout the countryside the agricultural producers' co-operatives were further combined into people's communes.

### Foundation of Industrialization Laid

With the construction carried out under the two five-year plans, China's industry underwent great changes and the foundation for China's socialist industrialization was laid.

In the past China had no tractor industry or motor vehicle industry, and no industry building ships, aircraft,

\* *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Volume IV, p.373.

heavy machines, precision machine tools, precision instruments and meters or chemical synthetic materials. Now all these new industries are being built up. This means that a radical change has taken place in transforming the incomplete state of our industrial departments. We have now built an industrial system of some size.

In the past we were unable to design many important industrial products and had to rely mainly on foreign designs; now we have progressed from copying to independent designing. In the past we could only make small and medium-sized equipment that required relatively simple techniques; now we are able to make some big and precision equipment. In the past, many of our important construction projects were designed with help from fraternal countries who provided the major part or even all of the equipment; now, we are able to design independently and to build with our own technical forces many important construction projects. These include modern coal pits each with an annual output of a million tons; integrated iron and steel works each with an annual productive capacity of 1.5 million tons of steel; chemical fertilizer plants each with an annual productive capacity of 25,000 tons of synthetic ammonia; various heavy-machine building plants; power stations each with a 650,000-kilowatt capacity, and many other types of plants. All this goes to show that we have greatly increased our technical strength for industrial construction and greatly raised our technical level.

With the establishment of these new industrial branches and the increase in her technical strength, China has very considerably raised her level of self-sufficiency in equipment and material needed for socialist construction. During her First Five-Year Plan, China could make about 55 per cent of the machinery and equipment she needed. During the Second Five-Year Plan, this level was raised to about 85 per cent. Our level of self-sufficiency in steel products climbed from about 75 per cent in the First Five-Year Plan period to around 90 per cent in the Second Five-Year Plan period. These facts show that China's socialist industrialization has taken yet another giant step forward along the road of self-reliance in construction.

### Rational Distribution of Industry

There have also been remarkable changes in the geographical distribution of our industry. Our industry was concentrated in the past in a few coastal cities. Nowadays, not only has the industry in these coastal cities been greatly expanded but every province and autonomous region in the country has established modern industry to some extent or other. In the past, our only large-scale iron and steel industrial base was the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, and even this was not fully constructed. Now we have not only thoroughly built up this base but also constructed new iron and steel bases at Wuhan, Pao-tow and elsewhere. In the past our electric power industry was concentrated in a few cities; now all the big, small and medium-sized cities and quite a number of villages too have power stations of various sizes. In the past our textile industry was mainly concentrated in a few coastal cities such as Shanghai, Tientsin and Tsingtao; now many provinces of the country have established up-to-date textile mills. All this means that there has

been a general growth of industry throughout our vast country with its many nationalities.

A dozen or so years is just an instant in the long history of our country, but the great achievements we have made in industrialization are unprecedented in that history. Even our enemies—the imperialists—cannot but acknowledge China's great achievements in industrial construction. This is the trend of developments: China's weakness is rapidly turning into its opposite—strength. This brings joy and encouragement to our people and elation to our friends throughout the world.

### Our Goals

Of course, though we have already achieved successes on the road of socialist industrialization, we are still a long way from having reached our goals in this endeavour. The socialist industrialization of our country entails building an independent, comprehensive and modern industrial system and putting the whole of our national economy, agriculture included, on to a modern technical basis in a comparatively short period of time. In other words, we must ensure that the raw and other materials and all kinds of machinery and equipment produced by our heavy industries are able to meet the needs of socialist expanded reproduction, the needs of the technical transformation of all sectors of the national economy and of the modernization of our national defence. We must also see to it that our light industries are able to produce various kinds of consumer goods to satisfy appropriately the requirements of the continuously rising standards of living of the people.

In achieving this aim, of course, all kinds of difficulties may crop up, but no difficulties have ever been able to block our advance. We have an advanced socialist system, over 600 million hard-working and courageous people, the correct leadership of the long-tested Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and rich natural resources; we have all the internal conditions needed for carrying out socialist industrialization. At the same time we also have the support of the fraternal socialist countries and the people of the world. With these favourable conditions, the speed of our socialist industrialization is bound to be faster than that of capitalist industrialization. In the space of only a dozen or so years, we have laid the foundation of socialist industrialization in an economically backward country. We will certainly be able to maintain the same leap-forward speed to carry through the socialist industrialization of our country in a relatively short historical period of time.



### CHINA'S ROAD TO INDUSTRIALIZATION

In addition to the favourable conditions mentioned above, one decisive reason why our socialist industrialization can develop fairly rapidly is that we have discovered through our own practice a road suited to our own actual situation for carrying out socialist industrialization with greater, faster, better and more economical results. The principal features of this road are expounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his speech *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* as follows:

In discussing our path to industrialization, I am here concerned principally with the relationship between the growth of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. Heavy industry is the core of China's economic construction. This must be affirmed. But, at the same time, full attention must be paid to the development of agriculture and light industry.

As China is a great agricultural country, with over 80 per cent of its population in the villages, its industry and agriculture must be developed simultaneously. Only then will industry have raw materials and a market, and only so will it be possible to accumulate fairly large funds for the building up of a powerful heavy industry. Everyone knows that light industry is closely related to agriculture. Without agriculture there can be no light industry. But it is not so clearly understood that agriculture provides heavy industry with an important market. This fact, however, will be more readily appreciated as the gradual progress of technological improvement and modernization of agriculture calls for more and more machinery, fertilizers, water conservancy and electric power projects and transport facilities for the farms, as well as fuel and building materials for the rural consumers. The entire national economy will benefit if we can achieve an even greater growth in our agriculture and thus induce a correspondingly greater development of light industry. . . . With the development of agriculture and light industry, heavy industry will be assured of its market and funds, and thus grow faster. Hence what may seem to be a slower pace of industrialization is actually not so, and indeed the tempo may even be speeded up.\*

### Relations Between Heavy Industry, Light Industry and Agriculture

Correct handling of the relationship between the growth of the three most basic branches of production — heavy industry, light industry and agriculture — is of the greatest significance in our socialist industrialization. We have already fully recognized in practice that socialist industrialization cannot be carried out in isolation. It is essential that industry and agriculture should be developed simultaneously and that heavy and light industry should be developed simultaneously; or, in other words, that their development should be mutually co-ordinated and that they should not get out of step with each other; only in this way can we guarantee the high-speed and balanced advance of socialist industrialization, and ensure that it is well integrated with improving the life of the people. During the past two five-year plans, we constantly educated our cadres to hold resolutely to our road of industrialization and in their practical work guard against and rectify one-sided practice of regarding industry as all-important while neglecting agriculture or of paying attention only to heavy industry while neglecting light industry. This has promoted the sound development of our socialist industrialization.

The question of how to deal correctly with the development of agriculture in the course of socialist industrialization is one that must be solved with the greatest at-

tention in order to uphold our road of socialist industrialization. In a country like ours, with our 500 million peasants, the conditions of the peasantry and of agriculture have a very close connection with the advance of industrialization and the development of socialist construction.

### Agriculture — Foundation of National Economy

Our Party's Central Committee has summarized the country's experience in construction and has clearly pointed out that agriculture forms the foundation for the growth of our industry and of the whole national economy. The basic means of subsistence of our population of over 600 million are met mainly by agriculture. Agriculture is also the major base providing raw materials for our light industry and it is the source of some of the subsidiary raw and other materials for heavy industry. Our industrialization is dependent on our internal market, and the countryside forms the major part of this internal market, the biggest in the world. The labour force needed for the growth of industry and for other economic enterprises comes principally from the countryside. The great amount of funds needed for our socialist construction is accumulated within the country, and a large part of it comes directly or indirectly from agriculture. All these are the manifestations of the role of agriculture as the foundation for the development of the national economy; they also constitute the most important conditions for carrying out socialist industrialization in our country. We need to mobilize fully the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses of our peasant allies, and with the support of all branches of the national economy, and the industrial branches in particular, devote great efforts to developing agriculture, greatly increasing the output of agricultural produce and raising agricultural labour productivity. It will then be possible to provide the cities with more and more marketable grains and other non-staple food, supply more and more cotton and other raw materials to industry, transfer even more labour-power from agriculture to industry and to other branches of the economy, mobilize the vast domestic market to make big demands on industry and absorb vast quantities of heavy and light industrial goods, and amass plenty of funds for industrial construction. The result of all this will not be to slow down but to promote the progress of socialist industrialization and the development of the whole national economy, as well as to facilitate greatly the improvements in the living standards of the people of the whole country and the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance.

The development of our industry according to the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy involves two requirements. One is that the size of the labour force needed for industrial development must be basically proportioned to the amount of marketable grains and other means of subsistence that can be provided by agriculture. The other is that in serving all branches of the national economy, industry must concentrate mainly on serving agriculture. All industry, whether light or heavy, must make the countryside its principal market. Heavy industry in particular must regard supporting the technical reform of agriculture as its foremost task, and must see to it that socialist industrialization and the modernization of agriculture are

\*Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, pp.67-68.



closely integrated and help each other forward. Practical experience has taught us that our industrialization can advance in the right direction and enjoy unlimited prospects only when it advances along the line of taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy and adapts itself to the two above-mentioned requirements.

