

PEKING REVIEW

8

February 21, 1964

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報

Premier Chou En-lai's Visit To Burma

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How commerce serves socialist construction (p. 8).

New Coup d'Etat in Saigon

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U.S. and British imperialists behind troubles on the island
republic (p. 14).

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

MAO TSE-TUNG

Statement Calling On the People of the World to Unite to Oppose Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism and Support the American Negroes in Their Struggle Against Racial Discrimination

This statement was made by Chairman Mao Tse-tung on August 8, 1963, when he received a group of African friends. On behalf of the Chinese people, he expressed resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights. He called on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism and support the American Negroes in their struggle.

Appended to the pamphlet are speeches and statements made by Chinese and foreign speakers at the rallies held on August 12 and October 10, 1963 in Peking supporting the American Negroes' struggle, messages adopted at the rallies and the *Renmin Ribao* editorial of August 12, 1963.

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

February 21, 1964 Vol. VII No. 8

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The nation enjoyed a grand Spring Festival.
- Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi paid a four-day visit to Burma. They were accorded a *paukphaw's* (kinsmen's) welcome by the Burmese Government and people.

The Premier and Vice-Premier are now visiting Pakistan.

- The Chinese people condemn the plot for U.S. armed intervention in Cyprus as a grave threat to world peace and voice firm support for the Cypriot people's struggle.

- Chinese mass organizations denounce the piratical seizure of Cuban fishing vessels by U.S. naval forces.

- A delegation of the Japanese Communist Party's Central Committee will visit China and the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Communist Parties of the two countries.

- The Chinese press reprinted:

- the article "The Balance of Forces and the Strategic Offensive" which appeared in the January issue of the Vietnamese theoretical journal *Hoc Tap*. It stresses that the decisive role to be played by the socialist camp in the development of human society will be realized not through economic competition between socialism and capitalism, but through class struggle and through the revolutionary struggle of the world's people against the U.S.-led imperialists.

- a speech by Njoto, Second Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, at a mass rally in Djakarta celebrating the 13th anniversary of the founding of *Harian Rakjat*, organ of the Party. The Indonesian communist leader said that the great anti-U.S. storm in Asia would eventually drive out U.S. imperialism. He declared that the Indonesian Communist Party would never subscribe to unity of the international communist movement not based on Marxism-Leninism.

A Grand Spring Festival

The nation celebrated the Spring Festival or Chinese Lunar New Year (February 13) with the joy and gaiety that rightly goes with this biggest traditional festival in China. During the four-day holiday from February 13 to 16, the people in town and countryside had a good time at parties, get-togethers and, of course, family reunion dinners. There was no lack of more elaborate entertainments.

Typical of this year's celebrations was that extra zest and buoyancy that came of satisfaction with the past year's successes in every field of national effort. This was well expressed by Acting Premier Teng Hsiao-ping in his toast at the Spring Festival reception given by the Foreign Ministry to the diplomatic corps in Peking. He said: "The Chinese people greet the

Spring Festival this year with great rejoicing, celebrating big successes in all fields of national construction. Last year, China garnered a relatively good harvest, and achieved remarkable results in making readjustments in industry, with progress and improvement in every other field of work. The economic situation last year as a whole was better than that in 1962. This is eloquent proof of the correctness of our general line for socialist construction; it is also the result of diligent work by our people who firmly adhere to the policy of self-reliance and are resolved to make the country prosperous and strong."

Abundant Supplies

With the all-round turn for the better in the national economy, a big

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supply of goods filled the stores in anticipation of the pre-festival buying spree. Shops and department stores throughout the country enjoyed brisk sales of manufactured goods of all kinds, clothing, cosmetics, musical instruments, radios, and, of course, toys, lanterns, red paper, candles, fire-crackers and fireworks of all descriptions and other traditional goods. Special supplies were shipped to areas inhabited by the minority peoples in plenty of time for the festivities. To cite only two examples: 20 per cent more silk fabrics, lace, bracelets and other ornaments went to multinational Kweichow Province in the southwest, while the volume of goods shipped to Lhasa, Loka and three other areas in Tibet in January was more than double that of the same period last year.

Nowhere, perhaps, is the prospering economic situation more in evidence than in the food markets. They literally overflowed with meat, poultry, fish, vegetables, drinks and delicacies for the festival. In January, a million pigs were shipped from Kiangsu, Chekiang, Szechuan and five other major pig-raising areas to the cities. This put two and a half times as much pork on the market as in the same period last year. Holiday-shoppers had a fine choice of fresh fruit: bananas from south China, apples and pears from the north, and oranges and tangerines from the southern and southwestern provinces. There was preserved candied fruit galore. Fruits sold in Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Nanking, Harbin and Chungking for the Spring Festival weighed some 37 million *jin*, a 23 per cent increase over last year. In Peking, a cornucopia of 100 million *jin* of meat, poultry, fish, fresh vegetables and spices poured out on to the

market. A new food store, the biggest and best equipped in Peking, opened on time for the holiday shopping with a succulent display of such delicacies as Nanking pressed ducks, Yunnan hams, Kwangtung sausages, dried abalones, sea slugs, southern-style pastries and choice wines and spirits. With so many good things to choose from, it was the sort of display that made it hard for a housewife to make up her mind.

Chairman Mao With the People

February 13 dawned bright and sunny on a capital gay with decorative arches, red palace lanterns and multi-coloured flags. On the eve of the festival, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and Government joined 30,000 Peking citizens and army-men at a big party in the Great Hall of the People. Sponsored jointly by the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Peking Municipal People's Council, the celebration was in honour of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and to wish season's greetings to the families of its fighting men and fallen heroes. When Chairman Mao and the other leaders mounted the rostrum together with Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, and other visiting Vietnamese guests, there was a joyous ovation that lasted several minutes. Chairman Mao and the others waved greetings to the huge gathering, and cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao!" swept the hall. The magnificent building with its many reception rooms and assembly halls made a gay scene. The people and their revolutionary leaders together enjoyed an evening of superb performances of Peking operas, acro-

batics, and songs and dances by leading stage artists. Model workers and peasants met outstanding servicemen. They exchanged festival greetings, swapped experience and wished one another the best of results in their work in the coming year.

The Great Hall was also the scene of gala festivities on the following two evenings. Thirty thousand well-known scientists, professors, research workers and technicians and their families spent a memorable evening on February 13 together with Vice-Premiers Li Hsien-nien, Tan Chen-lin and Teng Tzu-hui, watching stage performances by top-notch actors and actresses, enjoying first-run feature and scientific films, and chatting about their work in the past year—which has done so much for the development of China's science and technology—and their plans for 1964. On February 14, the P.L.A. organized a get-together in the huge hall for 30,000 civilians and officers and men of the people's forces.

Worker-Peasant Alliance

The countryside, too, enjoyed its Spring Festival. As the nationally known model farmer Keng Chang-so wrote in *Renmin Ribao* on the eve of the festival: "The Spring Festival is here with us again. Look how the peasants bustle about these days: cooking pork and mutton, washing rice and grinding flour, making new clothes for the children. . . . Everyone, feeling happy and cheerful, is busy preparing for the festival and I ask myself: If it had not been for the Communist Party and Chairman Mao who led the poor to rise and win liberation, settle old scores with the landlords, get organized and take the road of collectivization, how on earth could we enjoy such happiness today? In the old society there was a saying: The rich landlords' families are happy on New Year's Day, but to the poor the New Year is like a Devil's Pass, hard to get through." In those times the landlords insisted that all debts and rents be paid before New Year's Day and it was a demand that caused bitter hardship and tragedy to the poor. Today, as they have done in all the years after liberation, the peasants celebrate the Spring Festival as it should be celebrated—with a happy heart at family feasts and all kinds of entertainments.



Getting everything ready for the holiday shopping



Spring Festival toys for the children

Sketches by Shao Yu

At the festival this year, the peasants were joined by their working-class brothers in their festivities or were themselves guests at factories or workers' clubs in the cities. In Shanghai, the workers of the Wuching Chemical Plant, for one, played host at a tea party to peasants from two rural people's communes. They told their farming colleagues how, in the drive to aid the farms, they had steadily stepped up chemical fertilizer production and reduced costs ever since last September when their plant was commissioned. The farmers on their part thanked the workers for the timely supplies of fertilizer which had contributed to the good crops of grain and cotton they had raised last year.

Workers in Canton sent delegations to the countryside to greet the peasants during the holidays. They took with them stage skits, folk songs and dances too. In Tientsin, Sian and other cities, get-togethers were held in workers' clubs or cultural palaces, celebrating both the Spring Festival and the growing worker-peasant solidarity.

Nationwide Celebrations

Local festivities, equally lively everywhere, varied ingeniously from

place to place. Down in subtropical Canton, there was a superb flower show, with rare varieties of blooms on display. In the northeast city of Harbin, ice lantern shows were big attractions in the parks. Though the mercury had plummeted to 30 degrees below zero, thousands of visitors streamed to the parks in the evening to see the shows. Each lantern was made of a block or blocks of ice carved in the form of flowers, animals, fish, buildings or other objects. Flood-lit or with multi-coloured electric bulbs installed inside, they glittered like carved jade or crystal. One unique ice carving was in the form of an open-hearth furnace; a length of red silk, lit from inside and undulated by a stream of air from a blower, created the impression of red-hot molten iron flowing

out of the furnace. Ice carving is a traditional folk art in northeast China. Last winter, attendants at Harbin's many parks revived the art. Their first ice lantern shows were highly successful. This year they introduced them again, on an even more ambitious scale to add to the colour and beauty of the celebrations.

It was a gay time too for China's minority peoples. To the Tibetans, it was a double red-letter day, for their traditional Tibetan New Year fell on February 14 this year. To Moslems who live mostly in the northwest, it was also a double gala day, with their Bairam Festival falling on February 15. Small wonder that the sale of New Year goods in Tibet, Sinkiang, Ningsia and other multinational provinces soared in the past few weeks.

Now the holiday is over and the nation is back at work. To quote again the words of Acting Premier Teng Hsiao-ping: "The Chinese people, rallying closely as before around the Chinese Communist Party, the People's Government and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, are advancing with courage and confidence to achieve an all-

round development of the national economy this year."

Japanese G.P. Leader in Canton

Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, arrived in Canton on February 15. He was accompanied by his wife Sueko Miyamoto and Doctor Kazumasa Nagahata, head of the department of medicine at Yoyoki Hospital. They have come on vacation at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Japanese guests were welcomed at the railway station by Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee; Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee; and others who had come specially from Peking to meet them.

A banquet was given the next evening in honour of the Japanese guests and V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, and his wife who were also in Canton on a visit. Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping, Tung Pi-wu, Tao Chu and other Chinese leaders were present.

Anniversary of Sino-Soviet Treaty

On the eve of the 14th anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, Soong Ching Ling, President of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, exchanged messages of greetings with N.V. Popova, President of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and A.A. Andreyev, President of the Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association.

A party marking the occasion was given jointly by the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and the Peking association. S.V. Chervonenko, Soviet Ambassador to China, and other foreign guests attended and saw a performance of music and Peking opera by Chinese artists. The anniversary was also celebrated in Shanghai and Canton. On February 14, the Soviet Embassy in Peking gave a party in honour of the occasion.

