

# PEKING REVIEW

37

September 11, 1964

## New Polemic On the Philosophical Front

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Concerning Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's Concept  
That "Two Combine Into One"

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

SELECTED WORKS  
OF  
MAO TSE-TUNG

Volume IV

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Russian Editions

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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

September 11, 1964 Vol. VII No. 37

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## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• Foreign Minister Chen Yi on September 7 replied to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam Foreign Minister Xuan Thuy's urgent message of September 4 warning of U.S. preparations for another armed attack on the D.R.V. Chen Yi declared that China would resolutely fight to the end together with Viet Nam should the U.S. dare launch a fresh attack.

• China's Foreign Ministry sent the Indian Embassy a note on September 1 refuting fabrications contained in the Indian note of July 28, about alleged movements of Chinese armed personnel on the western sector of the Sino-Indian border.

• Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent greetings to the Second Arab Summit Conference in Alexandria, U.A.R.

• Fakhr-ed-Dine Mohamed, first Sudanese Ambassador to China, presented his credentials to Chairman Liu Shao-chi.

• After a visit to Indonesia, Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the C.C. of the C.P.J., and his party have arrived in China for a visit at the invitation of the C.C. of the Chinese Communist Party.

• The Chinese press published:

— extracts of an article carried in *Akahata* (August 8), organ of the C.P.J. exposing Yoshio Shiga and other Japanese renegades as tools in the plot to split the international communist movement.

— news of the 10th Plenum of the C.C. of the Japanese Communist Party, which discussed questions of the international communist movement and unanimously agreed on the steps to be taken.

— extracts from a recent speech by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, condemning the help given by the modern revisionists to the imperialists in the cultural field.

— excerpts from "The Communist Movement and Revolutionary Duty," an article from *Keunroja*, theoretical organ of the C.C. of the Korean Workers' Party.

### Chairman Mao Receives Asian and African Visitors

Chairman Mao Tse-tung recently received and had a cordial, friendly talk with Sonsi Desakhambou and Pase Sisaleum, leader and deputy leader of the Neo Lao Haksat art troupe, as well as its main performers.

Chairman Mao also recently received a number of guests from the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar: members of a broadcasting delegation led by Joseph Nyerere, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Information and Tourism; Bibi Titi Mohamed, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry for Community Development and

National Culture of the U.R.T.-Z. and Chairman of the National Union of Women of Tanganyika. Chairman Mao had a cordial and friendly talk with his African guests.

### Chairman Liu Sees Laotian Concert

The Neo Lao Haksat Art Troupe continues its highly successful series of performances in Peking. Chairman Liu Shao-chi was among the enthusiastic audience who saw its performance on September 3. Peking audience delight in the national distinctiveness of the items presented, particularly the colourful Laotian dances, and quicken to the militant, revolutionary spirit that inspires the whole performance.

On the same evening, Chairman Liu received Sonsi Desakhambou and Pase Sisaleum, leader and deputy leader of the troupe respectively, with the other members of the troupe.

### **Chinese Leaders at Viet Nam Reception**

Ambassador Tran Tu Binh marked the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam's National Day with a reception on September 2. In the Peking Hotel Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China, attended the reception together with Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, Chen Yi, Lo Jui-ching, Lin Feng and other Chinese Party and state leaders.

Both Ambassador Tran Tu Binh and Vice-Premier Chen Yi spoke at the reception.

Speaking of the recent U.S. armed aggression against his country and the telling rebuff suffered by the aggressor, the Vietnamese Ambassador once again denounced the U.S. plot to extend its war of aggression in Indo-China through the instrumentality of the United Nations, and thus take a further step in scrapping the 1954 Geneva agreements. Vice-Premier Chen Yi in his speech made it clear that U.S. imperialism must be held responsible for all consequences arising from the crime it had committed. He added that Washington would not be allowed to get away with it.

A Vietnamese Film Week began on the same day as part of the celebrations.