### **Importance of Heavy Industry**

Our stress on developing industry according to the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy and the carrying out of socialist economic construction centring on heavy industry is not contradictory; the two are a unity. Taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy does not in the least imply the weakening of the growth of heavy industry; it actually creates even better conditions for heavy industrial development.

The carrying out of socialist industrialization directly entails the gradual building of a powerful industry, the leading branch of the national economy, and, first and foremost, the building of heavy industry which is the principal productive branch of the means of production. This is because only when heavy industry is developed and priority is given to growth of the means of production can social expanded reproduction be realized, can advanced technical equipment be provided for the technical transformation of the entire national economy, including agriculture, and for the strengthening of the national defences. Only under these circumstances can the leading role of industry in the national economy be brought into full play. Unless we make big efforts to build up the machine-building, metallurgical and chemical industries and other heavy industries, we will not be able to obtain the various kinds of machines and the steel products and building materials, electricity and fuel which are needed; we will not be able to equip our agriculture, light industry and transport; our national economy will remain backward for a long time and we will not be able to build up modern national defences.

In an agricultural country such as ours with an extremely weak industrial foundation and standing in the forefront of the fight against the forces of aggression and war headed by U.S. imperialism, the Chinese people urgently demand the development of heavy industry. The Chinese Communist Party is fully aware of this desire of the people, and has consistently given due importance to the development of heavy industry. In industrial construction during the past two five-year plans, we concentrated our main strength on heavy industry. A considerable number of our major construction projects were heavy industrial enterprises. This was absolutely necessary. This is precisely the reason why we succeeded in building the foundations of socialist industrialization in such a relatively short time. It is either a big misunderstanding or a distortion to say that our opposition to one-sided development of heavy industry means neglect of such industry.

### **Energetic Development of Light Industry**

Practice has brought it home to us that energetic promotion and not limitation of the development of light

industry in accordance with the possibilities of supplies of raw materials and funds as well as the market demand, is not detrimental but beneficial to socialist industrialization.

As is well known, industry shoulders the task of providing not only the means of labour, but also consumer goods. This is a very heavy task for industry in our country with its large population and economic backwardness. Energetic development of light industry will keep the market brisk, maintain commodity prices stable, satisfy appropriately the needs of the people's livelihood, and link socialist industrialization more closely with the vital interests of the people. This conforms completely with the aims of socialist production.

Moreover, light industry, as an important link, is closely connected with agriculture and heavy industry. The growth of light industry means the production of more and more light industrial goods to exchange for products of agriculture and farm side-occupations, thus promoting agricultural production and supporting industrial construction. Light industry is also an important source of accumulating funds for construction, because its factories are easier to build, need smaller investments, give quicker results and earn larger profits. At the same time, the growth of light industry also demands huge amounts of raw materials, machinery and equipment from the various branches of heavy industry, and this, in turn, promotes the development of heavy industry.

Our experience of industrialization has proved that there is no sound basis to views separating light industry from heavy industry and even opposing one to the other and regarding the energetic and appropriate development of light industry as being detrimental, rather than helpful, to the growth of heavy industry.

### **Simultaneous Development of National and Local Industries**

The question of our country's road to industrialization also involves the simultaneous development of national and local industries and of large enterprises as well as small and medium-sized enterprises under the conditions of centralized leadership, overall planning and division of labour and co-operation.

In China, the national industries generally comprise the large enterprises which serve as the backbone in the building of our industrial system; local industries generally comprise the small and medium-sized enterprises which are important and by no means negligible elements in the building of our industrial system. In the course of socialist industrialization, the relations between national and local industries, between large, small and medium-sized enterprises must be correctly handled in regard to systems of management, scale of production and geographical distribution of industry to ensure their planned development, so as to bring about a rapid increase in the productive capacity of industry, improve its geographical distribution, promote the integration of town and countryside, accelerate technical reform in agriculture, and thereby greatly reduce the time it will take to industrialize. In handling these questions it is disadvantageous

to our socialist industrialization to put a one-sided emphasis on the development of national industry and large enterprises, or to follow the decentralized method of blindly developing local industry and small enterprises in disregard of the unified state plan.

### III

#### POLICY OF SELF-RELIANCE

Do we rely mainly on our own efforts or on foreign aid in carrying out our socialist construction and industrialization? We firmly adhere to the policy of self-reliance.

Every socialist country should rely mainly on itself for its construction. This is especially so with China. China has a population of over 650 million and an area of 9,600,000 square kilometres, and is an extremely underdeveloped country economically. It is both inconceivable and utterly impossible for such a country to meet the demands of domestic production and its people's livelihood by depending on imports of large amounts of the means of production and industrial goods for daily use. In our socialist industrialization, it is only by relying on the diligent labour of our people, making full use of our country's rich resources and bringing all our potentialities into play that we can rapidly establish our own powerful industry, build an independent, comprehensive and modern industrial system, create a powerful material and technical foundation for the entire national economy, further consolidate our country and constantly raise the people's living standards. Only in this way can we contribute our maximum strength in fulfilling our internationalist obligations, enhance the might of the entire socialist camp, and oppose imperialism and defend world peace more effectively.

How do we carry out the policy of self-reliance, overcome the difficulties on our road of advance and press ahead with industrialization?

#### Internal Accumulation of Funds

Large amounts of construction funds are needed for socialist industrialization. The principal source of such funds in China is the internal accumulation provided by the national economy. With the rapid development of agricultural and industrial production, our national income has continually increased. As our national income has steadily increased and the people's standards of living has gradually risen, we have appropriately increased the proportion of funds set aside from the national income for accumulation. In state bodies, enterprises, schools and among the broad masses of the people, we resolutely advocate building up the country industriously and thriftily, practising strict economy and accumulating all the funds that can be saved. We pay full attention to the rational use of funds, to the prevention of waste and to getting more work done with the minimum possible expenditure of money, materials and manpower.

At the same time, we also pay constant attention to adjusting relations between accumulation and consumption in the distribution of the national income, correctly integrating long-range collective interests with immediate

individual interests and the development of production with improvement of the people's livelihood.

#### Raising the Technical Level

To carry out socialist industrialization by our own efforts, it is necessary to achieve a swift rise in the level of our industrial techniques, increase the varieties of products made and gradually raise our level of self-sufficiency in regard to the equipment, raw and other materials needed by our socialist construction. In tackling this problem, we first of all pay attention to the correct handling of the relation between the quantity of industrial goods produced on the one hand and variety and quality on the other hand, so as to combine properly increase in quantity with greater variety and better quality, and check and correct the deviations of putting undue emphasis on quantity while neglecting variety and quality. We adopt various measures and continuously strengthen the work of scientific experiment to increase the varieties of products, improve their quality and rapidly raise our country's technical level.

In order to carry out socialist industrialization by our own efforts, it is also necessary to step up the training of personnel for construction work, and speedily create a strong army of specialists with a high level of socialist consciousness and the ability to master modern science and techniques. To solve this problem we, on the one hand, have energetically developed in a planned way both higher education and secondary specialized education to train various kinds of specialists. On the other hand, we have made big efforts to set up spare-time cultural schools and technical schools so as to achieve a continuous rise in the cultural, technical and vocational levels of workers and employees.

#### Not "Going It Alone"

While we have mobilized all positive factors at home for socialist industrialization, we have also endeavoured to obtain, and have actually obtained, the support of the fraternal socialist countries and brothers in other lands. We have learnt from the socialist countries their experience in industrialization, and have endeavoured to strengthen mutual aid and co-operation and mutual support with the socialist countries. Simultaneously we have also studied all the advanced science and techniques of the world and developed trade relations with countries of different social systems on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. This testifies that our policy of self-reliance conforms to the principle of mutual support and assistance based on proletarian internationalism, and does not stand opposed to it; it also conforms to the development of economic relations between countries. The allegations about "going it alone" in separation from the socialist camp and "national closed doors," has nothing to do with our policy of self-reliance.

### IV

#### PARTY LEADERSHIP — GUARANTEE OF VICTORY

We have consistently strengthened the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in the course of our so-

cialist industrialization; this is the fundamental guarantee of victory.

The most important aspect of the Party's leadership in economic construction is its unified leadership in the political and ideological fields, in the formulation of policy and in organization. Our Party has not only put forward the policies and line of industrialization, but in order to ensure the correct implementation of the Party's line, has also waged continuous struggles against the Right or "Left" tendencies that deviate from the Party's correct line.

### **Production Struggle Linked With Class Struggle**

The socialist industrialization of our country is a great struggle for production which is interlinked with the class struggle. We brought about the socialist transformation of capitalist ownership of the means of production in 1956, and smashed the frenzied attack of the bourgeois rightists in 1957. This achieved a basic victory of the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts. However, classes and class struggle still exist in our country. The bourgeois elements who do not want to be reformed and the overthrown landlord class are not reconciled to the elimination of their classes, and never give up their attempts to stage a comeback. New capitalist elements are constantly and spontaneously generated in the petty-bourgeois atmosphere. As a result of the corrupting influence of the bourgeoisie and the influence of the atmosphere of the small producers, a very small number of unstable elements within the ranks of our working class have degenerated and become new bourgeois elements. At the same time, imperialism and reactionaries are doing their utmost to spread their influence and even cherish vain hopes of subverting our socialist system. Under these circumstances, class struggle is inevitable.