An Old "Paukphaw" Friendship Renewed

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

AFTER a short rest at home following his recent African tour, Premier Chou En-lai, accompanied by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and Madame Chen, left China on February 14 on a fresh round of friendship visits, this time to a number of Asian countries—to Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon. He arrived in Burma, one of China's close neighbours, the same day. This was Premier Chou's fifth visit to Burma and he received a real *paukphaw* welcome. *Paukphaw* is a Burmese word meaning kinsman, and it has been widely used in the two countries to describe their close relations.

Rangoon Hails Chinese "Paukphaws"

There was a red-carpet welcome at the Mingaladon airport, where Premier Chou and his party were warmly greeted by General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Revolutionary Government of the Union of Burma, Brigadier San Yu, Revolutionary Council Member, Deputy Chief of Staff (Army), Minister of Finance and Revenue, and other leading government officials.

Arrived in Rangoon at noon time, Premier Chou went that same afternoon with Vice-Premier Chen Yi to lay a wreath at the Mausoleum of General Aung San, the Burmese national hero, who, together with six other cabinet ministers, were murdered by imperialist agents back in 1947. That evening, accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi and the Chinese Ambassador Keng Piao, he called on Chairman Ne Win, presented gifts to his host and had a friendly talk with him. Later that evening, Chairman and Madame Ne Win gave a state banquet in honour of their Chinese guests.

Attended by some 500 people, the dinner party was held on the lawn of the State Guest House, at which both host and guest spoke warmly of Sino-Burmese friendship.

Smooth and Satisfactory Relations

Expressing his belief that the current visit by Chinese leaders would add fresh strength to the long-standing friendship between Burma and China, the Burmese leader emphasized that relations between the two countries are smooth and satisfactory, and that their mutual friendship remains strong and firm-based. He also spoke about the good progress being made in the field of economic co-operation between the two countries.

Chairman Ne Win said he was gratified by the success of the Chinese leaders' visit to the African countries. In his speech, Chairman Ne Win reiterated Burma's stand of supporting the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. "We believe that the participation of People's China in the deliberations at the United Nations will facilitate the finding of solutions to many issues now outstanding in the world," he said.

Premier Chou, in reply, declared that the Chinese Government and people fully respect and actively support the Burmese Government's policy of peace and neutrality. He noted that Burma had made great efforts to combat the imperialists' subversive schemes, eradicate the remnant colonial forces and develop its national economy.

Speaking of his recent African tour, Premier Chou said that the face of the African continent had undergone earth-shaking changes. No force on earth, he affirmed, could prevent the complete victory of the national-liberation movement in Africa. He expressed his belief that "so long as the new emerging Asian-African countries rely on their own people and fully utilize their own natural resources, while increasing their mutual assistance and co-operation and steadfastly upholding unity and struggle, they will certainly frustrate imperialist schemes and plots of every kind and build up their respective countries step by step."

Chairman Ne Win who has been to China four times seeing that both hosts and guests were old friends, par-



Chairman Ne Win (middle), Premier Chou En-lai (left) and Vice-Premier Chen Yi (right) with Burmese artists who performed for them

ticularly because Premier Chou En-lai had just returned from a long African tour, suggested that he should have a good rest. So there was no need to pay too much attention to protocol. It was in this spirit that arrangements were made for Premier Chou to go to Ngapali Beach on the Bay of Bengal.

The first day in Ngapali was spent in a leisurely and informal way. Hosts and guests, all clad in Burmese *longyies*, enjoyed a good rest together, sipping iced coconut milk, strolling on the golden beach and taking pictures

Document

China-Burma Joint Communiqué

Following is the full text of the China-Burma Joint Communiqué issued in Rangoon on February 18, 1964. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

1. At the invitation of General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and of the Council of Ministers of the Revolutionary Government of the Union of Burma, His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, paid a friendship visit to the Union of Burma from February 14 to February 18, 1964.

2. Accompanying Premier Chou En-lai on his visit were Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, and Madame Chen Yi, and other high-ranking officials of the Chinese Government.

3. Premier Chou En-lai, Marshal Chen Yi and Madame Chen Yi and other Chinese guests were accorded a warm welcome and a cordial reception by the Government and the people of the Union of Burma, which clearly reflects the intimate *paukphaw* friendship between the leaders of the two countries and between the two peoples.

4. On behalf of the Government and the people of the Union of Burma, General Ne Win expressed deep gratitude to Premier Chou En-lai for having come to the Union of Burma on a visit to renew and strengthen the relations of friendship and good neighbourliness existing between the Union of Burma and the People's Republic of China so soon after his return from a friendship visit to no less than ten African states lasting nearly two months. General Ne Win also expressed the determination of the Government and the people of the Union of Burma to do their utmost to further develop and strengthen the good neighbourly relations between the two countries.

5. Premier Chou En-lai and General Ne Win welcomed the opportunity provided by the visit for holding talks and exchanging views on matters of common interest to the two countries as well as on current international problems. These talks, which were held in an atmosphere of great cordiality and full mutual understanding, were attended on the Chinese side by Marshal Chen Yi; Kung Yuan, Deputy Director of the Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs, State Council; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Keng Piao, Chinese Ambassador to Burma; Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; and on the Burmese side by Brigadier San Yu, Brigadier Sein Win, Colonel Saw Myint and Colonel Hla Han, who are Members of the Revolutionary Council, and Kyaw Winn, Burmese Ambassador to China.

together. In the evening, Chairman and Madame Ne Win gave an open-air dinner party under lantern-lit trees.

On the next day, the Chinese and Burmese leaders held talks under the shade of a big Burmese *pone hnyet* tree by the beach. With the waves lapping the shore within earshot and a refreshing sea breeze blowing, the talks proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Before the departure of the Chinese party, a Sino-Burmese joint communiqué was issued.

6. In the talks both sides reaffirmed the views and opinions expressed in the Joint Communiqué issued on the occasion of the visit of His Excellency Mr. Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, to the Union of Burma in April 1963.

7. The two sides reviewed the development of the international situation in general which is favourable to the peoples of the world who are struggling for their freedom and independence and for world peace, and discussed some current problems which today engender tension in many parts of the world. They firmly believe that **such problems arising from time to time between nations can be settled by peaceful means if the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are truly adhered to by the parties concerned, and that even if the problems existing between them may not be solved for the time being, the maintenance of contact between them and a willingness on their part to seek a peaceful, fair and mutually acceptable solution may promote such settlement.**

8. The two sides agreed that the preservation of world peace and prevention of war is an important task with which the world is faced today. In this connection, they expressed their determination to strive for the ultimate realization of general disarmament, including the total prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, together with all the peace-loving peoples and countries of the world.

9. Both sides were of the opinion that it would considerably contribute to the expansion of the area of peace, to the settlement of international problems by peaceful means, to the reduction of world tension and to the promotion of friendly relations and co-operation among nations, if peace-loving nations would pursue the policy of ever-expanding and strengthening their international contact by means of consolidating old friendships and cultivating new ones. In this context, **the Burmese side congratulated Premier Chou En-lai and Marshal Chen Yi on the successful conclusion of their friendship visit to Africa, and reaffirmed that the Union of Burma has consistently worked for the restoration to the People's Republic of China of her rightful place in the United Nations, believing that it would not only enhance the effectiveness of the world organization but also facilitate the settlement of international problems by peaceful means. The Chinese side expressed its gratitude for this, and reaffirmed its full respect for and support to the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Government of the Union of Burma in international affairs, which greatly contributes to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity and the maintenance of peace in Asia and the world. The Chinese side also expressed its appreciation of and gratitude for the contributions made by the Burmese**

Government and people towards the strengthening of Sino-Burmese friendship.

10. The two sides reaffirmed that the peoples of all nations should have the right to choose and develop their own political and social systems and their own ways of life in keeping with their national circumstances, requirements and aspirations free from any outside interference or pressure. **They are convinced that states with differing political and social systems can coexist in peace if the relations between them are guided by the principles of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and settlement of disputes between nations by peaceful means, and by the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference.**

11. Both sides expressed the desire of their two countries to establish and maintain friendly relations with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. In this connection, the recent establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and France was considered yet another important event favourable to the achievement of peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems and to the cause of world peace.

12. The two sides were glad to note that ever since the Bandung Conference there have been unprecedentedly great developments in the national-independence movements in Asia and Africa. Both sides reaffirmed their resolute support to all peoples who are struggling to fight colonialism in all its forms, and to win and safeguard national independence.

13. **The two sides considered that one of the most urgent problems facing the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa is one of consolidating their newly won independence and building up their independent national economy. They are convinced that these countries will be able to achieve these goals mainly by depending on the efforts of their peoples and on their own material resources and by carrying on economic relations with other countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. They considered that there is need to beware**

of attempts by colonialists and neo-colonialists to dominate newly independent countries by taking advantage of the financial and economic difficulties with which they are faced.

14. The two sides were glad to note that the situation along the Sino-Indian border has eased. They expressed the hope that China and India would find it possible to enter into direct negotiations on the basis of the Colombo proposals so as to remove progressively the differences between them and finally achieve a friendly settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

15. The two sides also reviewed the relations between their two countries and noted with satisfaction the steady, all-round development of these relations, which are increasingly characterized by the spirit of friendship, mutual understanding and co-operation. The economic and technical co-operation between the two countries has also made significant progress since the conclusion of the Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Burma in January 1961. The implementation of some of the projects envisaged in the agreement is now well under way, while preparations are in hand for the implementation of others. The two sides were gratified that the economic and technical co-operation between their two countries has thus been successful, encountering no obstacle or difficulty, thanks to the good understanding between their two peoples and their regard for each other.

16. Premier Chou En-lai and General Ne Win expressed their satisfaction at the opportunity afforded by the visit of meeting together and renewing personal contacts, and were convinced that such personal contacts and exchanges of views between responsible leaders of nations contribute to the promotion of international understanding and trust.

17. On behalf of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and in his own name, Premier Chou En-lai renewed the invitation to General Ne Win to visit China at a time convenient to him. General Ne Win reaffirmed his acceptance of the invitation and expressed thanks for it.

Economic Survey

Socialist Commerce in China

by YAO KUAN

CHINA'S socialist commerce is a bridge linking agriculture with industry and production with consumption. Industry's growth requires agriculture to provide more foodstuff and raw materials as well as an expanded domestic market for its products, whereas the means of production needed in agricultural development are largely supplied by industry. Agriculture and industry promote one another under the guidance of the state plan, and this mutual promotion is realized in many respects through commerce. The industrial and agricultural products needed for the livelihood of the urban and rural population are supplied to them through commerce. Commerce therefore plays a significant role in our socialist construction. It is indispensable to both the development of our socialist industry and agriculture and to the improvement of our people's livelihood.

Growth of Socialist Commerce

Immediately after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the bourgeoisie still possessed consider-

able economic strength. Capitalist speculators, taking advantage of the then unstable financial and economic situation, engaged in frantic speculation, hoarded commodities and manipulated market prices in pursuit of exorbitant profits. A sharp struggle against these profiteers was swiftly launched. Early in 1950, the Central People's Government introduced a unified control of economic and financial work throughout the country, concentrated all economic strength in the hands of the state, took deflationary measures and stabilized commodity prices, thereby putting an end to the market chaos which prevailed in old China over a dozen years as a result of soaring inflation. In the struggle to stabilize prices it dealt a deadly blow to capitalist speculators.