### **Bulgarian National Day**

The 20th anniversary of Bulgaria's socialist revolution fell on September 9. The day before, Chinese Communist Party and government leaders, Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai, sent a joint message to the Bulgarian Communist Party and government leaders T. Zhivkov and G. Traikov. The Chinese leaders conveyed warm greetings to the Bulgarian comrades and the fraternal Bulgarian people and congratulated them on the successes in their socialist construction.

Speaking of the deep friendship between the Chinese and Bulgarian peoples, the message said: "To safeguard and strengthen this friendship is not only in full accord with the common desire of our two peoples but also in the interest of the unity of the socialist camp. As in the past, the Chinese people will always continue to strive for consolidating the friendship and unity of the two peoples, strengthening the unity of the socialist camp, opposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war and defending world peace on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement."

On the same day, the Bulgarian Ambassador to China, Kristu Stoihev, gave a reception which was attended, among others, by Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Tan Chen-lin and Ling Feng, a Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee.

At the reception, Vice-Premier Chen Yi proposed a toast to the prosperity of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to the friendship between the Chinese and Bulgarian peoples, to the solidarity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to world peace.

On September 6, the Evergreen Sino-Bulgarian Friendship People's Commune on the outskirts of Peking entertained the Bulgarian Ambassador and his wife as well as other members of the Bulgarian Embassy at a Chinese film show to celebrate Bulgarian National Day. The China-Bulgarian Friendship Association also gave a cocktail party in honour of the occasion.

### **Indian Fabrication Refuted**

In a note sent to the Indian Embassy in China on September 1 the Chinese Foreign Ministry refuted the Indian Ministry of External Affairs' note of July 28. The Indian note had groundlessly fabricated that on May 30, 1964, armed Chinese personnel were observed eight miles

north of Fukche and that similar military activities were also observed in the Kongka La, Jara La and Chang La areas on the western sector of the Sino-Indian border.

The Chinese note said, "The fact is that since the withdrawal [of the Chinese frontier guards] on China's initiative in the end of February 1963, no Chinese military personnel had at any time ever been to these areas. And the Indian Government is fully aware that all the above-mentioned places are within Chinese territory and that the 20-kilometre-wide demilitarized zone was vacated through the withdrawal [of its frontier guards] by China from its side of the boundary merely for the purpose of relaxing the border situation and promoting a reconciliation between China and India. It is really the height of absurdity for the Indian Government to assert stubbornly on the basis of a fabrication of its own making that Chinese troops were engaged in 'military activities' in these places and lodge a so-called protest with the Chinese Government. The Chinese Government cannot but categorically reject it."

The note pointed out: "The Indian Government's purpose of tirelessly fabricating lies about Chinese 'intrusions' is obviously to create tension so as to achieve its unrepresentable aims in its domestic and foreign policies. The Indian Government's unreasonable stand of persistently rejecting a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations and its continuous provocations of sending military personnel and aircraft to intrude into China's territory and air space are becoming ever more obnoxious and have placed it in an extremely difficult position both at home and abroad. Thereupon, the Indian Government sought help through spreading lies, vainly attempting thereby to counterbalance the tremendous influence produced by the measures taken by China for the peaceful settlement of the boundary question, cover up India's intrusions and escape condemnation by the people of India and by other Asian and African countries and just world opinion. However, lies can in no

way take the place of the facts. Such a vicious practice on the part of the Indian Government can only serve to expose itself all the more and cannot have any other result."

### **French Technical Exhibition In Peking**

With Vice-Premier Chen Yi at his side, Nan Han-chen, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, cut the ribbon on September 5 at the opening of the French Technical Exhibition in Peking. Measuring instruments, control apparatus and components and farm machinery were among the things on display. The exhibition will last 20 days.

Guillaume Georges-Picot, honorary president of the exhibition, in his speech at the opening ceremony saw the display as an expression of economic co-operation within the wider scope of friendship between France and China. Franco-Chinese friendship and co-operation, he said, would contribute to a reciprocal success.