There is class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads throughout the historical period of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and throughout the historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism. It is most dangerous to forget or overlook the class struggle during socialist construction and the struggle for production. Our Party has therefore never ceased to conduct education in the understanding of classes and class struggle and socialist education among the working class and among all the labouring people, so as to raise their level of class consciousness and socialist initiative, prevent and overcome corruption by bourgeois thinking, and deal resolute blows against the activities of the reactionary classes to stage a comeback.

To ensure the Party's leadership in industrial construction, basic organizations of the Party are established in all our industrial enterprises and are continuously strengthened.

### **Integrating Collective Leadership With Individual Responsibility**

The Party committee in an enterprise is the core of leadership of all the work of the enterprise. In the pro-

duction and management work of the enterprise, we have adopted the system whereby the director assumes full responsibility under the leadership of the enterprise's Party committee. This system of leadership requires that all major questions in the enterprise should be discussed and decided collectively by the Party committee, while the director is responsible for carrying out the work of production and management. This system of leadership, on the one hand, inherits the effective and traditional system of leadership of our Party which integrates collective leadership with individual responsibility. On the other hand, this system also suits the nature of modern industrial enterprises which need highly centralized and unified direction. The adoption of this system not only ensures the leadership of the Party committee in production and management, but also brings the roles of the leading members of the management and the management departments into full play. It also ensures that no errors or at least less errors are made by the leading members of enterprises in deciding important problems; it also makes it relatively easier for them to correct errors when these occur.

The leadership of our Party is built on the basis of the mass line, which is the correct method of leadership based on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses" consistently adhered to by our Party during the prolonged revolutionary struggle. This method of leadership has been further developed in the practice of our socialist industrialization.

### **Relying on Working Class in Enterprise Management**

Our Party manages enterprises by closely relying on the working class. We have established trade union organizations in all enterprises, developed all kinds of activities, encouraged workers and employees to engage in socialist labour emulation, and raised their levels of ideological and political consciousness and their cultural and technical levels. In accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, we have established various kinds of democratic management systems in enterprises, convening regular representative conferences or general meetings of the workers and employees to discuss and solve important problems in enterprises and drawing in the masses to take part in management and supervise the work of management.

The democracy being carried out in our enterprises is democracy under the guidance of centralization; it is opposed to that false slogan and mistaken practice of "workers' self-rule"; our centralization is based on democracy, and is radically different from the practice that relies solely on administrative orders and is divorced from the Party leadership and the masses.

### **"Three-in-One" Method**

In all enterprises we follow the "three-in-one" method of combining the efforts of leading personnel, technicians (including specialized management staff) and the masses of workers so as to bring together leading personnel with the masses, and link technical theoretical knowledge with working practice, and political and ideological work with economic work. This is an important aspect of implementing the mass line.

In practising the "three-in-one" method, leading cadres and administrative cadres participate partly in productive labour while workers participate partly in day-to-day productive management.

In our socialist enterprises, the partial participation of cadres in productive labour is an important question of principle. This concerns the question whether cadres will put themselves among the masses and merge with the masses or sit up on high and be divorced from the masses. Participation in labour enables cadres to maintain their status as ordinary working people, refrain from enjoying special favours and prevent their divorce from the masses; this is a fundamental condition guaranteeing that cadres shall not degenerate. Participation in labour also enables cadres to maintain close links with production, to discover promptly the positive factors of production, clearly discern problems arising in production and solve them together with the masses, thereby pre-

venting the errors of bureaucracy and subjectivism that result from a divorce from reality.

As far as the workers are concerned, their partial participation in day-to-day management of production is conducive to enhancing their sense of responsibility arising from their status as masters of the country, thus bringing their labour initiative into full play and helping them step by step to master the art of managing enterprises. Great numbers of our cadres have been trained and promoted from among the ordinary workers.

It has been proved in practice that the use of the "three-in-one" method is also extremely helpful in creating in our socialist enterprises the new relations between man and man of friendly mutual assistance and unity for a common progress. This cannot but be of far-reaching significance to our country's socialist cause.

# The New "Holy Alliance" Will End Up No Better Than the Old

by COMMENTATOR

*Following is a translation of an article by "Hongqi" Commentator in its No. 17 issue. Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

**M**ARX once wrote: "Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He has forgotten to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce." (Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1948, p. 15.)

The "Holy Alliance" made its appearance in 1815, during the period of the bourgeois revolution in Europe. More than a hundred years have since elapsed, and the vaudeville stars of a new "Holy Alliance" have mounted the stage in clowns' costume, at a time when the two great currents of the international socialist revolution and the national-democratic revolution are vigorously pounding at the rule of imperialism and all reactionaries.

To quote an old Chinese saying, "the lesson for the Yin Dynasty was not remote; it lay in the Hsia Dynasty that preceded it." As the new "Holy Alliance" is stepping up its activities, it is very useful to inspect the ledgers of the old.

## Reaction Against European Bourgeois Revolution

The French Revolution which began in 1789 hit hard at European feudalism and filled the reactionaries of various countries with panic. After 1814 the dynasties which had been overthrown were restored one after

another in France, Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands with the support of foreign bayonets. From November 1814 to June 1815, the Congress of Vienna was held by Tsarist Russia, Britain, Prussia and Austria to tackle the problems left over by the defeat of France. It was a congress to share out the spoils, at which "nations were bought and sold, divided and united." (Engels, *The State of Germany*: Letter Two, to the Editor of the *Northern Star*.) But the European situation did not become tranquil. Popular discontent mounted. Revolution was brewing. The reactionaries feared that revolutions patterned on the French Revolution would break out again in Europe and that the weak and small nations would rise against the destiny prescribed for them by the European powers. Therefore they felt the need for fresh collaboration after the Congress of Vienna. Thus the "Holy Alliance" was born in September 1815.

This "Holy Alliance" was sponsored by such "great men" as the Tsar of Russia, the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, who were later joined by nearly all the European monarchs. These august sovereigns professed that they would be guided by "the precepts of justice, Christian charity and peace." It was stated that the "sacred" mission of the alliance was to preserve "peace," "pacify rebellion," "protect legal government" and "promote the welfare of humanity." The preservation of "peace" at home and abroad was the password of the emperors and kings. It meant suppression of the revolutionary movements in Europe to preserve the tottering feudal autocracy, and suppression of the independence

movements of the weak and small nations to preserve the order required by the European powers.

This was made perfectly clear by the key figure in the "Holy Alliance," the Austrian Chancellor Metternich, who called himself "the leader of the fire brigade in the fight to stamp out the flames of revolution." He said that the revolution was "a hydra with open jaws to swallow the social order" and that "what the European people need is not liberty but peace."

In short, the "sacred" purpose of the "Holy Alliance" was to forbid revolution. Consequently the "Holy Alliance," acting on divine instruction, suppressed the Italian revolution in 1821 and the Spanish revolution in 1823. Engels wrote, "The French bayonets in Spain, and the Austrian in Italy, secured for a while the ascendancy of legitimate kings and rights divine." (Engels, *The State of Germany*: Letter Three, to the Editor of the *Northern Star*.)

However, the halcyon days of the "Holy Alliance" were short. Intriguers from the very beginning, the principals united by the bonds of an "indissoluble fraternity" plotted one against another. After 1823, the "Holy Alliance" was clearly in decline. Having crushed the revolution in Spain, it tried to stamp out the liberation movement in the Spanish colonies and to intervene in the Greek movement for liberation from Turkish rule. But because of the strong opposition of the people in a number of countries and the contradictions among the big powers these schemes failed. Greece gained her independence in 1829. A heavier blow to the "Holy Alliance" came from the July Revolution in France in 1830, which again overthrew the Bourbon Dynasty. Under its influence a revolution broke out in Belgium in August 1830 resulting in Belgian independence from the Netherlands. Between 1830 and 1831, uprisings broke out in Russian Poland and many principalities of Germany and Italy. The "Holy Alliance" could no longer restrain the advance of the revolution and had virtually collapsed. In 1848 Metternich, the "great man" of the day, was kicked out by the revolutionary masses.

### Anti-Soviet Crusade After October Revolution

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries collaborated, as in the "Holy Alliance," in armed intervention against the Soviet Union, and later the anti-Soviet Locarno Pact was concluded. These criminal activities and schemes, however, all met an ignominious end. German imperialism, which had been fostered by the Locarno Pact, was crushed in World War II by the world anti-fascist forces headed by the Soviet Union. Stalin's leadership, which followed a Leninist course and Leninist policies, was crowned with brilliant victories.

Revolution is irresistible. Though it may suffer setbacks, its final victory is assured. As a rule, the counter-revolutionary forces collaborate in a desperate struggle for survival before their death. They may storm and rage for a while, but they are doomed to fail. This is the law of history.