With the stabilization of prices, the Government, in an effort to speed up restoration of the national economy, carried out a readjustment of private industry and commerce. It used and restricted private enterprises by supplying them with raw materials, purchasing their prod-

ucts and placing orders with them to process and manufacture goods. Private industry was thus placed under the leadership of the state-owned economy and its production gradually brought within the state plan's orbit. A gigantic movement for an increased interflow of goods between city and countryside was then unfolded to activate the market and stimulate the growth of industry and agriculture. Meanwhile, supply and marketing co-operatives were set up throughout the countryside; these co-operatives, guided and supported by state trading organs, purchased farm and rural sideline products and supplied the peasants with capital and consumer goods. All this enabled state commerce to control large amounts of industrial products (by placing processing and manufacturing orders with private enterprises) and farm products (with the help of supply and marketing co-ops) and reinforce its leading position in the country's market.

Towards the end of 1952, the Chinese Communist Party advanced the general line for the transition period, that is, the general line of simultaneous development of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It set forth the task of carrying out the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce throughout the country step by step, and the task of realizing socialist industrialization of the country step by step.

Beginning in autumn 1953, in order to ensure stability in the life of the people and guarantee the smooth progress of socialist economic construction, the Government adopted the policy of planned purchase and supply of grain—the unified state purchase and supply of grain. This move helped fundamentally to curb all grain speculation and bring grain distribution under state planning. Planned purchase and supply of edible oils and cotton were instituted later. Most of the former private retail dealers in these goods became retail distributors or commission agents for state trading organs. More and more private dealers in other lines of trade soon followed suit and they, too, became retail distributors or commission agents for the state companies.

In 1954, energetic steps were taken to bring capitalist enterprises under joint state-private operation to speed up the tempo of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. Early in 1956, an upsurge in socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce took place in the wake of the high tide of agricultural co-operation that occurred in the winter of 1955. Private industrial and commercial enterprises in all big Chinese cities sought conversion into joint state-private enterprises. By the end of the year, private industry and commerce, in the main, had come under joint state-private operation, and most small workshops and stores had been turned into co-operative concerns. Thus, with the basic completion of the socialist transformation of capitalist enterprises and the carrying out of the socialist revolution in ownership of the means of production, a unified socialist home market emerged in China.

Displaying the benefits of socialist management, socialist commerce has been the most efficient and most economical commerce known in China's history. Compared with the early post-liberation period, the total volume of the nation's retail sales has multiplied, while the number of personnel working in the commercial es-

tablishments has decreased instead of increasing, and costs in commodity circulation have been reduced. Thanks to the socialist system, both production and circulation of commodities have been subordinated to planning, and transportation of goods has been more rationally organized, resulting in great savings of manpower and materials. And because of the elimination of the free competition and anarchy characteristic of capitalist commerce the links in commodity circulation have been streamlined, the costs of packaging and advertising reduced, and it has become possible to set up the trading network more rationally so that it can more easily serve the needs of the production units and the people's livelihood.

The Point of Departure in Commercial Work

As early as 1942, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in *Economic and Financial Problems During the War of Resistance Against Japan*, wrote: "The general policy for our economic and financial work is to ensure supplies through the development of the economy." He pointed out that it is economic development that determines financial situation and that no financial difficulties can be overcome without a sound economy.

Guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the basic point of departure in our socialist commercial work has also been "to ensure supplies through the development of the economy." To develop the economy means developing industrial and agricultural production; to ensure supplies means guaranteeing, through exchange, the supply of capital goods required in production and the satisfaction of the urban and rural population's needs for consumer goods.

This means that in formulating policies and measures relating to commercial work and in dealing with relations between commercial and other work, we always proceed from the principle that all this must be conducive to the development of production and to the guaranteeing of supplies. The most essential thing here is to handle properly relations between commerce and production. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, it is the development of the economy that determines the financial situation, so it is the development of production that determines the growth of commerce.

Production is the basis of distribution and circulation. Only when there is an expanding production can there be an increasing supply of goods and a gradual satisfaction of the growing demands from all sides. However, distribution and circulation are not altogether inactive and passive in relation to production. A well-built bridge of commerce can help promote production, improve the people's livelihood, strengthen the socialist ownership by the whole people and the socialist collective ownership and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance. However, if the bridge is poorly built, it will bring detrimental results.

If we deviate from this correct principle, view commercial work in isolation, and are engrossed only in commercial problems as such, we will never be able to solve these problems, but, on the contrary, will bring damages to socialist construction. We have therefore always guarded against and repudiated a one-sided and narrow-minded approach to commercial work.

Proceeding from the principle of "ensuring supplies through the development of the economy," socialist commerce has to handle properly its relations with agriculture, industry and the people's livelihood.

Relations Between Commerce and Agriculture

Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. The growth of the economy primarily lies in the expansion of agriculture. More than 80 per cent of our country's population is rural. Peasants are the mainstay of the market for our industry. And it is only the peasants who can supply our industry with the largest amount of foodstuffs and raw materials and who can consume the largest amount of manufactured goods. Therefore, the foremost task of our commercial work has always been to support agriculture and the rural collective economy. That is to say, the essential thing to do in the field of commerce is to handle correctly relations between the state and the peasants in the matter of exchange. Only when this is done is it possible for our commercial organizations to serve industrial production well and to ensure the supply of goods to the cities.

Correct handling of relations between the state and the peasants through the medium of commerce consists of two main aspects: supplying the peasants with commodities and purchasing their products.

The means of production supplied to the peasants through commerce are numerous in variety and specification. They range from agricultural machinery, drainage and irrigation equipment, chemical fertilizer and insecticides to small and medium-type farm tools (either made of bamboo, wood or metal) and draught animals and seeds. In supplying these goods to the peasants, the commercial organizations must see to it that they are good in quality and fair in price, cater to the needs of the peasants of different localities and suit their different farming practices. They must also see to it that these capital goods are delivered to the countryside in the right season. Only in this way will they be able to meet the basic needs of the peasants for capital goods and help promote agricultural production.

In making planned purchases from the peasants, our commerce gives overall consideration to the interests of the state, the collectives and the peasants as individuals. The amount of grain, cotton, edible oils and other staple farm and rural sideline products purchased by the state, the amount of such products left to the peasants' own disposal as well as purchasing prices and purchasing methods of these products are all decided in the light of this overall consideration.

Take the planned purchase of grain for example. In determining the amount of its purchase, the state, taking into account the actual level of grain output of a given year, sees to it that the normal needs of the cities and industry are met, while at the same time the peasants are not selling too much but are able to keep some surpluses. In other words, consideration is given to both the overall interests of the national economic growth (the long-term interests of the peasants) and the immediate interests of the peasants, so that they can gradually improve their livelihood as production expands.

State purchases of grain from the peasants are also conducted on the basis of equivalent exchange. Prices for the purchase fixed take into consideration the traditional price level of grain in our country and a rational ratio between the prices of grain and manufactured goods, so as to enable the peasants to receive reasonable incomes and procure corresponding amounts of industrial products after selling their grain to the state. On the other hand, prices fixed by the state for its sale of grain in the rural areas are only a little higher than its purchasing prices, and the difference in prices is only to cover the expenses of grain management, storage and spoilage. Furthermore, both purchasing and selling prices of grain are the same throughout the year. And because of the fair grain prices set, the peasants are eager to sell to the state.

In carrying out planned purchases of goods, economic measures are always combined with political work and politics is always in command. Constant socialist and patriotic education is given to the peasants who consequently voluntarily undertake to sell their products to the state and consciously combine individual and collective interests with those of the state.

Relations Between Commerce and Industry

While correctly dealing with agriculture, socialist commerce must also properly deal with industry. It can promote the growth of industry only by supplying it with raw and other materials and by purchasing its products.

In China, certain capital goods needed by industrial enterprises are directly allocated by the state, but others are supplied through commercial organizations, which undertake to supply industrial enterprises with raw and other materials according to the state's unified plans. In this matter, the commercial organizations usually sign supply contracts and establish regular links of supply with industrial enterprises in accordance with state plans.

Commercial organizations also engage in the purchase and marketing of all consumer goods and part of the capital goods produced by industry. They promptly purchase manufactured goods, making prompt payment (at prices set by the state), in order to facilitate the smooth progress of industrial production. But, at the same time, they are rigid in checking the quality of the products, rejecting all sub-standard products, and thus impel the industrial enterprises to improve the quality of their products. They also keep the enterprises constantly informed about the sales of their products and the needs and opinions of consumers. In doing this they help the enterprises to work out their production plans, raise the quality and increase the variety of their products and link their production more closely with the market.

Serving the People's Livelihood

The aim of developing production under socialism is to satisfy the growing needs of the people. This is realized through exchange and distribution. Socialist commerce therefore operates in the service of the people, and is fundamentally different from profit-seeking, capitalist commerce.

During the past 14 years, the Chinese Communist Party and People's Government have made great efforts

to satisfy the basic needs of the urban and rural population and improve their livelihood on the basis of increased production. This was so even in the periods when our country met with temporary difficulties in socialist transformation and socialist construction. For instance, in 1959-61, when market supplies were seriously affected by three successive years of natural calamities, great effort was still exerted to ensure the basic needs of the people and to stabilize prices of staples.

Before liberation, however, even one year, let alone three consecutive years, of natural calamities would have brought widespread starvation in the affected areas. Peasants would have been made homeless and forced to sell their children; many would have died of hunger. The striking contrast with the past fully testifies to the advantages of our socialist system.

Now, our national economy has begun to show an all-round turn for the better, and the supply of commodities is growing steadily and the market is becoming increasingly buoyant. Apart from daily necessities, an ever richer variety of goods is available to meet the many and various needs of the people.

Unified Socialist Domestic Market

China's domestic market today has three channels of commodity circulation: state trade, co-operative trade and trade in rural local markets. These three channels, each playing its specific role in circulation and distribution, combine to form a unified socialist domestic market.

State trade based on socialist ownership by the whole people is the mainstay and leading factor in our commerce. The state trading organs control and distribute the bulk of commodities at home and handle all our foreign trade. They play a leading role in the market and organize the flow of commodities throughout the country in accordance with the policies and unified plans of the state. They are responsible for the administration of all commercial activities, and, along with co-operative trade, carry on the further socialist transformation of small traders and pedlars and the struggle against speculators.

Co-operative trade based on collective ownership is another form of socialist commerce. It serves as an able assistant to state trade, and will operate in our country throughout the historical period when our agriculture and handicrafts remain collectively owned. Its chief task is to purchase, on behalf of state trading organs, some major farm and rural sideline products and supply the peasants with industrial goods, according to unified state plans and at prices fixed by the state. In addition, it also deals, on its own initiative and in a flexible manner, in minor local and special products and handicraft products as well as in those major farm and rural sideline products the peasants have on hand after having met their quotas for sale to the state.