Nan Han-chen in his speech warmly congratulated the opening of the exhibition, which, he said, took place at a time when a good start had been made in economic, trade, cultural and friendly contacts between the two countries following the establishment of diplomatic relations. Recalling the tradition of friendship between the two great nations of China and France, Nan Han-chen expressed confidence that the constant growth of such contacts on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence not only corresponded to the interests of the two peoples but would make an important contribution to world peace.

M.J. Duhamel, executive president of the exhibition, stressing the significance of the exhibition said that it went beyond the scope of technique and reinforced the friendly links between the two peoples.

Among those present at the opening were M. Colonna, representative of the French Minister of Industry and Lucien Paye, French Ambassador to China.

On the same morning, Vice-Premier Chen Yi received and had friendly talks with Monsieur and

Madame Georges-Picot, Monsieur and Madame Duhamel and Monsieur M. Colonna.

### **Condolences on C.P.U.S.A. Chairman's Death**

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on September 6 sent a message of condolence to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States on the death of its Chairman Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. The message read:

"Having just learnt of the unfortunate death after illness of Comrade Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, we send you our condolences and request you to convey our sympathy to Comrade Flynn's family."

### **Ili's Ten Fruitful Years**

Bigger crops, more livestock and new, modern industrial plants and mines are some of the many achievements reviewed on the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou (in Sinkiang), which borders on the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic. (See p. 31.)

To celebrate the anniversary Ining, the capital of the autonomous chou on September 1, held a mass rally, a parade and a carnival that continued till late in the night. On the previous day, at a gathering of representatives of all sections of the people, Tan Tung, Vice-Chairman of the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the State Council, warmly congratulated the Kazakhs and other nationalities of the autonomous chou. He recalled that there had been serious class struggles and a struggle between the two roads, socialism and capitalism, in the ten years of revolution and construction in the autonomous chou. He reminded those present that in handling the question of nationalities, one must never forget Chairman Mao's words: "In the last analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle."

One of the most important aspects of the great achievements of the autonomous chou was that its people of all nationalities had resolutely repelled the subversive and sabotage

activities of the Khrushchov revisionist group, Tan Tung said. He described these achievements as a victory for Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

**Khrushchov Group's Subversive Activities Denounced.** Between August 26-29 the 4th People's Congress of the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou held its second session in Ining. It heard a report on the work of the chou People's Council given by Irhali, the Kazakh chairman of Ili. After reviewing the outstanding successes won by the people of the area on the political and ideological fronts and in all branches of the economy, he noted that these achievements had been made in the course of struggle against sabotage by the Khrushchov revisionist group. But the harder this group worked to make trouble, he added, the more it exposed itself in all its ugliness. This struggle had helped to enhance the political consciousness of the people of the various nationalities in the autonomous chou and inspired them to greater efforts in socialist construction.

Irhali said that the Khrushchov revisionist group had not accepted defeat. It was attempting new acts of subversion and sabotage. "Since April of this year in particular," he continued, "it has been using its broadcasting services, newspapers, magazines and other propaganda media in a strenuous effort to spread lies slandering the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. It has been attacking Chairman Mao, the great leader of our people of all nationalities, distorting the history of the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou, and trying to poison the relations among the various nationalities of this area in order to undermine our national unity."

"Still more outrageous is the fact that the Khrushchov revisionist group has been constantly creating border incidents and attempting to disrupt production in the border areas."

In carrying out these criminal activities, the Khrushchov revisionist group harboured wild ambitions. Irhali pointed out. "We must heighten our vigilance and firmly smash all its schemes for sabotage," the Chairman

(Continued on p.26.)

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## Message of Greetings From Chinese Leaders

**Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and Premier of the Cabinet of the Korean Democratic People's Republic.**

**Comrade Choi Yung Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Korean Democratic People's Republic.**

On the occasion of the 16th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Democratic People's Republic we, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party, and the Government of the People's Republic of China, extend to the fraternal Korean people, the Korean Workers' Party and the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic our warmest congratulations.