Since World War II, China and a number of other countries have embarked on the road of socialism initiated

by the Great October Revolution, bringing into existence the socialist camp of 13 countries, including Cuba. The national-liberation movements are surging ahead in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The proletariat and other working people in the capitalist countries are in the process of a new awakening. The situation is far in advance of that of Europe early in the 19th century. The revolution at that time shook only the feudal order in Europe. The revolution today has become a great storm which is shattering imperialism and reaction throughout the world. In these circumstances, imperialism headed by the United States, the reactionaries represented by Nehru and the modern revisionists like the Tito clique have in effect set up a new "Holy Alliance" in a form different from the old.

### Reaction Against Great Revolution of Today

It is clear that the "Holy Alliance" of the early 19th century was a reaction against the bourgeois revolutions in Europe and a grand confederation of the European counter-revolutionary forces of the time. The anti-Soviet crusade after the victory of the October Revolution was a grand confederation of the counter-revolutionary forces of the early 20th century. And the new "Holy Alliance," which has now made its appearance, is a reaction against the great contemporary currents of revolution and a grand confederation of the counter-revolutionary forces in the contemporary world.

According to its leaders, the mission of the contemporary "Holy Alliance," like that of the old one, is indeed "sacred" and "noble." It is said to be:

to maintain "peace and order" in the world and to seek a "just and genuine peace";

to "rectify" the "social chaos" in Asia, Africa and Latin America and "help them build new bulwarks of freedom";

to emancipate the "enslaved nations" and facilitate a "gradual evolution in human institutions"; etc., etc.

Translated into plain language, these sanctimonious statements should read: to strangle the revolutionary movements of the oppressed people and the liberation movements of the oppressed nations; to preserve the order of imperialist and reactionary domination, and then to reinstate capitalism in the socialist countries.

Like their forerunner Metternich, the ringleaders of the new "Holy Alliance" deem it their "noble mission" to "maintain order and peace" and to put out the spark of revolution once it appears. As everyone knows, it was under the U.N. flag that U.S. imperialism sent troops to suppress the national-liberation movement in the Congo. The representative of the Soviet Government voted for this notorious resolution in the United Nations. The Indian reactionaries and the Tito revisionist group played the ignominious role of accomplices.

### China - Thorn in the Side of New "Holy Alliance"

In the eyes of this "Holy Alliance," the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people under its leadership are "spectres" who have committed deadly sins because they have the audacity at all time to share the lot of the

people of the world, to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, of revolution and of opposing imperialism, and stubbornly hinder the "Holy Alliance" from carrying out its "sacred" mission. Hence the massive anti-China campaign for slandering the Communist Party and the people of China. In this carefully planned anti-China chorus, Kennedy, Nehru, Tito and the like have resorted to the old tricks such as fabrication, deception, slander and vilification, which are habitually employed by the reactionaries. They allege that the Chinese Communist Party "stands opposed to peaceful coexistence" and "is aggressive by nature," that it "underestimates the destructiveness of a thermonuclear war," that it "advocates the export of revolution by means of war," and so on and so forth. One can also see that from time to time Khrushchov and others join in this shameful anti-China chorus.

In their criminal deal to destroy the revolutionary cause of the people of the world and oppose the Chinese Communist Party, the ringleaders of the new "Holy Alliance" have consistently tried to ensure ever closer collaboration among themselves and have been active in recruiting new partners. Recently there have been new developments in this respect.

### Soviet Leaders Join New "Holy Alliance"

On June 10 this year, Kennedy delivered a speech in which he said that the United States and the Soviet leaders "have a mutually deep interest" and expressed the hope that "the leaders of the Soviet Union adopt a more enlightened attitude." U.S. newspapers put some footnotes to this speech. The *Evening Star* had this to say: the time might come when the United States would be "allied" with Khrushchov and Co., "in a common front against the 'Peking peril.' "

In order to accelerate a split between China and the Soviet Union and facilitate the formal establishment of a "common front" against China, the U.S. ruling group considers it necessary to give certain "help" to Khrushchov and Co. The U.S. magazine *Newsweek* wrote that "the [Kennedy] Administration is now convinced that the United States should offer Khrushchov maximum support in his dispute with Red China." An AFP dispatch reported that U.S. State Department circles felt that "within certain limits, the United States should facilitate Khrushchov's task."

The earnest hopes and cordiality professed by U.S. imperialism made Khrushchov feel so overwhelmingly flattered that he hastened to issue a statement saying that "Kennedy's speech makes a favourable impression. We have noted with satisfaction the call for better relations between the United States and the Soviet Union," and "have a mutual interest in the maintenance of peace" with the U.S. imperialists.

But Kennedy was not satisfied. He wanted more from Khrushchov. Reuter revealed on July 6 that Kennedy "thinks the acid test of Khrushchov's intentions

will be how he follows up his test ban offer and how he handles his dispute with the Chinese Communists at their current talks in Moscow."

The outcome of this "acid test" is already known to the world.

The open letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was made public while the talks between the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union were still in session. That letter showed how Khrushchov "handles his dispute with the Chinese Communists." It was crammed with every kind of stock argument used by the imperialists and their lackeys to vilify the great Chinese Communist Party.

The tripartite talks between the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union which started the day after the publication of the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., ended "satisfactorily" with the conclusion of the so-called partial nuclear test ban treaty, which is detrimental to the interests of the people of the world and to the cause of world peace. The infamous bargain that was rejected by Khrushchov and Co. a year ago has now been concluded.

Emerging from this "acid test," the Soviet leaders have at last openly placed themselves in the ranks of the new "Holy Alliance" in contravention of the will of the Soviet people.

Following the conclusion of the partial nuclear test ban treaty, the press in a number of countries commented that Khrushchov and Co. had joined the "crusade against China" and that they had formed a united front with the United States against China. An Indian newspaper said that "by contributing in various ways to India's defence against China," Khrushchov and the United States "have already become partners in a common cause," and that "such an alliance would find expression not in formal engagements but in other ways." The Japanese *Economist* wrote that the signing of the treaty by the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain indicated Khrushchov's "tendency to move close to the United States and run after U.S. President Kennedy." It added that such a "U.S.-U.S.S.R. Holy Alliance" against China and the people of all countries would "compel the whole world to bow before the interests of the two big powers, the United States and the Soviet Union." This warrants being pondered over by the Chinese and Soviet peoples.

It should be recalled that Khrushchov has for years been agitating and pulling strings for the new "Holy Alliance." Now he is overjoyed, for he thinks "a good beginning" has been made to the long-dreamed-of "all-round co-operation" with the ruling bosses of U.S. imperialism. The "hot line" linking Washington and Moscow has been installed and fresh deals between the two sides are in the making. Khrushchov is aiding the Indian reactionaries more and more actively. The Indian press therefore recently acclaimed the "opening of a new and brighter chapter of co-operation" in Indian-Soviet rela-

tions. Khrushchov is fraternizing with the renegade Tito in an extraordinary way; he not only hugged and kissed Tito but took pains to extol the special path followed by the Tito group and expressed eagerness to "study closely" its "experience." In for a penny, in for a pound; now that Khrushchov has betrayed the Soviet people, the socialist camp and the people of the world on the question of banning nuclear tests and other issues, and has placed himself in the new "Holy Alliance," he will naturally work more closely with Kennedy, Nehru and Tito and willingly act as their helper. What dirty and despicable deals they are going to make calls for close attention by the people of the world.

After the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. was made public, the *New York Herald Tribune* said that Kennedy's agreement with Khrushchov "on the meaning of Mao Tse-tung's policy" was a "landmark in the history of international relations." With the signing of the tripartite treaty, some people thought that a new "turning-point in history" had probably been reached.

### The Great Revolutionary Torrent Can't Be Checked

Those petty creatures on the stage of history who pride themselves on being out of the ordinary, invariably consider their own doings as epoch-making events and always dream of altering the course of history. Time,

## Friendship and Trade

# The Japanese Industrial Exhibition

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

WHILE Chinese and Japanese flags fluttered in the clear autumn sky, 4,000 people in Peking were on hand for the October 5 opening of the Japanese Industrial Exhibition. According to the traditional Chinese way of honouring a happy occasion, there was a volley of fire-crackers as Mayor Peng Chen cut the ribbon in front of the exhibition hall.

The theme of the exhibition was expressed by Premier Chou En-lai who attended it the day after the opening. In his message of greeting Premier Chou said:

The friendly contacts and development of trade between the peoples of China and Japan not only conform to the aspirations of the two people but also help to promote normalization of relations between the two countries and help to defend peace in Asia and throughout the world. We hope the exhibition will make new contributions to Sino-Japanese friendship.

### The Third and the Largest

Covering a floor space of some 20,000 square metres, this is the third Japanese industrial exhibition held in

however, inevitably and pitilessly throws such backward-moving creatures on to the rubbish heap of history.