Trade in rural local markets is a necessary supplement to state and co-operative trade. So long as our agriculture is still based on collective ownership and so long as our people's commune members still retain their tiny garden plots and engage in family side-occupations, this kind of trade is an essential channel through which the peasants exchange their produce and each makes up what

the other lacks. The existence of such a channel is dictated by an objective need independent of human will.

Rural local market exchanges are conducted between producers who sell their own produce and consumers who buy for their own use. Prices are negotiated by buyers and sellers.

Trade in rural local markets has a dual character: on the one hand, it stimulates farming and rural sideline production and enlivens the rural economy; on the other hand, it can disturb the planned market and make for speculative opportunities. The state must therefore exercise its leadership over such markets by economic and administrative measures—organizing supply and marketing co-operatives to go in for buying and selling in these markets to help stabilize prices; setting a limit on the scope of operation of such markets (in which only a part of secondary farm and rural sideline products, of native and special products and handicraft products are allowed to be exchanged); requiring all traders and pedlars to register with the Government; prohibiting all speculative activities on the market and levying taxes in accordance with regulations. Moreover, the production teams of the people's communes and their members who go to the markets are educated to observe the laws and decrees of the Government and engage in lawful transactions. All this helps to make use of the positive side of trade in the rural local markets and at the same time restrict the negative. Such trade therefore entirely differs from trade in the capitalist market.

In order to ensure a highly unified and planned domestic market, trading organs throughout the country work in accordance with the unified policies and plans of the central authorities. This centralized leadership, however, is combined with management of the market by the local authorities at various levels, and the latter are allowed certain latitude in their activities. The initiative of the local authorities is thus brought into full play and this, too, contributes to the consolidation of the unified socialist domestic market.

The struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie runs through the whole historical period of socialist transformation and socialist construction. Class struggle also exists in the realm of commerce. The socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was a process of intense class struggle. The struggle goes on even after the basic completion of the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production. In view of this, commercial organizations in our country are given vigorous political and ideological leadership as well as strong leadership concerning policies. The personnel working in these organizations have been armed with the viewpoint of class struggle, and because of their enhanced class consciousness they have conscientiously carried out the policies of the Communist Party and have diligently learnt how to run socialist commerce and combat capitalist influences. They are now striving to link their commercial activities still more closely with agricultural and industrial production and to win even greater victories for socialism in the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads.

The Saigon Coup: Retrospect and Prospect

WITHIN the short span of three months, the U.S. war gamblers in south Viet Nam have twice found themselves backing the wrong horse. Last November 1, they made short work of the losing team of Diem brothers, and installed the military junta headed by Duong Van Minh. On January 30, Saigon witnessed another U.S.-master-minded putsch which deposed Duong Van Minh. Nguyen Khanh, an American-trained general, has climbed on to Saigon's political stage in full pontificals as "chairman of the revolutionary military council."

Washington is reposing high hopes in its new south Vietnamese puppets for an improvement of its gloomy special warfare prospects. Speaking about the messages exchanged between himself and Nguyen Khanh, U.S. President Johnson told the press, "we see eye to eye on the necessity of stepping up the pace of military operations."

For the U.S. special warfare warriors, things are getting worse and worse in south Viet Nam. Their failing war effort explains why they have to change horses so frequently. And this has been freely admitted by many U.S. newspapers and periodicals which even the late Senator McCarthy wouldn't have suspected of being "un-American."

"Couldn't Win, Couldn't Lose, Couldn't Quit"

It's useful to review briefly the circumstances that preceded and precipitated Ngo Dinh Diem's doom. Sizing up the situation prevailing then, the *Wall Street Journal* reported from Saigon last September: "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. . . . The Viet Cong [U.S. term for the people's forces] 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."

Here the *Wall Street Journal* left out the significant fact that even in the rapidly shrinking areas under U.S.-Diem control, the people were braving a medieval-style inquisition and massacre to demonstrate their hatred for the tyrannical rule. Many Buddhist monks had burnt themselves in protest, and Ngo Dinh Nhu's wife, revealing the callousness of the U.S.-Diem clique, publicly declared that the Buddhists could go on "barbecuing" themselves for all she cared.

The bourgeois press in other Western countries also noted the gravity of the situation. The *London Times*

wrote last November that "the armed forces of south Viet Nam under the government of Ngo Dinh Diem . . . had very little chance of winning. It is an axiom of operations against terrorists [the *Times*' perverted view of the south Vietnamese people] that military forces, even when they are determined and well equipped, are powerless without the wholehearted support of the people—which the Diem regime manifestly did not have. To the United States, pouring military equipment and advice into the country, the war has become a frustrating adventure that they 'couldn't win, couldn't lose, and couldn't quit.'"

Short-Lived Optimism

Finding themselves in this quandary, the U.S. special warfare warriors made Ngo Dinh Diem a scapegoat and disposed of him. On Duong Van Minh's new team of puppets they pinned great expectations for "a turn of the tide." Soon after Duong Van Minh's seizure of power a spokesman of the U.S. command in Saigon gleefully declared, "Under the new provisional government there will be a more vigorous prosecution of the war against the Communists."

The American press was full of rosy predictions, so much so that a number of bourgeois newspapers in other countries seemed to have been infected with this optimism. The *London Times*, for one, wrote in an editorial entitled "An End to Frustration": "The Army's removal of the Diem government, brutal as it was in method, may prove to be the beginning of a new and successful phase of the battle."

This optimism, however, was short-lived. On December 8, about one month after Diem's death, the *New York Times* reported from Saigon: "This is time of flux and uncertainty in Viet Nam when the only sure thing is the critical state of the war against the Communists in the rich and fertile farmlands of the Mekong River delta rolling south from Saigon. There is little disagreement here that the war in the delta is in serious shape—more serious than officials in Washington have let on. . . ."

A sense of emergency caught Washington. When Johnson took over the reins from the assassinated Kennedy, his first foreign policy instruction was to "win" the war in south Viet Nam. U.S. Ambassador Lodge hastened back to Saigon, finding no time even to attend Kennedy's funeral. Soon afterwards, Johnson sent Defence Secretary McNamara to south Viet Nam for a "fact-finding tour."

The facts McNamara found were, in the words of the American press, "blunt and harsh." The *Washington*

Post wrote in late December that McNamara had "been given a considerably more somber report of the military prospects. . . . He left with nothing faintly resembling easy optimism about the future. Some had hoped that the toppling of the Diem regime would somehow free the country to win the war quickly. The contrary seems to have happened. Since the coup, the Communist Viet Cong have pressed with vigour and success. . . ."

Man Behind the Gun Counts

It became progressively clearer that neither new puppets nor new weapons could help Washington to change the course of the war. It is always the man behind the gun who counts. *Newsweek* wrote in early January that though the war in south Viet Nam "has already cost the U.S. three billion dollars . . . and now chews up 1.5 million dollars a day in U.S. aid," things were going "badly" on the battlefield.

Under Diem, the puppet army had acted as a "supply sergeant" for the people's forces. As the *Wall Street Journal* admitted last September, "Viet Cong troops are known to have seized vast quantities of U.S.-made arms from government troops." It quoted a U.S. officer as saying: "We're supplying both sides in this war."

The new puppet Duong Van Minh proved himself equally obliging. The UPI reported last December that "the Viet Cong captured enough weapons in the past three months in the delta alone to equip three full-size battalions." The *New York Times*, too, wrote in December that "with the capture of U.S. weapons the Communists have proven more dangerous for American helicopters—the weapons once expected to give anti-communist forces incontestable advantage over the guerrillas. Now rare is the day when helicopters flying combat missions in the delta do not report their planes have been hit by communist groundfire."

Three Battles, One Lesson

The people determined to win their liberation are always brave and ingenious. This is as true in south Viet Nam as elsewhere. Even the accounts from American war correspondents have thrown ample light on this. Suffice it to list three recent examples.

Eleven days before Diem's downfall, AP issued a detailed report of a "mopping-up operation" by over 4,000 U.S.-Diem marines, rangers, paratroopers, regular infantrymen and sailors in a jungle area 25 miles north of Saigon. It quoted an "American advisor" as saying: "It's a tough war here. The Communists have a fantastic tunnel system in the jungles, and they've got all the cover and escape routes they need. I stood right over the entrance of one of these tunnels once without knowing there was a Viet Cong in it. I learnt later that the same Viet Cong crept away from the entrance, popped up fifty yards away and killed five of our troops, went on for another fifty yards, and killed three more." "No matter how many of these tunnels we blow up or smoke out there's always more."

Duong Van Minh's troops put up an equally poor show on the battlefield. In early January, AP issued

another battle report on the first big military operation in 1964 in which ten puppet battalions sought to crush the people's forces about forty miles west of Saigon. "The heavily wooded area," AP wrote, "is riddled with tunnels and guerrilla emplacements." "In the eyes of American advisers," the report concluded, "it [the operation] was a total failure." "Big operations have never been much good in Viet Nam," added another American officer, "I would say this one was about the worst."

The people's forces have always been good at defence, but now they have proved they are formidable in attack too. A few weeks after Duong Van Minh's elevation to power, they taught him a hard lesson in a surprise night attack on a "special forces training camp" only 40 kilometres from Saigon. They killed and wounded 190 enemy troops including eight Americans, and captured 65 others including a number of American "advisers." UPI quoted a U.S. military spokesman as saying: "The attack came so suddenly that the camp radio operator could not even send a call for help." He added, "this is the first time that such a camp has been overrun."

Thus it has been clear from the very beginning that a change of puppets would fail to alter the course of the war.

To give the devil his due, Duong Van Minh & Co. did try to do something "new." For one thing, they changed the name of the "strategic hamlets"—a label of innuendo for the much-hated concentration camps—into "new life villages." Ballyhooed to woo popular support, this "new" measure fell flat.

On January 15 AP quoted a report by a "joint U.S.-Vietnamese field team" as saying that the majority of the population in the south Vietnamese countryside "are siding with the Viet Cong." The "strategic hamlet programme," the joint team declared after investigating 15 such "hamlets" and visiting seven secondary schools, "was full of major faults that negated its value. . . . [In these camps] people were deprived of freedom of movement, villagers were burdened with extra work, people were deprived of land without compensation and they were given cramped living space."

Totally lacking popular support, the U.S. special warfare warriors and their indigenous lackeys are like fish out of water. Modern weaponry including toxic chemicals can't save them. In the two months ending mid-January, these cannibals continued to spray noxious chemicals in south Viet Nam, poisoning 5,700 people including nearly 3,000 children! Such savagery, however, only served to antagonize the people even more bitterly, and thus made the going tougher still for the U.S. invaders and their hirelings.

New Junta, Old Fate

Summing up the situation at the end of 1963, the *New York Times* said that U.S. "military officials have conceded that the month after the November coup d'etat was the most disastrous since the United States committed itself fully to the war effort in 1961."

Meanwhile, like rats on a sinking ship, the U.S. puppets in south Viet Nam were competing with each other

more fiercely in their shrinking domain. A report in the New York weekly *National Guardian* on January 9 exposed these sharpening rivalries. "The U.S. has taken the precaution to have a foothold in every camp, and thus to be represented on the winning side whatever happens," the report said.