The Chinese people are elated and inspired to see that the industrious and courageous Korean people rallying closely round the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung and steadfastly following the revolutionary line of establishing an independent national economy in socialist construction have, in a short space of time, built their fatherland into an industrial-agricultural socialist country on the sound foundations of an independent national economy. This brilliant achievement of the Korean people is a great victory of the Korean Workers' Party in creatively applying the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the practice of Korea. The Chinese people are convinced that the fraternal Korean people will attain their imposing targets in carrying out the Seven-Year Plan of the national economy.

The Korean Democratic People's Republic has consistently pursued a peaceful foreign policy, resolutely opposed the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, actively supported the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed nations and peoples and made outstanding contributions to safeguarding the security of the socialist camp and defending Asian and world

peace. The Korean Democratic People's Republic is playing a role in international affairs that is daily growing in importance and enjoying ever higher prestige in the international arena.

The Korean people have waged an unrelenting struggle against the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. aggressor troops and for achieving the peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The anti-U.S., patriotic struggle of the south Korean people has continuously shaken the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism and its running dog, the Pak Jung Hi clique. The Chinese people firmly believe that the patriotic, just struggle of the Korean people will be crowned with final victory and that the earnest desire of the Korean people to unify their fatherland will be realized.

In the past year the militant friendship and great unity of the Chinese and Korean peoples was further strengthened and developed in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and the all-round co-operation for furthering the cause of socialist construction. This friendship and unity, built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is sealed with blood and inviolable. The Chinese people will for ever closely unite with the fraternal Korean people and struggle to the end for the realization of their common great revolutionary ideals.

**Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.**

**Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China.**

**Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China.**

**Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.**

September 8, 1964

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### China Celebrates Korean Anniversary

China celebrated the 16th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (Sept. 9). In Peking, the hall of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities was the scene of a ceremony on September 8. Among those present was Vice-Premier Chen Yi. Addressing the gathering, both Wei Chuan-tung, Vice-President of the China-Korea Friendship Association, and Zung Bong Koo, Korean Charge d'Affaires ad Interim, pledged that the people

of both countries would stand together and fight to the end against imperialism, modern revisionism and for the safeguarding of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the building of socialism.

Wei Chuan-tung warmly acclaimed the outstanding achievements of the Korean people in their current Seven-Year Plan under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party and Comrade Kim Il Sung. Condemning U.S. imperialism for its continued occupation of south Korea and obstruction of the peaceful re-

unification of Korea, Wei Chuan-tung reiterated the firm support of the Chinese people for the south Korean people in their patriotic struggle.

On September 6, faculty members and students of Peking University had a get-together with Korean friends studying at the school. On the following day, guests from the Korean Embassy spent a pleasant evening marking the anniversary with members of the Sino-Korean Friendship People's Commune on Peking's outskirts.

# China Reaffirms Support for the Just Stand of the D.R.V. Government

**China will resolutely stand by the Vietnamese people and,  
together with them, fight to the end should the United  
States dare to make a fresh armed attack**

*In a reply message to Xuan Thuy, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Foreign Minister Chen Yi on September 7 expressed the Chinese Government and people's firm support for Viet Nam's just stand in opposing the U.S. imperialist scheme for launching a fresh armed attack. Following is a translation of the message. — Ed.*

I HAVE received your urgent message of September 4 in which you cited conclusive facts to expose U.S. imperialism's criminal design to launch another armed attack against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and justly pointed out that the U.S. Government would have to bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom. The Chinese Government and people fully endorse and resolutely support this just stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

In order to save itself from its fiasco in southern Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism has all along been preparing to extend the war and spread the flames of war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The surprise attack made by the United States on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on August 5 was a step taken by it in realizing its plan of military adventure. U.S. imperialism's armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam met with the Vietnamese people's powerful rebuff and with strong condemnation by the people of the whole world, which have placed U.S. imperialism in a most isolated and difficult position.