The emergence of the "Holy Alliance" early in the 19th century was once regarded as an epoch-making event. It rode high for a time. But this "Holy Alliance" completely disintegrated before long under the continuous hammering of revolutionary movements, because it opposed the laws of historical development and opposed revolution and the people. One after another, monarchs and princes were dethroned by the people. The reactionary alliance formed early this century against the October Socialist Revolution and the Soviet people has vanished with the wind. It seems that the ringleaders of the contemporary "Holy Alliance" have failed to draw any lesson from their predecessors' tragedies. They are treading on a path beaten first more than 100 years ago and then over 40 years ago by working in league against revolution and against the people in a vain attempt to cripple the revolutionary forces of the people in many countries and to isolate the Chinese Communist Party which stands with the revolutionary people of the world. The great revolutionary torrent of our time cannot be held in check by the few "wise" men who are playing clowns in a farce. The people will not forgive the doers of endless evil; it is premature for them to be beside themselves with joy. Destruction overtook the old "Holy Alliance." The same fate awaits them. It can be said with assurance that the new "Holy Alliance" will end up no better than the old.

People's China and Japan's largest overseas. The 1956 Peking and Shanghai exhibit and the 1957 one in Canton and Wuhan were made up chiefly of consumer goods. The current exhibition, which will move to Shanghai in December, features mainly capital goods. Machine-tools, precision and electronic instruments, chemicals and agricultural machinery cover most of the items on display that were provided by more than 600 Japanese firms and industrial plants. According to a Japanese official in charge of the exhibition, it is an exhibition that more or less speaks for Japan's present-day industrial level.

The present exhibition also reflects the strong desire of the Japanese people for trade with China. In Japan it has been endorsed by 26 magistrates, speakers of 40 county and municipal assemblies, some 140 mayors, more than 1,000 firms and public bodies as well as the masses. In the circumstances, the Japanese Government finally decided to help finance the exhibition by providing a subsidy of 150 million yen.

The idea of holding this exhibition in China, based on an agreement between the China Council for the Pro-



Mayor Peng Chen cutting the ribbon at the opening of the Japanese Industrial Exhibition in Peking

between 1952 and 1958, resulting in serious setbacks to Sino-Japanese trade in 1958. Besides undermining Sino-Japanese trade and friendship, Washington leaves no stone unturned in trying to restrict and control Japan's foreign trade. This is yet another proof that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the Chinese and Japanese people.

In spite of all this, the people of China and Japan have overcome many obstacles and difficulties in non-governmental trade and economic exchange which has continued to make progress. In recent years, trade has increased annually. The value of imports and exports last year more than doubled that of 1961. Alongside the development of trade between the people of the two countries, the Liao Cheng-chih-Tatsunosuke Takasaki trade memorandum was signed last year. In the past year, trade gains have been registered in accordance with the memorandum. It is likely that present trade between China and Japan, conducted in non-governmental form, will continue to grow and may even show considerable expansion.

motion of International Trade and its Japanese counterparts, became a reality within a short period. Preparations were under way within two months. The getting together of the various exhibits did not actually take place until May. By the end of June, Japanese firms and industrial plants from all over the country had sent 816 sets of items for the projected exhibition.

Although it is customary for Japanese manufacturers to send products abroad for exhibition, never before has one of this magnitude and scope been arranged in such a short time.

Writing on its significance, Tanzan Ishibashi, former Japanese Prime Minister and president of the exhibition, also saw the vast prospects for the development of Japan-China trade. He said: "The present exhibition is carrying out the task of building up the vast market between your country with a population of 650 million and mine with a population of 100 million. . . ."

### U.S. Imperialism — Main Obstacle to Sino-Japanese Trade

The present exhibition, however, was made possible only after a protracted struggle against U.S. imperialist intervention waged by Japanese friends who ardently promote trade and friendship between China and Japan, and the Japanese people at large. The U.S. Embassy in Japan actually warned some U.S.-controlled Japanese firms not to take part in the exhibition by threatening to take economic measures against them. Kennedy himself even demanded that the Japanese Government re-examine its policy towards China. But all these threats and obstructions have come to naught in the face of the Japanese people's desire to develop friendship and trade with China. Intervention, moreover, was not confined to this exhibition alone. All along intervention and sabotage by Washington and its followers has been the chief stumbling block in the way of Sino-Japanese trade. It was the U.S. Government which since 1951 compelled Japan to join its "blockade and embargo" against China. It was Washington which exerted pressure on Japan and prevented it from implementing the contracts it had signed

### "Wishing the Japanese Industrial Exhibition Every Success!"

On October 6, *Renmin Ribao* published an editorial wishing the Japanese Industrial Exhibition success. It paid tribute to Tanzan Ishibashi and other Japanese devoted to the development of friendship and trade between China and Japan. The editorial declared that obstructing Sino-Japanese trade runs counter to history and the wishes of the Japanese people.

Passing the Peking Exhibition Hall where the Japanese Industrial Exhibition is being held, one finds two eye-catching slogans in glistening gold:

"The development of Japan-China trade is the common aspiration of the people of both countries; no force on earth can hold them in check!"

"Further strengthen the unity of the Japanese and Chinese people in defence of Asian and world peace!"



# Making a Momentous Choice

Following are excerpts from a speech made by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, at a meeting held at the Party headquarters in Djakarta on September 29 to welcome the return of the Party's delegation from ten weeks' tour abroad. Heading and subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE international communist movement is now in the process of making a momentous choice, of crystallization and of consolidation. This process is under way everywhere. The Indonesian Communists should play a greater role in pushing forward the development of this situation. It is true that each process of choice has its own period of uncertainty and this is also true of the process of choice in the international communist movement which will decide who are genuine Marxist-Leninists and who are false Marxist-Leninists and revisionists. Things, however, will become clear in the end, and then the international communist movement will become firmer and stronger than ever before.

## Correct Attitude Towards Differences in the International Communist Movement

There is, therefore, no reason to be pessimistic and dejected over the differences which have been made public. Differences exist and have existed for a long time. With the differences coming into the open, the masses of the people will be able to know who are right and who are wrong. They have not only heard of the existence of differences but also know what these differences are. So, instead of being confused, the masses will actively consider the problems in the international communist movement. This is an ideological tempering of the international communist movement. I therefore say that there is now a worldwide Marxist-Leninist university.

It is true that if a Party takes a wrong attitude towards the differences in the international communist movement, then its members will be agonized and confused. All Communist Parties should therefore take a correct attitude towards these differences.

The only correct attitude towards the differences in the international communist movement is to take a firm stand on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. If every Communist Party adheres strictly to these positions it should insist on its independence and equal rights in the international communist movement. If a Party is not independent and does not uphold the right of equality, then it will violate Marxism-Leninism, give rise

to a split and will not be understood by the people at home.

## Rejecting the Baton

The Indonesian Communist Party not only rejects the baton of any other Communist Party but also does not allow any baton to be waved within the Indonesian Communist Party itself. Whether in the international communist movement or in a single Party, one should not rely on giving orders but should adopt the method of persuasion.

The Indonesian Communist Party should, by taking an attitude of independence and equality, make more strenuous efforts to develop the *banteng* (bull) spirit among Party members and the people. What is the *banteng* spirit? It means believing in our own strength. It is a spirit of self-reliance, a spirit of firmness and courage. These, in the eyes of the Indonesian people, are the outstanding qualities of a *banteng*. Of course, the Indonesian Communist Party's *banteng* is a red one, a Marxist-Leninist *banteng* and a Communist Party *banteng*.

Holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and linking it with the *banteng* spirit, the Indonesian Communist Party will be still more successful in its efforts to Indonesianize Marxism-Leninism and to combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution. So the Indonesian Communist Party will be able to make further contributions to the international communist movement, to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism and to world revolution. For only by so doing will the Indonesian Communist Party become an even more creative Party.

The leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party did not harbour any unrealistic hopes towards the meeting between the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China. We did not for instance hope that differences would be eliminated in the first meeting in July. Indeed, we knew well the seriousness of the differences between the Soviet and Chinese Parties. These differences are not merely questions of the international communist movement. What has happened is that the meeting between the two Parties was held and the joint communique to hold further talks was issued after the first meeting. This is in conformity with the hopes entertained by the Indonesian Communist Party.

Was the first meeting a good thing? Yes, it was.

This is because both sides exchanged views frankly and freely without interruption. Therefore, if we say that both sides carried out polemics it is not owing to misunderstanding but due to the existence of real differences.

The Indonesian Communist Party has expressed to both sides its hopes that the continued meetings men-

tioned in the joint communique of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China will take place and that, on a rotation basis, the place for the next talks should be Peking. As to the time of the talks, it should be a matter for decision by the two sides. But Marxist-Leninists should not pin all their hopes on the results of talks between the two Parties. Whatever their results, the process of choice, crystallization and consolidation in the international communist movement must go on. Marxism-Leninism must keep marching onward.

### World Revolution Cannot Be Hampered

Not only has the international communist movement made progress in the process of choice, crystallization and consolidation, but world revolution too is developing everywhere. Everywhere, and primarily in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the struggles of the peoples are being intensified. Even in the United States, fierce struggle by the Negroes has broken out. The imperialists and revisionists cannot hamper the development of world revolution.