In short, the situation facing Saigon was critical both militarily and politically. To find a way out, Washington again shopped around for a more "efficient" agent. Meanwhile, the American press became louder and louder in their criticism of Duong Van Minh. On December 23, the *New York Times* declared that "observers feel that a break within the [Saigon] junta is inevitable."

That "break" came on January 30. Nguyen Khanh, commander of the puppet first army corps, ousted Duong Van Minh in a coup which was Washington's handiwork. Setting yet another example of U.S. official double talk, "Ambassador" Lodge declared that "the United States has had absolutely nothing to do with the operation [the coup]." But, soon afterwards, he added unblushingly, "I was contacted last night [the night before the putsch] by the coup leaders, and the only remark I made was

that I hoped there would be no bloodshed." How innocent were the American wirepullers!

Washington's panjandrums and the U.S. brasshats are once again hoping for a miracle from their new proteges in Saigon. But even in Western circles, few people now share their optimism. The London *Times* which once predicted that the removal of Ngo Dinh Diem might mean an "end to [American] frustration," said about the January coup: "The new rulers may face even more instability in Saigon than the men they have displaced."

The French, who learnt a few hard lessons in Viet Nam, have had something to say to Washington after each Saigon coup. When Diem was thrown out last November, the Gaullist paper *Nation* said: "So far as the United States is concerned, what is most paradoxical, most delusive and most tragic in the event in Viet Nam, is the question of serious defeat, no matter what the political evolution in Saigon may be." After the January putsch, it again wrote: "The recent coup d'etat in Saigon clearly proves the failure of the U.S. policy in south Viet Nam." It's true that the outsider sees the best of the game.

—WEN CHAO

The Background Story

CONFLICT IN CYPRUS

by C.K. CHENG

Communal strife is only the surface phenomenon. Scratch it and you find pitted against the Cypriots in their struggle to become a completely independent nation the forces of British imperialism and, more ominously, of Yankee imperialism which seeks to turn the island into an American base for aggression — not least against the Arab countries in the Middle East.

CYPRUS, the strife-riven island in the Eastern Mediterranean, provides a case study of imperialist machinations to deprive a small country of its independence and birthright. The sequence of events in the last few weeks shows how the British, and then close on their heels the Americans, following the broaching of a question which is an internal matter for Cyprus, pounced on the opportunity to stoke the fires of conflict between the two main communities on the island. Sometimes together, but more often separately, they have intervened shamelessly in the island's affairs in pursuit of their own selfish interests.

On December 5 last year, President Makarios of Cyprus informed the British, Greek and Turkish Governments of his intention to amend the Cyprus Constitution which has long been found to be unworkable. Britain and the United States saw their opportunity. When the North Atlantic Council met in Paris on December 16, the United States suggested that the question of "safeguarding" what it called the southern flank of NATO be taken

up at once. Dean Rusk, the American Secretary of State, held private talks with the Turkish Foreign Minister Feridun Cemal Erkin outside the conference room. Three days after the conclusion of the NATO meeting, hell broke loose in Cyprus, with the Greek and Turkish Cypriots fighting each other.

The Real Cause

The immediate cause has been ascribed to the opposition of the Turkish Cypriots to the proposed amendments of the constitution. But it is the meddling hand of imperialism, bent on gaining control of the newly inaugurated island republic, that is the real and underlying cause of the violence.

Cyprus, after Sicily and Sardinia, is the third largest island in the Mediterranean. With an area of some 9,200 square kilometres and a population of 560,000, of whom 80 per cent are of Greek, and about 16 per cent of Turkish, extraction, Cyprus has had a chequered history. Strategically placed at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, it had by turns been part of the Roman Empire and of Greece. In 1571 it came under the sway of the Ottoman Empire which held it until 1878 when it passed into British hands at the Congress of Berlin. Disraeli, the Tory Prime Minister, acquired Cyprus from the Turks because Britain needed it to protect the approaches to the Suez Canal in which Disraeli had secured a controlling interest in 1875.

After World War I Britain annexed the island which was proclaimed a Crown colony in 1925. Its inhabitants had to bear the cross of British colonial rule for several more decades.

Unquenchable Struggle

But the flames of the struggle for freedom were never quenched. The people of Cyprus rose to ever greater heights in their fight for national self-determination after World War II. To thwart the independence movement, Westminster stepped up its repression and resorted to its time-honoured tactics of "divide and rule," stirring up racial tension between the Greek and Turkish communities. In June 1958, provoked by Britain and Turkey, Greek and Turkish Cypriots went for each other again. One of the bloodiest communal feuds ensued. The situation thus created gave Britain a pretext for sending troops to "maintain law and order" and concocting a "new plan" under which separate self-government was to be granted to the Greek and Turkish Cypriots within seven years while the military bases on the island were to be held by Britain in perpetuity.

This met with stiff opposition, and Britain's little scheme came to naught. Meanwhile, the oppressed took up arms against their oppressor—and with great success. Held at bay, Britain had to agree to Cyprus becoming independent. The hour of national deliverance for the Cypriot people was finally at hand. Nevertheless Britain's exit did not mean that it had really thrown up the sponge. Unable to subdue the people, it yielded but managed to retain its military bases, hoping for a chance to reassert its control. This, as events were to show, came last December.

With Britain forced into the background, the United States, which hates to see a "vacuum" unfilled, wasted no time in infiltrating into Cyprus and transforming it into a NATO base. In February 1959, turning to account the sharpening contradictions among Britain, Greece and Turkey on the question of Cyprus, it manoeuvred Greece and Turkey into concluding what has since become known as the Zurich Agreement on Cyprus. With this as the

cornerstone it in turn brought pressure to bear on Britain. The result was the London Agreement. The long and bitter struggle of the Cypriot people had at last borne fruit. By these agreements and subsequent accords the independence of Cyprus was recognized. But to finally obtain this independence, the people of Cyprus had to pay a stiff price.

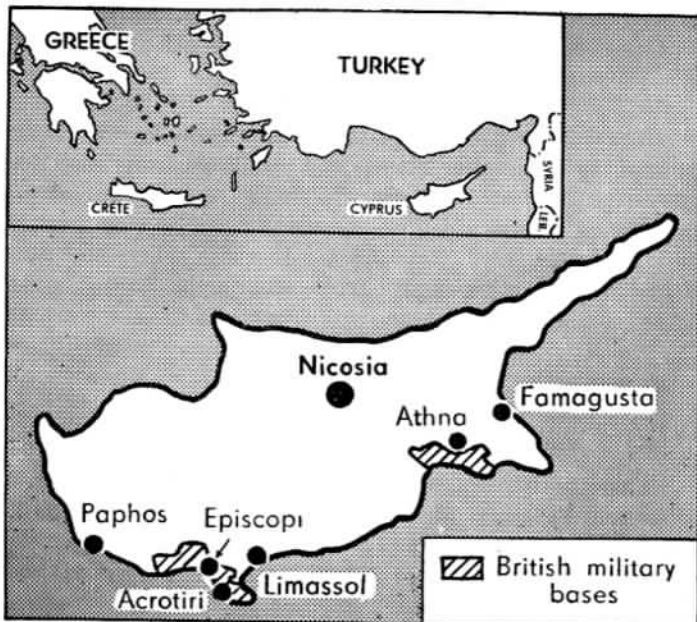
What the Price Was

By the treaty of guarantee with Britain, Greece and Turkey, Cyprus was required under Article 3 to agree to Britain exercising sovereign rights over its military base areas. Thus, though relinquishing the title-deeds, Britain still retained complete control of two military bases, 31 key points and other military establishments and 10 training centres on the island. Together with the two other powers, Britain also undertook to "guarantee" the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus but reserved "the right to take action." By the treaty of alliance with Greece and Turkey, Cyprus was compelled to allow Greece and Turkey, which are members of the U.S.-dominated NATO bloc, to station troops on the island. By this shrewd manoeuvre the United States orbited Cyprus into its own military system.

In home affairs, the London Agreement stipulates that the President of the Republic of Cyprus should be a Greek Cypriot and the Vice-President a Turkish Cypriot, with the latter enjoying the power of veto. It also stipulates that 70 per cent of the parliamentary seats are to be held by Greek Cypriots and the remaining 30 per cent by Turkish Cypriots. These and other encumbrances written into the constitution at the behest of the NATO powers, though paraded as measures to safeguard minority rights, were actually designed to cause bad blood between the Greek and Turkish communities.

Eisenhower acclaimed the London settlement as a move serving to strengthen the North Atlantic Alliance. He and his successors became more and more interested in Cyprus, which proclaimed its independence on August 16, 1960. The U.S. 6th Fleet extended the scope of its operations to include Cyprus, while Kennedy's "Peace Corps" found a new stamping ground on the island. U.S. radar stations were set up there, too. In no time the local American colony swelled to several thousand. In August 1962 Lyndon Johnson, then Vice-President, visited the island, and he reaffirmed Washington's "great interest" in Cyprus and urged the Cyprus Government to take the "threat of communism" seriously. Cyprus has great strategic value, said the *New York Times* at the time, and it made it quite plain that the United States sets as much store on the island as a staging area as Britain does on it as a military base.

Early last year, the United States announced its intention of sending submarines equipped with Polaris missiles to the Mediterranean to replace its nuclear bases in Turkey and Italy. According to the Greek newspaper *Eleftheria* which quoted information from NATO headquarters, it also reached agreement with Britain to dispatch nuclear submarines to Cyprus. In the middle of April three U.S. nuclear submarines began cruising in the Mediterranean. The State Department at the same time



Sketch map by Su Li

initiated a series of diplomatic moves, with Livingston Merchant, the President's emissary, and Rusk himself visiting Ankara one after the other to confer with Turkish officials. Cyprus was among the subjects discussed.

Plans for Invasion

In the meantime, Britain had built rocket bases in Cyprus and installed radar networks at the Acrotiri and Episcopi bases. This and the American efforts to convert the island into a nuclear arsenal and a base for Polaris submarines aroused strong opposition from the Cypriot people. They were not willing to allow their country to become a nuclear launching pad, either for the Americans or the British. Washington and London became alarmed by this turn of events. Old antagonisms between the Greek and Turkish communities were revived and successive intrigues set in motion. Washington, intent on ousting British influence, decided to make the most out of the explosive situation. Through Ankara it fed and fanned the idea of *Takism* (partition of Cyprus). And the harrowing drama of internecine war unfolded, following much the same pattern of the bloody June of 1958.

Britain found that its garrison on the island could not quell the Cypriots and thousands of additional troops were flown in, although London's resources were taxed to the utmost by a heavy programme of "police actions" in East Africa, Malaysia and elsewhere. Turkey, after consultations with the American Ambassador in Ankara, dispatched a naval squadron to a point only 150 kilometres off the island, and on Christmas Day sent 5 jet fighters over Nicosia on a "warning flight." As to the United States, it had already moved the 6th Fleet to within striking distance of Cyprus. But playing the innocent, it said through the State Department that it was watching developments and deliberating on the measures to be taken to cope with all emergencies.