But U.S. imperialism is not reconciled to its defeat. It is stepping up its war of aggression in southern Viet Nam and, at the same time, making active preparations for extending the war. The south Vietnamese people's patriotic armed forces are now continuing to

win important victories and deal heavy blows to the U.S. imperialist plan of "special warfare." The people in the areas of southern Viet Nam under the rule of the United States and its puppet regime have been waging gigantic mass struggles, which have rendered the rule of U.S. imperialism and its puppets in southern Viet Nam more shaky than ever. In these circumstances, all the peace-loving countries and people must maintain sharp vigilance against U.S. imperialism's dangerous plot of further extending the war.

U.S. imperialism has recently again massed its armed forces and U.S. warmongers have repeatedly threatened a fresh armed attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The Chinese Government deems it necessary to point out that the debt of blood incurred by the United States to the people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on August 5 has not yet been repaid and that the United States would certainly meet with the Vietnamese people's determined rebuff should it dare to make a fresh armed attack and further extend its war of aggression in Viet Nam and the whole of Indo-China. The Chinese people will resolutely stand by the people of Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese states and, together with them, fight to the end until the complete defeat of the U.S. aggressor.

The Chinese Government holds that the participating nations, and particularly the Co-Chairmen, of the Geneva Conference should seriously heed the demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and take immediate measures to stop U.S. imperialist aggression in southern Viet Nam and its plot for further extending the war so as to uphold the Geneva agreements and the peace of Indo-China.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

# Resolutely Support the Indonesian People's Just Struggle Against "Malaysia"

*Following is an abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao's" September 9 editorial.—Ed.*

**A**FTER concocting the "Gulf of Tonkin incident" and brazenly unleashing its armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism has lately been working hand in glove with British imperialism in carrying out military provocations and the threat of war against Indonesia under the pretext of supporting so-called "Malaysia."

With the connivance and support of U.S. and British imperialism, the Rahman clique made a false charge against Indonesia in the U.N. Security Council. This is evidently a scheme by which it hopes it will not find itself in the dock once it launches aggression against Indonesia; this also prepares the way for U.S. intervention under the cloak of the U.N. All this points up the fact that U.S. imperialism, while extending its aggression in Indo-China, is making use of the so-called "Malaysia" question to pave the way for invading Indonesia and spreading the flames of war to all of Southeast Asia.

Because of its opposition to the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" project and support for the just struggle of the North Kalimantan people, Indonesia has earned extreme hatred from U.S. and British imperialism. U.S. imperialism, in particular, has run the gamut of pressure, from calling off economic "aid" to subversion, to force Indonesia to abandon its just stand against "Malaysia." But all this has failed to cow Indonesia. As the North Kalimantan people wax strong in their fight for independence, U.S. imperialism which has taken upon itself the task of suppressing the national-liberation movement in Southeast Asia has turned the spearhead of its aggression against Indonesia.

In the eyes of U.S. imperialism, the control of the region of Indonesia and "Malaysia" is one of the key links in pushing its global strategy. It is precisely because of this that the United States, while intensifying its aggression in south Viet Nam, is actively interfering in "Malaysia" in a vigorous bid for linking up the battlefields in south Viet Nam and in North Kalimantan into a single front.

The resolute opposition shown by the Indonesian Government and people against "Malaysia" and against the threat of aggression from the U.S. and British imperialists is entirely just. The Chinese people firmly support this just struggle of the Indonesian Government and people. This is not only because China and Indonesia are close, friendly neighbours and the two peoples have the common task of opposing imperialism and upholding peace in Asia and are duty-bound to support each other in this struggle; it is also because the struggle against "Malaysia" is a common struggle of the people of the two countries. The aim of the imperialists in creating "Malaysia" is to oppose both Indonesia and China. In rigging up "Malaysia," British ruling circles make no secret of their aim to sow discord between the Chinese and Malays inhabiting this area so as to oppress both of them and thus ensure British domination. At the time of the formation of "Malaysia," the U.S. propaganda machine also talked about turning it into an "anti-communist bastion" and employing "U.S. and British military forces" in jointly coping with so-called "aggression from Indonesia, Communist China and north Viet Nam." The U.S. and British imperialists, together with the Rahman clique, are now persecuting people of Chinese descent in the area of "Malaysia"; they even have no hesitation about fomenting and creating clashes between the Malays and people of Chinese descent in order to whip up an anti-Chinese atmosphere and pave the way for their anti-Chinese campaign. In the face of these vicious and despicable imperialist tactics, the Chinese people naturally cannot look on with folded arms. If the U.S. imperialists are rash enough to unleash aggression against Indonesia, the Chinese people will do all they can to support the Indonesian people until the U.S. imperialists are completely defeated. Southeast Asia belongs to the people of the Southeast Asian countries and not to any imperialist power.