F. Castro has stated that the revolution in Latin America cannot be held back by anybody. The reactionaries in Latin America told the U.S. imperialists that in order to prevent revolution in Latin America it was necessary to give them "economic aid." Hence the so-called "alliance for progress" organized by the United States. What, however, happened after that? The "economic aid," which amounted to pittance, has lined the pockets of the reactionaries and the hopes for economic

improvement have not been realized. This means that even according to the logic of the Latin American reactionaries revolution in Latin America cannot be prevented.

### Most Acute Anti-Imperialist Struggle Is in Asia

People may argue about where the focus of the world revolution is today. But the fact is that at present the most acute anti-imperialist struggle is in Asia, especially in Southeast Asia where the sound of gunfire has not stopped since the end of World War II. The people of south Viet Nam, Laos and other places in Southeast Asia have been waging an armed struggle. This is also the case with the Philippines and Malaya where the people's armed struggles are still continuing even though on a small scale.

In Southeast Asia there are already a socialist country and large-scale revolutionary movements of the masses. There are also Communist Parties which exert a very broad influence on the revolutionary movement, like the Communist Parties of Indonesia, Burma and other countries. It may be said that all the Communist Parties in Southeast Asia are holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. There is no market for revisionism in Southeast Asia.

Conditions, both objective and subjective, are very favourable in Southeast Asia. The Communists and other revolutionaries of Indonesia should feel fortunate and happy that we are in such an area. We are in the forefront of the struggle against world imperialism.

## Pen Probes

### The New Supply Sergeant

One more source of Washington's anxiety about the Diem mess in south Viet Nam is now in the open. As was the case with Chiang Kai-shek in China's Liberation War a decade and a half ago, Diem has become a supply sergeant for the Vietnamese revolutionary forces.

For years readers in the "free world" have been fed on a steady diet of propaganda about how the revolutionary movement in south Viet Nam, supplied by "outside communists," i.e. China and north Viet Nam, was going to be defeated. Now it turns out that even U.S. officials can no longer afford to shut their eyes to the fact: the people's forces are growing stronger and they are well stocked with—made-in-U.S. arms.

From Saigon on September 26, the *Wall Street Journal* reported the sad tidings: "Despite hundreds of millions of dollars of U.S. military aid to the [Diem] government here, the power of south Viet Nam's communist adversaries has grown even more menacing in the past two years, and much of this new communist strength is due in part to U.S.-made arms captured by Viet Cong guerrillas [U.S. term for people's forces]."

The same report went on to say: "The Viet Cong movement controls about 50 per cent of south Viet Nam's

60,000 square miles. Under its influence, if not direct control, is perhaps half of the nation's population [even these are minimized figures—Ed.]. . . Viet Cong troops are known to have seized vast quantities of U.S.-made arms from government troops. The loot includes rifles, machine guns, 81 mm. mortars and 57 mm. recoilless rifles.

"The Viet Cong has some of the best military equipment money can buy," says one U.S. army staff officer. 'It should be. It's all U.S. made and paid for.' Says another army officer: 'We're supplying both sides in this war.'"

Even while U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara and Chief of Staff General Taylor were touring south Viet Nam on their "fact finding mission," they were told that Diem's harried forces in three strategic villages alone had surrendered "an estimated 100 weapons to the Viet Cong without a fight," AFP reports. This incident, according to the dispatch from Saigon on September 27, "kicked off new mutual accusations" between Washington and Saigon.

Whatever information McNamara and Taylor may have picked up on their jaunt, it is clear that there is one lesson they have not learnt—it is the man behind the gun who counts. Revolutionary people although starting out with inferior weapons cannot be defeated by foreign-backed tyrants however well armed.

A boning up on the not-so-distant history of the fall of Chiang Kai-shek could have been more informative

and less tiring for the military bigwigs than the long journey from Washington to south Viet Nam.

## Operation Restraint

The Soviet press has been "showing marked restraint towards the United States," reports the *New York Times*' man in Moscow on September 14. Not only has "the issue of capitalist unemployment . . . all but vanished from the Soviet press," but TASS dispatches "about the new outbreak of violence in Alabama and the Washington march and sit-ins in the North . . . have been relatively infrequent and surprisingly moderate." Another example of restraint, gratefully acknowledged, was that being displayed by the Soviet press on U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam.

In return for this large measure of Soviet "self-control," restraint came from Washington in the form of a

meagre crumb. The *Times* report noted that from the American side "there had been a subtle shift in emphasis in the Russian language broadcasts of the Voice of America. Previously there had been a heavy emphasis on domestic weaknesses in the Soviet Union; now the emphasis was less on the negative aspects of the Soviet system than on the positive aspects of the American system and what the United States was trying to do around the world."

Even this small favour did not pass by unheeded. "The Soviet Union abruptly stopped jamming the broadcasts of the Voice of America."

While the U.S.-Soviet "mutual admiration society" was engaging in Operation Restraint—with most of the restraint coming from Moscow—it was noted by the *Times* correspondent: "This restraint towards the United States has been accompanied by all-out denunciations of the Chinese Communists."

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### THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

tion to world peace. In this anti-imperialist struggle, we have come to know clearly who are our genuine friends."

On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, Vice-Premier Chen Yi extended warm greetings to the Guinean Government and people. He paid tribute to the Guinean people for their tremendous achievements under the leadership of President Sekou Toure and for their successes in smashing intervention and disruptive activities by the imperialists and reactionary forces. "The Chinese people," said the Vice-Premier, "have the highest admiration for the dauntless spirit of the Guinean people in acting with independence and sincerely wish them fresh and greater successes."

Referring to Guinea's adherence to a policy of peace and neutrality, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that the Republic of Guinea had contributed to the strengthening of Asian-African solidarity and the defence of world peace. "It should also be emphatically pointed out," continued the Vice-Premier, "that on many important current international questions the Republic of Guinea has taken a just and independent position free from the influence of the big powers. The international prestige of the Republic of Guinea is increasing daily. It can be seen that so long as a country, big or small, adopts an independent and correct

policy, it can surely play a positive role in international affairs."

### 1,200th Anniversary of Famous Monk's Death

The 1,200th anniversary of the death of the Tang Dynasty monk Chien Chen was observed at a meeting in Peking on October 4. Chien Chen went to Japan in 754 A.D. following an invitation by two Japanese priests, Reverends Sooei and Fushou. The famous monk introduced to Japan Chinese culture, art, architecture and medicine, thereby contributing to the development of friendly and cultural ties between China and Japan.

More than 1,500 people representing the capital's cultural workers, artists, Buddhists and others were present at the October 4 ceremony. A visiting Japanese Buddhist delegation, headed by Reverend Syuuiti Kongoo, and a Japanese cultural delegation, headed by Koosei Andoo, also took part.

Chu Tu-nan, President of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, presided over the meeting. In his opening speech, he pointed out that more than ten centuries ago the forefathers of the peoples of China and Japan wrote a glorious chapter in the friendship and cultural exchange between their two countries. As a result, an indestructible foundation for the traditional friendship between the two peoples was laid.

"The storms and tempests of the high seas," Chu Tu-nan declared, "did not

daunt the indomitable spirit and will of our forefathers in the past. How then can the obstacles placed today in the way of the heroic peoples of our two countries block their strong desire for friendship that has existed for generations among the masses of our peoples and their determination to fight side by side against their common enemy, U.S. imperialism, against aggressive wars and for peace in Asia and the world?"

Chao Pu-chu, chairman of the preparatory committee for the commemoration, Vice-President of the Chinese Buddhist Association and Vice-President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, also spoke. He gave a detailed account of the long history of cultural exchange between the two countries, and the life of the eminent Chien Chen and the many difficulties he encountered in his eastward passage to Japan. "The glorious exploits and spirit of the Reverend Chien Chen, the Reverend Sooei and the Reverend Fushou are an encouragement to us in our march forward together. May the tradition of friendship which they worked for so hard and founded at the cost of their lives shine ever more brightly," Chao Pu-chu concluded.

The Reverend Syuuiti Kongoo in his speech referred to the activities of Japanese religious and cultural circles in commemorating the 1,200th anniversary of the death of the Chinese monk. "We vow to follow this great monk and work for the future development of friendship between Japan and China," he declared.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## Cuba

### No Peace With Imperialism

Fidel Castro's speech at the September 28 mass rally in Havana's Revolutionary Square gives a clearcut exposition of Cuba's stand on international affairs. Cuba adheres to her policy of fighting U.S. imperialism, and she supports the people's struggle in Latin America and throughout the world.

The U.S. imperialists, Fidel Castro points out, are still attempting to tighten their encirclement of Cuba. This situation cannot but determine Cuba's conduct. "We should be very happy if there were no tension. But we cannot consider ourselves at peace with an imperialism which is daily trying harder to strangle us. . . . This situation will determine our policy in the international arena, in the United Nations and in all fields: it will determine our attitude towards the partial test ban treaty and towards the proposal for the prohibition of nuclear weapons."