The trouble in Cyprus had every sign of developing into a major conflict. Britain, in an effort to retain its control and keep the United States at a distance, proposed that a conference be held in London. This began on January 15, with the participation of Greece and Turkey, and representatives of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and of Britain itself. President Makarios demanded that the conference discuss the questions of the amendment of the Cyprus Constitution and the abrogation of the treaty of guarantee and the treaty of alliance. Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots opposed the Archbishop's demand and openly advocated partition. The result was deadlock. To break it, the United States put forward its own formula. This was that an "international peace-keeping force," drawn from members of the NATO bloc, be sent to "take over" Cyprus. The American contribution to this 10,000-man international "police force" was to be 2,000. The opportunity to intervene further in Cypriot affairs had arrived, and the Johnson Administration proceeded to wrest the initiative from Britain.

Rejection by Cyprus

President Makarios rejected the U.S.-British plan for sending NATO forces to "keep peace" in Cyprus. The proposal could not be accepted, he said, because to do

so would amount to an outside body taking over the functions of the Cyprus Government. The Archbishop's proposal to amend certain provisions of the constitution and to abrogate the treaties of guarantee and alliance accords with the interests of the Cypriot people and, if adopted, would help directly to ease the situation. Free from external pressures, the two communities could take the first steps leading to mutual accommodation. But this is anathema to U.S. and British imperialism and its friends in Ankara.

The news that the United States and some other members of the NATO bloc were going to send troops to Cyprus — France refused to do so — aroused a storm of protest. Crowds demonstrated before the U.S. Embassy in Nicosia and Athens. They carried placards inscribed with slogans against the United States and NATO. The students and professors from Athens University who took part in the demonstrations chanted "Americans Go Back to Texas!" "American Fascists!" "You Cannot Buy Us With Wheat and Barley!" "NATO Out of Cyprus!" The biggest demonstration held so far in Athens took place on February 10, with 20,000 people gathering in front of the City Hall to make their protest, while U.S. Under Secretary of State George Ball was hurriedly putting the final touches to the U.S. scheme of military intervention.

In spite of growing world public opinion against armed intervention in Cyprus, the United States is adamant in proceeding with the invasion scheme, whether the Cypriot people like it or not. This was borne out by the busy confabulations between Washington and London, and their extension to Ankara, Athens and Nicosia, with Ball hurrying to and fro in an attempt to browbeat the various parties into accepting the oft-revised U.S. plan now dressed up as an "international peace force" without mention of NATO. But the Cypriot Government has again rejected this "new" proposal. Now the question of Cyprus is before the Security Council — at the suggestion of the British Government with full American support. This Anglo-American move was to forestall the Cyprus Government's own complaint to the Security Council of threatened intervention and secure the cloak of U.N. authority for their aggression.

Imperialism Must Go

Washington's meddling in the affairs of Cyprus is an attempt to turn the island into an American base for aggression in the Middle East. The memory of the statement made on American policy in the Near East by Deputy Under Secretary of State Alexis Johnson when he brandished the big stick is still fresh among the Arab people. After condemning the move to send NATO troops to Cyprus, *Al Baath* of Syria wrote that "the aim of Anglo-American activities in the Middle East is to threaten all Arab countries." *Al Ahram* of Cairo denounced it as "flagrant aggression against the independence of Cyprus."

The situation in Cyprus, said Commentator of *Renmin Ribao* on February 8, proves once again, that peace is threatened wherever the U.S. forces of aggression operate. But the independence of Cyprus can be preserved and peace in the Middle East safeguarded. The aggressive forces of imperialism must be driven out of these regions.

Learning From Life at the Grass-Roots

by CHU HSI-HSIEN

I

IN May last year I joined a 3-member group which went to live among the peasants in Hsinglung County, eastern Hopei Province. Organized on a voluntary basis, our group comprised a veteran revolutionary whom we made our leader; Lao Chang, a theatre worker of peasant origin; and myself, a composer with an intellectual background and a big-city dweller. I knew little of the peasants and their life; that was why I chose to go to temper myself in the countryside under the guidance of veterans.

Hsinglung County is outside the Great Wall and was an old resistance base during the war against the Japanese invaders. Tucked away in the mountains, it has poor road communications. The county seat is linked with its district centres by highways along which only open trucks maintain a passenger service. To get from the district centres to the outlying villages, one has to walk or cycle. The county committee of the Communist Party, treating us as guests, offered us their automobile. But our group leader very politely turned down the offer. One of their comrades urged: "Do take the car! The village you are going to is more than 30 li away and then you have your luggage to carry. Moreover, there are two mountain ridges to cross on the way."

"He's right and it will save time too."—This was what I thought when I heard him. But our leader said: "Since we come here to temper ourselves in life, you will agree that it's best for us to do as the peasants do." His answer reminded me that this question of what means of transportation to take, small though it seemed, concerned a big question of principle. There was no gain-saying: if we did not go to the people as ordinary labourers, how could it be possible for us to live with them as one of themselves and so remould ourselves ideologically? And if we did not do as they did, how could we not expect them to keep us at a "respectful distance"?

Finally we took a crowded open truck, bumping along the mountain road all the way to Panpishan District. There we borrowed two bicycles and set out for our destination. I had not ridden a cycle for many years. As to riding on a rugged mountain road with so many twists and turns, the last experience of this I remember was about two dozen years ago when I took part in the war against the Japanese. I found it tough going pedalling up hill and down dale, crossing rivers and wading fords. I had to look out sharp too not to take a tumble down steep slopes. It was no easy ride and I was dog tired when we finally reached the village. But at the same time I experienced a special kind of pleasure—the triumphant feeling that "I've conquered myself."

The village cadres had already arranged for each of us to live in a peasant home, either with a poor peasant or one of the poorer middle peasants. As to our daily meals, we had them by rotation in the villagers' homes,

so quite soon we had been to practically every home, learnt their condition at first hand and made many acquaintances. As this was an old revolutionary base, wherever we went we were treated as cadres of the Eighth Route Army [forerunner of the Chinese People's Liberation Army—*Ed.*] and addressed in the familiar way as "Lao Chu" (Old Chu) or "Lao Chang."

This area had a magnificent record of fighting the Japanese invaders. The Japanese occupied Hsinglung in 1933 and from then on the local people had never ceased their struggle. In 1938 the area became a revolutionary base from which the local people, led by the communist Eighth Route Army, harassed the enemy's rear with guerilla warfare. The enemy counter-attacked by driving the villagers to live in concentration camps and designating one area after another a "forbidden zone" where they would shoot at sight to kill any intruder. It was a merciless struggle. The invaders attempted to terrorize the people and crush all resistance by burning down villages, massacres and looting. The populations of many villages were reduced by a third. Scenes of unimaginable brutality were witnessed: children saw their own fathers torn to pieces by the enemy's police dogs; children were bayoneted to death and people doused with kerosene and set on fire by the enemy. One family of nine had only one survivor.

THE enemy conducted frequent mopping-up campaigns. On their approach, the local people would make for hideouts in mountain caves. Recalling those war years in a talk to members of the local Communist Youth League organization, a Party branch secretary said: "When people of my generation were your age, we hardly had a whole night's sleep. Youngsters around 20 were all members of the militia. Throughout the night, we took turns to stand guard on the mountain look-out posts, no matter how fierce the winter wind or how heavy the snow. Even when not on duty, we went to bed without undressing. At the signal of alarm, we would be ready to go into action immediately or to scatter and make for our hideouts." That was how the people remained in the "forbidden zones" throughout the war no matter what the invaders did, and kept up the struggle until victory.

During our stay in the village, all three of us met quite a few outstanding war heroes. What they had done amply entitle them to be proud of their services to the country, but they still maintain the tradition of simple living and hard work characteristic of the Chinese peasant. Later, when I visited several other villages, I found that nearly all the people around middle age had either been members of the local militia or "messengers" who had delivered military messages right under the noses of the enemy. My stay was short: only one month. Yet it was long enough for me to get a deeper understanding of what is meant by those two oft-quoted expressions:

"it is the people who create history" and "the masses are the real heroes." China's peasants made decisive contributions to victory both in the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and the War of Liberation (1946-49). Now that we are going ahead with our socialist revolution and construction, the role of the peasants can certainly not be overestimated.

At one stage, each of us three had his own programme of work. I joined the chairman of the commune's women's organization on a visit to a number of villages. It did not take me long to see what an able chairman she was and how close her ties were with the peasant women, old and young. Everywhere we appeared, she was welcomed by the old as if she were their daughter; young wives confided to her their most secret thoughts and the young girls treated her as one of themselves. It was an unrivalled opportunity to see at close quarters how she fulfilled her duties as chairman of the local women's organization. She was making a study of division of labour among the women members of the commune, and as she made her enquiries she argued with this or that one whenever a matter of principle was involved, thus combining her investigation and study with the important task of political education. Her manners and ways were so easy that with her I found myself, too, much more relaxed and much less handicapped by the self-consciousness and reserve we intellectuals so often develop.

All the villages we visited, I found, were busy building houses. Following the example of my companion, I also gave a helping hand moving bricks or tiles when we could. Seeing a bespectacled city woman show an interest in his new house, the host would invariably break into a smile and express his solicitude by saying: "Please take a rest. Don't work so hard; it's tiring." His simple kindness often set me thinking: How our peasants sweat to produce the food we eat! Have we city people the same kind of solitude for them?

To find out how the new songs were being popularized in the countryside, I made it a rule to interview the schoolteachers in every village I visited. I met one woman teacher who was very fond of music and I stayed late at her place chatting and singing. She had a good voice and knew quite a number of popular songs. But of all the songs she sang, there was only one which was my work, and even in this there was one line she thought a little difficult. That night I just could not get to sleep. Many questions crowded into my head. I had always liked to compose for children. Now, for the first time, it dawned on me that my children's songs, from subject matter to mood, were all intended for city children. It was no exaggeration to say that not a single one was really suited to children in the countryside. As to my popular songs, there were few of these either that could be sung in the villages. If this visit was giving me examination of my musical works, a test of their national quality and popular character, then I should say I failed to pass the exam. I began to see more clearly why it was that some of my colleagues who had spent a long time in the countryside and had a better knowledge than I of the thoughts and feelings of the peasants as well as their musical tastes, could produce work more readily acceptable to the peasants. In the final analysis, this was a question

of how writers, artists and musicians should become one with the masses.

II

Continuing my efforts to solve this question of how to serve the peasants, in the latter half of 1963 I journeyed to Yutzu in Shansi Province to study the famous Shansi style of *yangko* music from local folk musicians and singers. *Yangko* singing is an expressive musical language with a rich store of techniques. Many excellent *yangko* singers are working peasants, and their performances have a rich earthy flavour. I learnt from my teachers line by line, imitating their singing while writing down the score. Very often I found that the same song, when repeated, was not the same as in my notes. The singer had unconsciously made some changes. Sometimes one line might have as many as six or seven variants. A comparative study of these variants gave me a better understanding of the laws of folk music, as every time a change was made there was a reason for it. This was a living art of composition. The folk songs I learnt and the musical scores I wrote down on this study trip are extremely rich in content; they call for careful analytical study to get the full benefit from them for our study of *yangko* compositions.