We are convinced that, under the leadership of President Sukarno, the Indonesian people, united and highly vigilant, will smash every aggressive design of the imperialists and achieve great victories in their struggle against imperialism, against "Malaysia" and in defence of their national independence.



# New Polemic on the Philosophical Front

## Report on the Discussion Concerning Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's Concept That "Two Combine Into One"

by "HONGQI'S" CORRESPONDENT

A NEW and heated polemic has developed on the philosophical front in China: it concerns the concepts of "one divides into two" (一分为二) and "two combine into one" (合二为一).

This debate is a struggle between those who are for and those who are against materialist dialectics, a struggle between two world outlooks—the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook. Those who maintain that "one divides into two" is the fundamental law of things stand on the side of materialist dialectics; those who maintain that the fundamental law of things is that "two combine into one" stand in direct opposition to materialist dialectics. The two sides draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and their arguments are directly opposed to each other. This polemic is an ideological reflection of the acute and complex class struggle now being waged both internationally and in China.

Counting from May 29, the date of publication in the newspaper *Guangming Ribao* of the article "One Divides Into Two" and "Two Combine Into One," by Comrades Ai Heng-wu and Lin Ching-shan, this debate has already been going on for three months. In order to get a better understanding of the present state of this polemic and in order to promote it, the *Hongqi* Editorial Department organized a forum on August 24-25 attended by cadres and students from the Higher Party School. Our correspondent subsequently interviewed a number of the comrades concerned.

The following is a report on the forum and interviews.

### The Polemic Was Provoked by Comrade Yang Hsien-chen

Comrades attending the forum stated that the polemic had started in the Higher Party School long

\*Translator's note: This phrase is derived from the formulation given by V.I. Lenin in his "Philosophical Notebooks," *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1961, p.359. "The splitting of a single whole (Russian: раздвоение единого) and the cognition of its contradictory parts . . . is the essence . . . of dialectics."

before the publication of the article by Ai Heng-wu and Lin Ching-shan.

Recalling events in the last few years, they all noted that, in line with the situation in the class struggle at home and internationally, the Party had strengthened its propaganda on the dialectical materialist concept that "one divides into two."

Our Party has pointed out that everything tends to divide itself into two. And theories are no exception: they also tend to divide. Wherever there is a revolutionary, scientific theory, its antithesis, a counter-revolutionary, anti-scientific theory, is bound to arise in the course of its development. As modern society is divided into classes and as the difference between progressive and backward groups will continue far into the future, the emergence of such antitheses is inevitable.

The Party has further pointed out: The history of the international communist movement demonstrates that like everything else, the international working-class movement tends to divide itself into two. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is inevitably reflected in the communist ranks. It is inevitable that opportunism of one kind or another should arise in the course of development of the communist movement, that opportunists should engage in splitting activities against Marxism-Leninism and that Marxist-Leninists should wage struggles against opportunism and splittism. It is precisely through such struggles of opposites that Marxism-Leninism and the international working-class movement have developed.