Speaking of the assistance given to Cuba by countries of the socialist camp, Fidel Castro says: "In the past few years, we have received great and exceptional help from the socialist camp. But this does not mean that we are accustomed to the idea. This help has been of decisive importance given to us in our most difficult days, in days when we had little experience. But we must not think our problems can be solved by relying on trade deficits. No, this is unsuitable for us. This would bring disgrace on us. A country with varied potentialities and natural resources such as ours must not rest satisfied until it has made its best efforts and is doing well. It is necessary for Cuba, which suffers a trade deficit of more than one hundred million pesos with the Soviet Union, to consider how it should make its best efforts to eliminate this deficit within the shortest possible period."

"The imperialists think that they can crush the Cuban revolution," declares Fidel Castro, "but the Cuban revolution proves that the people will crush imperialism. The imperialists think that the Cuban revolution will

be destroyed, but we revolutionaries think that many other revolutions like that of ours will rise in this continent. . . . We shall win because this is the era of the people, the era of the people's rebellion in which the peoples of all continents are shaking the rule of imperialism and digging graves for the exploiters. The peoples have risen. They are marching on and struggling. The imperialists are launching a counter-revolutionary offensive. But just as all their plans failed in the past, so now their plans will suffer defeat. We should understand our duties in the struggle against this counter-revolutionary offensive of the imperialists and in the struggle for economic construction; we should take up both rifles and production tools to strive for victory and we should use them both to build our future."

### Second Agrarian Reform

With the promulgation of the new land nationalization law, socialist Cuba has taken another giant revolutionary step forward and dealt a body blow to class enemies at home and U.S. imperialism abroad. All estates over five *caballerias* (67.1 hectares) in size will be appropriated with compensation. As a class, the rural bourgeoisie will be eliminated. A total of 150,000 *caballerias* (over 2 million hectares) will be transferred to the state. This will involve a much deeper struggle than that which took place during the first agrarian reform in 1959 when landholdings were limited to 30 *caballerias* per person and all surplus land was nationalized for distribution among landless peasants and agricultural workers.

Giving the background to the present momentous move, the new land law states: "The bourgeois property owners are using the land [estates over 5 *caballerias* in size] to jeopardize the interests of the working people. They are obstructing the production of foodstuffs, speculating in land products, and employing their gross revenues, exploited from the labour of others, for purposes against the society and revolution. . . . U.S. imperialism, by relying on classes hostile to the workers and peasants, mainly the rural bourgeoisie, has stepped up its

activities against our revolution and country. It is therefore imperative to eliminate the economic and social influence of these classes."

In an address delivered on October 2, Fidel Castro pointed out that the new land reform was a double blow to imperialism and class enemies of the proletariat: while depriving them of their battle positions, revolutionary Cuba would also be able to resist the U.S. blockade more effectively by increasing farm production. And with the new measure, the C.I.A. would lose many collaborators who could no longer use the estates of the rural bourgeoisie to carry on sabotage.

## Algeria

### Nationalization Measures

Algeria continues to move forward. Fighting for economic independence, it has now taken a series of deep-going anti-colonialist moves.

On October 1, President Ben Bella announced the immediate nationalization of all remaining land owned by the colonialists. This means that besides the 1,800,000 hectares already taken over from the French and other European colons, another million hectares will be affected. Before Algeria's independence, 3 million hectares, or nearly half of the country's cultivated land, were seized by the French who hired Algerian farmhands to run large vineyards and plantations. Thus they exploited both the land and the people.

On October 5 the Algerian Government also took over five of the biggest French transport companies in the country. In September, it had nationalized three French colonialist papers, several hotels, cafes, cinemas and other enterprises in the service trades. As part of the fight against speculation, many factories and bakeries and pastry shops were taken over and put under management committees.

Algeria's development shows that the winning of political independence is only the prelude to new revolutionary struggle and national construction.

## Gambia

### Initial Victory

Gambia, Britain's last remaining colony in West Africa, achieved full internal self-government on October 4.

This marks another gain in Africa's fight against imperialism.

Gambia's lot is no different from that of its sister states on the continent. Since the 15th century, it has been subject to colonial plunder and rule — first from the Portuguese, then the French, finally the British. Such a history of exploitation has left mineral-rich Gambia impoverished. Its single crop — peanut — economy brings fat profits to London but only a lean living to Gambians.

Today, the persistent struggle of the Gambian people as well as the progress of the national-independence movement in West Africa as a whole, makes it "unwise" for Britain to keep intact direct colonial rule in Gambia. All the same, Whitehall has so far refused to fix a date for Gambia's independence; and the British Governor retains "responsibility for internal security, external affairs and defence." These familiar reservations indicate that, to gain genuine independence, the Gambian people will still have to fight and defeat many a colonialist scheme.

### Malaysia

#### Dollars and the Mailed Fist

Washington's intimation that it has "frozen" its economic "aid" to Indonesia and is "reserving judgment" on economic plans for the Indonesian stabilization programme can cause no surprise. The Kennedy Administration has also got the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund to suspend the \$50 million "standby credit arrangement" concluded last July. It is all part of the pressure campaign launched by the senior member of the U.S.-British partnership in "Malaysia" to compel the Indonesian people to abandon their struggle against this neo-colonialist scheme.

By these vicious moves, Washington hopes to throw Indonesia's economy out of gear. Whenever American "aid" is given, the purpose is to make the country receiving it dependent on the United States in some way. If the recipient country asserts its independence or thwarts U.S. imperialist aims, the "aid" is withheld or stopped. These are the old stick and carrot tactics, the familiar pattern for U.S. expansionist activities throughout the world. The Kennedy Administration has tried through such tactics to dominate Brazil and compel that country to toe the U.S. line. It tries to do the same

thing in Pakistan. And now Indonesia is on the list.

On this occasion, too, the U.S. Navy has been called in to hint at the use of the mailed fist. Blustering Thomas Moorer, the Commander of the U.S. 7th Fleet, which has long been prowling provocatively in the Taiwan Straits against China, recently declared that his fleet was "specially watchful" over the Malaysia crisis, a Pentagon phrase which means it is ready for aggression.

But, as usual, imperialism has reckoned without the masses of the people ranged against it. "Malaysia" has been imposed on Southeast Asia against the wishes of the region. The U.S. Government may cut whatever "aid" it has promised and exert still greater pressure. The hundred million strong Indonesian people will persist in their fight against "Malaysia" and surmount all the difficulties that the U.S. can create.

### Birmingham, U.S.A.

#### Sunday School Murder

J.F. Kennedy was talking through his hat in his meeting with Negro leaders following the slaughter of innocent Negro children in Birmingham on September 15. Speaking about the Sunday school bombing which resulted in the deaths of four girls and the subsequent wanton shooting of two teen-age boys, Kennedy said that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and local leaders were mak-

ing "massive efforts to bring to justice the persons responsible."

Massive efforts! What massive effrontery! Kennedy's fine words were aimed at the Negro vote and to mollify world public opinion, outraged by these further acts of violence against the Negro people. For all his cries of "justice" being carried out, the President knew that, as in the case of other murders of Negroes, the September 15th criminals would not be brought to book. As a Chinese saying goes, Kennedy's performance is "a thunderbolt that is not followed by rain."

This is not the first time Negroes have been murdered in cold blood in the United States. For the city of Birmingham, it is the sixth bombing of Negroes in their homes and churches since May this year and, according to the *New York Times* of September 18, the twenty-first bombing in the last eight years. Despite all the ballyhoo of the President and his attorney general brother about civil rights for the Negro people, not a single case has been solved! Barbaric violence continues unabated. In fact, Negro-baiters and would-be assassins have been on the rampage since the march on Washington on August 28.

The awakening Negro masses have come to realize through the bitter experience of recent months that they can put no trust in Kennedy's high-sounding speeches. More and more they have turned to direct action and are going out on the streets to challenge their oppressors.

## THE PASSING SHOW

### They Made Her Feel at Home

Madame Nhu, sister-in-law and unofficial spokesman of the south Vietnamese puppet Ngo Dinh Diem (who said she would "applaud if more Buddhists barbecued themselves"), enjoyed her recent visit to Yugoslavia so much that she extended her stay there from three to nine days. Western correspondents report she told them: "It was the first time I've visited a communist country. It didn't look very communist to me. . . . I was met with understanding and sympathy by all with whom I talked."

### Money Down the Rat Hole

The United States spends \$2,500 million a year on intelligence and subversion abroad, reports the *London Times*. The Central Intelligence Agency admits to employing a small army of 60,000. This number includes ordinary spies but not the thousands of special undercover agents stationed throughout the world.



"From Washington, Sir!"

# SONG & DANCE

## **Peking Greets Japan's "Warabiza"**

The Japanese "Warabiza" National Song and Dance Ensemble speaks in a language all working people can understand.

Again and again in its performances appears the artistic image of the Japanese peasant: courageous, industrious, filled with the joy of living and love of labour. In half a dozen folk dances, the ensemble gives a lively, ever changing picture of the villagers sowing rice seedlings, fishing or harvesting; giving vent to their fresh and earthy humour (a pantomime solo of a peasant selling a wooden ladle); or celebrating their festivals with a free and joyous spirit. A suite of songs by the noted composer Taro Hara paints a musical picture of village life and sentiments during the four seasons of the year.

Strongly reflected in its performances is the indomitable spirit of the Japanese people in fighting their oppressors. Strength, power and resolution are expressed in a drum duet, in a song and dance of the Okinawan people, in songs of the exiles, in a warrior's dance solo, in dances celebrating the "driving out of devils."