In November last year, I went for the third time to the countryside — this time to Hsiyang in Shansi to learn from the well-known peasant composer Shih Chang-yuan. Long ago I had heard that the mass singing of the villages at Lianyangkou in Hsiyang was outstanding and that Shih Chang-yuan had played an important part in this, both with the songs he himself composed and with his enthusiasm in rousing and maintaining the interest of the local people in singing.

I was not entirely unfamiliar with this peasant composer. I had read some of his works published in the Peking magazine *Songs*. I had also met him in person at conferences. But his activities were inseparable from Lianyangkuo. That was the reason I wanted to go there.

Hsiyang suffered a series of storms last summer and was ravaged by the worst flood known there for a hundred years. I knew that considerable damage had been caused to cave-dwellings* and crops and so I was rather heavy hearted when I entered this village in the Taihang Mountains. It is no easy task to rebuild a devastated home!

On my arrival I found my peasant colleague Shih Chang-yuan on one of the construction sites. There, too, was the Party secretary of the village's production brigade who greeted me with: "We shall give a concert to-night in your honour."

I tried to dissuade him. "Let's not hold up your urgent work!" I said, but when he insisted, I urged: "No special programmes then, please. I just want to hear whatever programmes you have ready."

"They'll be the ready ones all right!" the Party secretary said. "We hold regular concerts even without a guest. Once in three or five days in the busy season.

* By no means as primitive as it sounds, peasants of the loesslands construct dry, comfortable houses by digging caves into the loess hillsides and building doors and windows into the openings.



The peasant composer Shih Chang-yuan (right, foreground) with members of his village chorus

In the slack season, singing is a regular feature every night at our cultural club house. Even with this flood, we still have a sing-song once a week."

Surveying the loess mountainsides washed by the flood with terraces damaged and fronts of houses caved in, I could hardly believe this. But the assembly hall—a sturdy brick structure with a seating capacity of 1,000 and the signboard "Red Flag Auditorium"—dominating the valley, seemed to say: "You'll understand when you hear how everybody can hum Shih Chang-yuan's *Our Songs Fill the Valley With Happiness*."

SOON the evening's programme began. The well-lit club house next to the auditorium was crowded. They managed the affair in their own simple way but it was no less enjoyable for all that it was without costumes, without a setting, and without curtains. The chorus of some 30 singers took its place; the orchestra of six musicians with *huchin* (a Chinese violin) and other stringed and percussion instruments filed in to take their seats—and the performance began. I will give a few of the items on that night's programme. Their names alone tell much of the spiritual face of today's countryside:

1. Chorus: *The National Anthem, Long Live the Three Red Flags, The Broad Road Ahead, Shansi Is a Good Place, The Internationale*;

2. Soloist (Male Voice): *The Communist Party Is Our Saviour*;

3. Soloist (Female Voice): *The People's Commune Is a Golden Bridge, Welcome to Our Mountain Village*;

4. Chorus (Female Voices): *Our Countryside Is Truly Beautiful, Think of Our Worker Brothers First When Proposing a Toast, The Village Fair*.

From form to content, this was a concert created and organized by the peasants themselves. Here was a living, revolutionary socialist culture. It was still a bit "rough" at this stage, but it rang with the mighty strength of advanced ideas and testified to the truth that spiritual force can be turned into material force.

Quite a number of the 25 items on the programme dealt with local themes and most of these were the work

of Shih Chang-yuan. Ever since 1953, the Cultural Centre of Hsiyang County has been running short training courses of various types and it was at one such course that Shih Chang-yuan was introduced to the art of composing. His first song was written in 1958. Now he has more than a hundred to his credit. Through his kindness I made acquaintance with most of his works and I noted these characteristic features in them: In content, most of his songs are closely linked with current political discussions and production enterprises in the village; even when composing to verses selected from outside sources such as the well-known *Red Flag Folk Songs* compiled by the poet Kuo Mo-jo and the critic Chou Yang, more often than not he keeps an eye on local conditions and needs. In musical form, he places great reliance on local folk tunes to make his compositions more readily acceptable to the local inhabitants. His fellow villagers told me: "We find his songs much to our taste and easy to sing."

Shih Chang-yuan is by no means the only composer in the district. In fact, it has a composing group of seven with its members drawn from his own and neighbouring villages. Their compositions range from songs to quick patters, rhymes, and even short operas. The village also has a choral club and in the past few years its membership has remained steady at around 40. These are the best singers of the commune's production teams and active promoters of singing among their team members. Shih Chang-yuan always has his new works tried out first at the club. They sing the songs and discuss them together and when satisfied popularize them among the villagers.

AS to what a role these songs, musicians and singers play, I thought nobody would know better than the Party branch secretary. He told me: "I couldn't carry out my duties well without our cultural club. Every time I come back from a meeting called by the commune or the county, the first thing I do is to call a meeting of our Party members and the second thing is to get hold of Shih Chang-yuan, to tell him the spirit and gist of the meeting. This spirit and aim is embodied in the numerous activities of our cultural club, and through this medium the message is carried out to the masses and becomes part of them. Art is allied to politics."

These peasant musicians and singers play an important role in helping to build and consolidate the new rural economy. They have found an admirable solution to the questions of the relation between music and politics, between music and production, and between music and the masses. As a professional composer, I felt I had a great deal to learn from my peasant colleague. If we professionals, too, can make ourselves such indispensable helpers of the Party as this peasant colleague of ours, then we can say we have really achieved our aim of making our music serve the cause of socialism. This is both difficult and easy. It would remain wishful thinking if we were to keep aloof from the people and from the main current of life. But if we really plunge ourselves into the thick of life and become one with the people, we shall be able to create works that truly serve the masses—the workers, peasants and soldiers.

ROUND THE WORLD

Japan-China Relations

Call for Normalization

Washington's policy of hostility to China which it tries to impose on its allies and other countries is in disarray. This was underscored by the decision of the French Government to establish diplomatic relations with China. In Japan, too, a mass movement is under way for the normalization of relations with China.

Twenty-five prominent public figures in Japan have issued a joint appeal calling for a national campaign to demand that the Japanese Government restore diplomatic relations with China. They include Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Japanese Communist Party, Jotaro Kawakami, Chairman of the Socialist Party, and Kaoru Ota, Chairman of the General Council of Trade Unions.

The demand for a return to normal relations, the appeal says, is growing more insistent. After France's decision, all sections of the people are convinced that Japan should do likewise. "We are witnessing," it adds, "the bankruptcy of the policies of 'containing China' and creating 'two Chinas' that the United States Government has imposed on other countries of the world."

The appeal refers to the "irrational state of affairs" under which Japan has maintained a "state of war" with China for 15 years. It states that this is "an important political problem for Japan," which, both historically and geographically, has particularly close ties with China. It denounces the Japanese Government for following the U.S. policy of hostility and for not taking independent measures to restore diplomatic relations.

The appeal says that a crucial point has been reached when the people themselves should take action. It calls on the Japanese Government immediately to restore diplomatic relations with China and to expand trade, economic and cultural exchanges. It presses for the abrogation of the Japan-Chiang Kai-shek treaty, severance of diplomatic relations with the Chiang Kai-shek clique, and the restoration to China of its lawful seat in the United Nations.

Such action, the appeal emphasizes, "is fully in keeping with Japan's national interests" and "would contribute to the maintenance of peace in Asia."

Pentagon at Work

Oiling the War Machine

From January 25 to February 25 the U.S. Army is testing out a new idea in logistics — airlifting 4,000 troops across the Pacific from Hawaii to Okinawa. "Quick Release" — to use its code name — is a companion exercise to last October's operation when a full army division was flown from the United States to West Germany. "This new approach, tried for the first time in the Pacific," U.S. Army HQ in Japan announced, "is expected to speed up the delivery of troops to trouble spots and reduce requirements for airlift during the initial stages of an operation."

By "trouble spots" the Pentagon refers, of course, to the regions where the national-liberation movement, battering at the U.S.-propped regimes of reaction, is going from strength to strength. It is with the aim of quickly putting down the freedom

struggles in Asia and elsewhere — or in the words of UPI, "to better meet sudden wars in remote corners of the globe" — that "Quick Release" is being tried out for the rapid deployment of combat forces and equipment.

During the exercise G.I.'s, complete with their impedimenta, were flown from their base in Hawaii, while ships from a naval base in the Philippines carried artillery, tanks and other heavy equipment to meet them. AP reported from Okinawa that the entire force then moved out "to fight a mock war with aggressive guerrilla forces."

Operation "Quick Release" has aroused opposition from wide sections of the Japanese people, and from the population of Okinawa in particular. The Okinawa Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs has asked the Legislative Assembly to get the U.S. manoeuvre suspended. The People's Party and the Democratic Youth League have decided to demonstrate and protest against what *Akahata*, organ of the Japanese Communist Party, rightly condemns as "a military action geared to the U.S. strategy of aggression in the Pacific."

For the United States is not just conducting an isolated exercise in logistics. It will airdrop detachments of Okinawa-based "special forces" in Thailand to take part in what a Thai army spokesman boasted of as one of the biggest "anti-guerrilla war" manoeuvres ever seen in Southeast Asia. The exercise in Thailand, which begins on February 22, is named Operation Kitti — after Thai Premier Kittikachorn. It illustrates the scope and magnitude of U.S. war moves in Asia.

The Johnson Doctrine

New Threat to Arab States

Heedless that his namesake Deputy Under Secretary of State Alexis Johnson had recently got his ears boxed for threatening the Arab people, the U.S. President came out with public endorsement of Israel in a speech to the Weizmann Institute of Science on February 6. This blunt disregard for Arab rights and feelings was sharply condemned, both by Arab governments and public opinion.

The day after Johnson spoke, Shukairy, the Palestine delegate to



Crumbling

the Arab League, gave a point by point rebuttal of his unctuous words about peace and U.S.-Israeli co-operation. "Water should never divide men — it should unite them," said the mealy-mouthed Johnson. To which Shukairy replied that U.S. help to Israel was being pushed at the expense of the Palestine people. Johnson preached that "the most plausible solution to war is simply for each nation to leave its neighbours in peace" — and, as Shukairy pointed out, this was just what Washington was not doing in its relations with neighbouring Cuba.

Several Arab governments censured Johnson's speech. Kuwait delivered a note of protest to the U.S. Ambassador and its National Assembly adopted a resolution calling on all Arab people to defend their rights. Libya released a statement denouncing the U.S. collusion with Israel and calling Johnson's address "an open defiance of the Arab people and the Arab summit conference resolutions."

Side by side with these official reactions, there was scathing comment from the Arab press. "The whole situation is now clear following Johnson's speech. Israel is officially declared a base of aggression in the Middle East," stated *Al Gomhouria* in the U.A.R. Johnson's peace, said *Al Akhbar*, was based on aggression against the Arabs, occupation of their land and discrimination against one and a half million homeless Palestine refugees. And *Al Massa*, also in the U.A.R., noted that the U.S. President's policy was a continuation of that of Dulles and Truman. "Johnson threatened us that he can destroy any enemy in any place of the world, but he forgot that the threat is useless at present and that the age of trusteeship of small countries by big ones is gone."