The Party has criticized the so-called "new concept" advanced by modern revisionism with regard to the current international situation, pointing out that this concept implies that in the present-day world antagonistic social contradictions of all kinds are waning, and that contradictory social forces are tending to unite themselves into a single whole. For instance, they hold that the conflicting forces represented by the socialist system and the capitalist system, by the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, by one imperialist country and another, by the imperialist countries and oppressed nations, by the bourgeoisie on the one hand

and the proletariat and other labouring people on the other in the capitalist countries, by the different monopoly groups in the imperialist countries, as well as the contradictions within socialist countries—that all these are uniting or on the way to unite into a single whole.

The revolutionary dialectical method summed up in the concept that "one divides into two" has been grasped more and more fully by our comrades and the masses to become a powerful ideological instrument for achieving a correct understanding of the present situation in the class struggle both domestic and international. It helps people to recognize that the contradiction and struggle between imperialism and the revolutionary people of the world are irreconcilable, and that the contradiction and struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism are irreconcilable. It enhances people's courage in opposing imperialism, the reactionaries in various countries, and in fighting modern revisionism. It increases people's confidence in victory.

But, while our Party is strengthening its propaganda on the revolutionary dialectics of "one divides into two," Comrade Yang Hsien-chen talks a lot about the concept that "two combine into one," thus setting up another platform opposite to that of the Party.

Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's idea of reconciling contradictions and negating struggles was formed a long time ago. In November 1961 when lecturing in the Higher Party School, he said: "The unity of opposites, the unity of contradictions means: the two opposites are inseparably connected." "What we want to learn from dialectics is how to connect two opposite ideas."

Since the Party strengthened its propaganda on the concept of "one divides into two," Comrade Yang Hsien-chen has disseminated his idea of reconciling contradictions with even greater zeal. In November 1963, he generalized his idea as "two combine into one," and made this public while lecturing in the Higher Party School.

In April 1964, in a lecture to the class of Sinkiang students at the Higher Party School, he further developed this thesis, making it more "systematic," and more "complete."

Subsequently, he attempted by every means to propagate this thesis, trying to thrust in his anti-dialectical viewpoint wherever possible.

Comrade Li Ming, lecturer of the research and teaching group in philosophy, also publicized Comrade Yang's thesis in the classroom. On May 14, in a class, Li declared that there had been too much talk about "one dividing into two," and too little about "two combining into one." He even encouraged his class to write articles propagating this latter concept. What Li Ming actually meant was that there had been too much talk about Marxism-Leninism, about the revolutionary dialectics of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and too little about Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's anti-dialectical

views. According to him more articles should be written on Yang's anti-dialectical views.

Both Ai Heng-wu and Lin Ching-shan said that while writing their article, they several times consulted Comrade Yang Hsien-chen. Yang helped them to revise it. Li Ming, too, twice gave suggestions for the article and revised it. Ai Heng-wu recalled that when they heard that the concept that "two combine into one" was described as a deliberate attempt to put over something new and different, and felt uncertain whether to publish their article or not, they went to Yang. Yang said: "Who said that it is something new and different? Whoever said that is ignorant." He continued: "The concept that 'two combine into one' is a matter of world outlook; the concept that 'one divides into two' is a matter of methodology." Soon after, he again encouraged Ai and Lin, saying: "The viewpoint of your article is well-founded; send it out!"

In this way, Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's concept that "two combine into one" was spread from the Higher Party School and made public through the article by Ai Heng-wu and Lin Ching-shan. Thus the debate between "one divides into two" and "two combine into one" was unfolded in the press.

This polemic on the philosophical front was therefore provoked by Comrade Yang Hsien-chen.

### **Criticism and Repudiation of Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's Concept**

After the article by Ai Heng-wu and Lin Ching-shan was published in *Guangming Ribao*, the leading comrades in the Higher Party School, seeing that the debate involved a matter of principle and that it was a debate between revolutionary dialectics and anti-dialectics, asked the research and teaching group in philosophy to hold a discussion on it. When Comrade Yang Hsien-chen was told of this by Li Ming, he was very displeased and angry.

On July 17, Comrades Wang Chung and Kuo Pei-heng wrote an article in *Renmin Ribao*, exposing and criticizing Yang's concept that "two combine into one."