These artistic expressions of Japanese reality and the Japanese progressive movement are naturally of the greatest interest to Chinese audiences, who have the closest feelings for the Japanese people. In four performances in Peking this week, the "Warabiza" ensemble was greeted with

tumultuous applause after each number. There was a delightful moment when, during one of the ensemble's popular folk dances, smiling Japanese performers invited members of the audience to come on stage and join them in their dance. Premier Chou En-lai was among the many who took to the stage and executed the graceful steps of the dance under the performers' guidance. China's artists and audiences have hailed the ensemble's art as splendidly representative of revolutionary Japanese culture.

The ensemble has a remarkable history. Just over a dozen years ago in 1951, three progressive Japanese artists led by Taro Hara formed a cultural troupe to perform for the workers in the cities. It had a clear political aim: to express the Japanese people's aspirations for independence, freedom and democracy through folk songs and dances, and to take over and develop the legacy of Japan's own traditional national culture. In 1953, it left the big cities and moved its headquarters to Akita prefecture in the northeast, the "treasure house of Japanese folk songs." Here it took the name "Warabiza," after the tough wild grass of the country. Its members struck roots among the peasants, working and living among them, and

learning from them their rich heritage of folk culture. In 12 years the group increased to over 100 members. It has left its trail throughout most of the 40-odd prefectures in Japan, performing for over 400,000 people annually. From a little-known troupe, it has become one of the best known and loved in the country, and makes frequent appearances on radio and television.

## **Government Leaders Receive Japanese Ensemble**

On October 5, Chairman Chu Teh and Vice-Chairman Kuo Mo-jo of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress attended the Japanese "Warabiza" National Song and Dance Ensemble's premiere in Peking. They received and had a cordial talk with the ensemble's director Taro Hara and vice-director Sigeru Yokoyama after the show. Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council, after seeing the ensemble's evening performance on October 6, received the director and vice-director and senior members of the ensemble. He praised the ensemble for living in the countryside and for the strong mass appeal of its performances of national songs and dances. They reflect the life of today's working people, the Premier said, while in form and colour, they inherit and enrich the folk and classical art of Japan.

On its current China tour the ensemble is represented by 36 of its members headed by Taro Hara and Sigeru Yokoyama, its director and vice-director respectively. After its Peking visit, it will go on to perform in Nanking, Shanghai and Shenyang.

The strong national characteristics of the group's performances brought a new note to the capital's stages. Most of the items follow the Japanese tradition of having a singer sing the story or the theme while dancers act it out. The movements are by turns light and graceful, but with a strong beat, and firm, feet set square to the floor, and with strong pantomime gestures. The costumes show that Japanese talent for subtly blending colours; the make-up is light and pleasing, in the simple and attractive style of the Japanese peasantry.

Chinese audiences and artists are full of admiration for this militant troupe which holds high the banner of a revolutionary and national culture in a Japan battling against the invasion of Western imperialist cultural influences. They are proud to know the "Warabiza" as their close comrade-in-arms.

## **PUBLISHING**

### **Albums of Contemporary Artists**

A most attractive series of albums on the work of individual contemporary artists is now on sale. They are published by the People's Art Publishing House and jointly edited



Sketch by Ah Lao

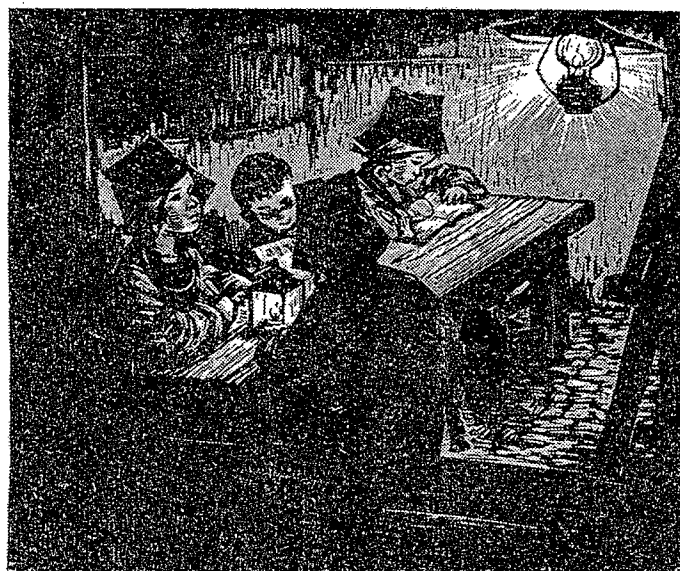
by it and the Union of Chinese Artists. In two different sizes (7¼" × 13½" and 9¼" × 10¼"), well printed, and with excellently made reproductions, each album contains representative examples of the work of one artist, a brief biographical note and a preface by a well-known critic or the artist's intimate friend. The volumes already published introduce the paintings of Wu Ching-ting, Yeh Chien-yu, Huang Chou, Ya Ming, and woodcuts of Yang Na-wei, Li Shao-yen, Chao Tsung-tsao and Wu Fan.

Wu Ching-ting is a veteran landscape painter in the traditional style. His album shows some of his work done since liberation. Every scroll he does shows the elegance of his brushwork and his keen appreciation and knowledge of the traditional styles. Huangshan Mountain, Chinling Mountains, the Three Gorges on the Yangtse River and other famous beauty spots are favourite themes in his recent work.

Yeh Chien-yu is a skilled master at figure painting. In addition to a number of his landscapes and genre paintings of life among China's peasants and national minorities of the northeast and southwest, this album reproduces a number of sketches of dancers that amply display his talent for depicting movement. With a few economical and vivid strokes he can give you a complete movement and evoke the musical rhythm that is its accompaniment.

Yang Na-wei and Li Shao-yen are veterans in the field of graphic art. They learnt and trained themselves in their art while doing revolutionary propaganda work during the 1930s and 40s. They were among the fine group of artists who helped to form the woodcut art of those days with its characteristic social militancy and power. Both have a straightforward, realistic and dynamic style which they have carried over to reflect the life of China today. Yang Na-wei has developed an elegant and graceful line in some of his latest work. Li Shao-yen today is doing a considerable amount of colour work, but he has not lost his skill in using contrasting black and white masses to create powerful and dramatic effects as in his moving illustrations to the novel *Red Crag*.

Huang Chou is now regarded as one of the most talented young painters in Chinese ink and colours. A keen observer, he drives on from simple physical likenesses to the very spirit of his subjects. Starting from a profound understanding of events and great clarity of thought and feeling, he shows an exceptional facility in



Minority Pupils

Woodcut in colour by Wu Fan

generalizing the forms and characters of his subjects while keeping a firm grip on each individual visual form. With a lively temperament and an eloquent command of his medium he has gradually evolved a style peculiarly his own. His album includes work done in the last two years.

Ya Ming began to paint in the traditional Chinese style only in the last decade, but he has been an assiduous student not only of classical but also of contemporary work by our leading artists. He has carried his sketch pad into the factories, farms and modern landscapes of China to produce compositions of great originality. They have a feeling for the contemporary scene that makes them outstanding in traditional style work.

Chao Tsung-tsao is a young graphic artist with an original and fertile imagination and great technical inventions. He has creatively adapted what he has learnt from the techniques of ancient murals, traditional illustrations and other folk arts to produce a number of landscapes, figure compositions, and many lively prints of China's national minority peoples.

Wu Fan is a promising graphic artist of the younger generation. He has done a number of charming and lyrical drawings and engravings about Chinese children and youth that are like a fresh spring breeze in Chinese graphic art.

These eight albums will be followed by others devoted to artists of both the older and younger generations in different branches of the fine arts.



Spring Rain

Painting in Chinese ink and colours by Ya Ming

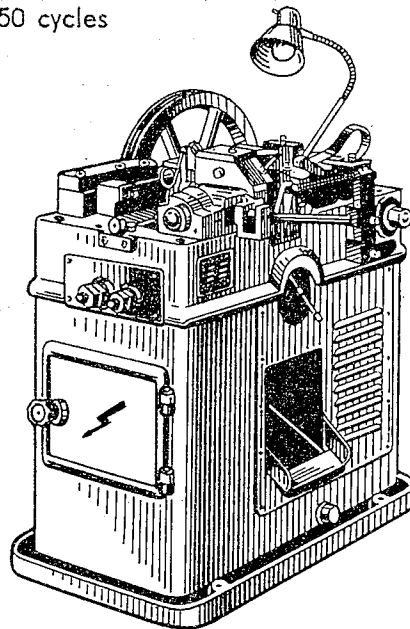
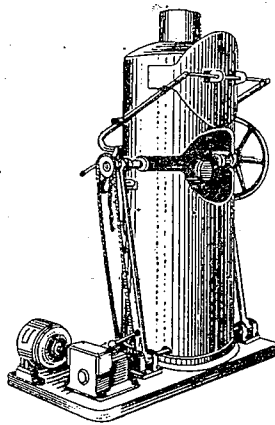
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Tack size: 9.5 mm      12.5 mm      16 mm      19 mm  
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