The Baghdad *Al Gomhouria* commented that Washington had chosen to pursue a tough policy towards the Arabs. It knew full well that the Arab states had passed a historic resolution to fight against any power siding with Israel and abetting its aggression. No one should blame the Arabs for any measure they took in self-defence.

The Syrian *Al Baath* said that Johnson's speech was full of sophistry. He had called Israeli plunder an act of peace and the Arab people's

defence of their rights and national independence an act of war. This was the logic of the U.S. imperialists. The paper described the U.S. intervention in Cyprus and its support for Israel in the Jordan diversion project all part of the imperialists' scheme to recover their lost ground in the Middle East.

The Eisenhower Doctrine died an ignominious death, scorned by the Arab people; the Johnson Doctrine will meet a similar fate.

Disarmament Talks

Game of Make-Believe

Resumed on January 21, the 17-nation disarmament conference in Geneva already presents the world with further examples of Soviet-American co-operation in make-believe disarmament.

In what was described by the Bulgarian delegate as a step "to meet the Western positions half way," the Soviet Union has introduced a new proposal giving the U.S. and the Soviet Union the right to maintain their "nuclear missile umbrella" during all three stages of disarmament. In the words of Soviet delegate Tsarapkin, since the Western countries consider the complete liquidation of rocket-nuclear weapons a threat, the new amendment sees to it that the entire process of disarmament, from beginning to end, would be under the cover of the "nuclear missile umbrella." This means that the Soviet Union is giving up its original proposal to destroy all nuclear weapons

in the first stage of disarmament. Instead, it is proposing that the U.S. and the Soviet Union keep a fixed quantity of inter-continental ballistic missiles, anti-missile missiles and anti-aircraft missiles until the end of the third and final stage of disarmament.

Another proposal advanced by the Soviet Union as part of nine measures on which it is prepared to reach agreement with the West is the destruction of bombers, already made obsolete by missiles. According to Tsarapkin, this is supposed to cover all kinds of bombers in all countries, including China and France which do not take part in the Geneva talks. That this is agreeable to Washington was made clear by State Department spokesman Phillips who said "we welcome the Soviet statement insofar as it connotes acceptance of an approach suggested by the United States some time ago."

While all this disarmament double-talk goes on, the U.S. is actually conducting bigger underground nuclear tests and producing, as a result, nuclear warheads of greater effectiveness and variety. In its annual report to Congress, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission disclosed on January 30 that in 1963 — the year the partial nuclear test ban treaty was signed — the United States substantially increased "the yield of the warhead associated with the Polaris, Minuteman and the Titan systems." The report also reveals that the U.S. will step up its experiments and affirms that the "greatly expanded programme of underground testing" will result in "further improvements all along the line."

THE PASSING SHOW

A New Olympic Record

The unsuccessful U.S. team at the Innsbruck Winter Olympics did set up one new record — three of its members stole a car. They were arrested by police after a chase through downtown streets and received suspended sentences for attacking Austrian officers in their attempt to resist capture.

The Acquisitive Society

England was called "a nation of shopkeepers" by Napoleon. Now she has been christened "a nation of gamblers" by the London *Financial Times* following a recent report by the Commissioners of Customs and Excise which revealed that 16,539,214 Britons are members of gambling clubs whose annual profits totalled £14,389,000. And the *Daily Mail*, commenting on the current betting craze, observed: "We are not only prepared, but ever willing, to bet on almost anything: football, horses, dogs, elections — and royal births."

ENTERTAINMENTS

Spring Festivities in Peking

Plays and operas on contemporary themes headed this year's Spring Festival entertainments programme in Peking. Currently taking the capital by storm, *Never Forget*, a play about a family of workers, was showing at five different theatres. *The Drought Fighters* and *Fighting Upstream*, two big successes fresh from the recent east China festival of modern plays in Shanghai, promise to repeat their success here.

But contemporary plays and operas did not steal the whole show. Traditional Peking operas such as the historical *Empress Wu Tse-tien*, the legendary *Women Generals of the Yang Family*, or those about the ever popular monkey king Sun Wukong and his exploits also drew packed houses.

Cinema-goers saw, among many new films, *The Fen River Flows On* and *The Seal*—two feature films about peasants' struggles past and present, *Little Soldier Chang Ga*, about the adventures of a lovable village boy (acted by An Chi-ssu, a primary school pupil from Inner Mongolia) in the war against the Japanese invasion, and *Our Village*

Lads and Lasses (Part II), the coloured sequel to the delightful earlier hit.

A recital by the popular singer of folk songs Kuo Lan-ying and vocal and instrumental concerts by the Central Philharmonic Society and the visiting Shanghai Philharmonic Society brought music-lovers professional renditions of revolutionary songs the whole nation is singing.

Art-lovers visited three new exhibitions at the Museum of Chinese Art: "Commune Scenes," with 300 paintings and drawings in various media portraying China's new countryside, an exhibition of New Year pictures (*nian hua*) with prints from all over China, and a photo exhibition of the First Games of the New Emerging Forces. Beihai Park displayed New Year prints from the north China area, and from east China, a rich collection of Chekiang Province's famed handicrafts—stone carvings and bamboo and wood work.



"The Bright Light of Happiness Shines on High" Spring Festival in the rural people's commune
New-Year picture by Wang Hsin

The parks were open free to all for three days with a variety of performances by top professional troupes. Zhongshan Park, flanking Tien An Men Gate, featured as well a display of rare orchids together with a "Welcome Spring" flower show of peonies, and plum blossoms and other early spring blooms. Beihai Park gave a nightly "flower" show of a different kind (up to March 1)—300 kinds of "flower lanterns" made of silk or paper in an astonishing variety of the most attractive shapes. The ancient Drum Tower overlooking the north end of the city threw open the doors of its many rooms for demonstrations by master folk artists making birds out of velvet or figurines out of dough. Here art-lovers also met and talked to famous painters and calligraphers and watched them at work.

Practically all the capital's best sportsmen in football, basketball, volleyball, table tennis, gymnastics and Chinese *wu shu* (boxing and fencing) could be seen at one time or another in exhibition matches or performances. A particularly interesting



"Morning"—a Spring Festival print by Shih Pang-hua from Weifang, Shantung, famous centre of New-Year pictures

The folk rhyme at the top says:
The rooster crows with all his might;
His cook-a-tu drives off the night,

The Party secretary, smiling, cries:
"You sleepy head! Tomorrow rise
and shine before it's light!"

game for young football fans was the mini-soccer match—7 men a side on a small field—between two teams of veteran all-China players. The Spring Festival round-the-city foot race was run on freshly fallen snow this year, but champion Tsui Yun-hai, miner, proved that it pays to keep up practice in all weathers. The 35 min. 51.2 sec. he returned for the roughly 10,000 metres course is only 7 min. short of the world record for the same distance on the cinder track.

Peking's children and their parents have been crowding in their tens of thousands to the 10-day traditional Spring Festival Fair at Liulichang hard by the Hopingmen Gate. It was bigger and more attractive than ever this year with hundreds of stalls of colourful kites, diabolos and other toys, art and handicraft work, gold fish and flowers, and delicious sweetmeats and snacks made in styles famous in various parts of the country, and gathered here for the delectation of the capital.

MEDICINE

Two Books on Uighur Medicine

Two books summing up the experience of centuries of Uighur medicine have been published in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. They are the *Kanungchieh* (Principles of Medicine) and *A Handbook of Useful Prescriptions and Preparations of Uighur Medicine*. These books, the first in this field ever printed in the Uighur language, give a comprehensive account of the diagnosis and treatment of diseases, the use of drugs, prescriptions, drug preparations and nutrition in traditional Uighur medicine.

Uighur medicine has a rich fund of clinical experience. It is linked with Arabic medicine as developed and handed down by such famous doctors as Avicenna. But it was a dying art at the time of liberation. Although Uighur doctors had been practising for centuries, they never had any medical books in their own language to go on. Healing knowledge was passed down by word of mouth from master doctors to apprentices. There were in existence only fragmentary handwritten records of ancient diagnostic methods and prescriptions and these

were in either Arabic or Persian. None of them had been brought up to date. The publication of these two new books, at a time when the Uighur art of healing is vigorously reviving in Sinkiang, where most of the Uighurs live, will be of direct and great service to the many Uighur practitioners now found in the region.

Over 300 Uighur medical personnel are now working in the hospitals and clinics of Uighur medicine set up in seven major cities of Sinkiang. In addition to their clinical work, they are studying and summarizing the medical experience of their people. The *Handbook* was collectively compiled by one such group of doctors at the National Hospital in Kashgar, the biggest of its kind in Sinkiang.

The *Kanungchieh* is the work of the late Yusuf Hadji. This famous Uighur doctor studied medicine as apprentice and assistant to doctors in Aksu and Kashgar and had over 50 years of medical practice, but it was only during his last years, when in his seventies, that he was able to settle down to a life of security with the help of the People's Government, recollect his experiences in quiet and produce this work. After its founding in 1956, the clinic of Uighur medicine which he headed started a major work of recording and resuscitating Uighur medical knowledge. Its pharmacy produced and tested several hundred traditional medical substances and major preparations. It also sifted out the recipes and nostrums which doctors were bringing out of their archives. Some of these had been "family secrets" which doctors were now prepared to put at the public service.

Uighur medicine makes great use of local herbs and the clinic had a collection of 300 grown in its own gardens or gathered from the peasants of the Kunlun Mountains. In making their diagnosis the Uighur doctors ask the patient the usual general practitioner's questions, study the pulse, eyes, tongue, and take note of other physical signs. Herbs are their chief source of medicine, but certain minerals and metals are used as well.

Dr. Yusuf Hadji and his colleagues have played an honoured part in the big development of medical services and facilities which, since liberation, has taken place throughout Sinkiang, where many national minorities besides the Uighur live.

Yusuf Hadji had long dreamt of ways of making his healing art widely available to the people. Happily he lived to see his dreams being fulfilled.

BASKETBALL

Sinkiang Women Take the Lead

Surprise winner of the 1963 national women's basketball championship was the team from the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, which was placed only 21st in 1962. This made Sinkiang the first team from a national minority area to win an all-China competition—further evidence of the great progress being made in these areas in sports since the founding of New China.

In the final rounds of the 1963 championship played in Peking, Sinkiang won 6 of 8 matches. It lost to the Kwangtung and Liaoning teams in the early stages of the finals but its players then found their true form and defeated all their other opponents including the 1962 champion "August First" of the People's Liberation Army, and two other redoubtable teams, Peking Youth and Hopei Province.

Sinkiang's match against the "August First" team was one of the most spectacular of the championship. The army players who are noted for their fast, spirited play had won the championship title a number of times. On this occasion, however, the Sinkiang girls matched them in speed and stamina and ran out the winners 73-70 after a closely contested and exciting 40 minutes. At the 1962 championship "August First" had defeated Sinkiang by more than 20 points.

Since its formation in 1958, the Sinkiang team has made rapid progress. In 1960 it qualified for the nation's first-division competitions and though not then an immediate championship prospect it learnt much from playing against the best teams from other parts of the country. It stored up the experience gained and developed its own style. The success of Sinkiang in the 1963 championship is due in part to the hard practice and efforts of its players but also to the unstinting help and advice from other teams.

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