At the same time, quite a number of comrades in the Higher Party School rebutted this concept in discussions and in articles in the school magazine and papers. Yet there were still some who insisted that it was correct.

Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's concept that "two combine into one" has also evoked a great deal of controversy among the general public. Some people support it; but, many criticize and reject it. Up to the end of August, more than 90 articles on the subject had been published in newspapers and in magazines, both national and local. Theoretical workers in Party schools, universities and colleges, and research institutes in various places have held forums on it.

At the present time the central question in the debate is whether or not to recognize the law of the

unity of opposites as the fundamental law of objective things, and materialist dialectics as the world outlook of the proletariat.

The majority of the students and staff workers of the Higher Party School have come to see clearly from the words and deeds of Yang Hsien-chen and others that it is not fortuitous that Comrade Yang Hsien-chen should at this time have made public the concept that "two combine into one." He has done this with the aim and plan of pitting the reactionary bourgeois world outlook against the proletarian world outlook of materialist dialectics.

Participants in the forum pointed out that Yang Hsien-chen had all along, repeatedly and painstakingly, propagated the idea that "the tendency in everything is for 'two to combine into one.'" He had talked with great zeal about "the inseparable connection" between antitheses, the "inseparability" of things, and asserted that the task of studying the unity of opposites lies solely in seeking "common demands," or "seeking common ground while reserving differences." If things are viewed in the light of his concept that "two combine into one," their internal contradictions disappear and the struggle of opposites within them disappears; the concept that one side of a contradiction must of necessity overcome the other side, that the outcome of struggle is the destruction of the old unity and the emergence of a new unity, and that old things are replaced by the new—all this too disappears. In this way, Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics is completely negated.

The concept that "one divides into two" is the kernel of the revolutionary philosophy of materialist dialectics, the world outlook of the proletariat. Using this world outlook to apprehend things, the proletariat recognizes that contradictions are inherent in everything, that the two sides of a contradiction are in a state both of unity and of struggle, and that contradiction is the motive force in the development of things. While the identity of opposites is relative, their struggle is absolute. Therefore, the task of materialist dialectics has never been to cover up contradictions, but to disclose them, to discover the correct method for resolving them and to accelerate their transformation, in order to bring about the revolutionary transformation of the world. Using the world outlook of materialist dialectics to analyse class societies, the proletariat recognizes class contradiction and class struggle; it recognizes class struggle as the motive force of social development; it firmly maintains that the proletariat must carry the class struggle through to the end and so bring about the transformation of society.

But, to view relations between the various classes of society in accordance with the concept that "two combine into one" as advocated by Comrade Yang Hsien-chen will inevitably lead to obscuring the boundaries between classes, and to repudiating the class struggle, and thus lead to the theory of class conciliation.

Comrades Yang Hsien-chen, Ai Heng-wu and Lin Ching-shan gave an intolerably distorted picture of the basis on which the Party maps out its principles, lines and policies. They arbitrarily asserted that the Party's general line for socialist construction, the principles of political life of the Party and the state, the Party's economic, foreign and cultural policies, etc., were all worked out in accordance with their concept that "two combine into one." Thus, they themselves have raised a fundamental question of political principle. However, the defenders of Yang Hsien-chen's concept that "two combine into one" are unwilling to admit that a question of political principle is involved. Actuated by ulterior motives, they have even said that an academic question should not be turned into a political question.

Some comrades maintain that Comrade Yang Hsien-chen described the concept that "two combine into one" as a matter of world outlook and the concept that "one divides into two" as a matter of methodology, and point out that this runs completely counter to the materialist theory of the unity of world outlook and methodology. The fact is that Comrade Yang Hsien-chen has time and again stressed that the aim of studying the dialectical method "is to acquire the ability to unite into one two opposite ideas." This precisely shows the complete unity of his world outlook and his methodology: both conform to the concept that "two combine into one."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "It is only the reactionary ruling classes of the past and present, and the metaphysicians in their service, who regard opposites not as living, conditional, mobile and transforming themselves into one another, but as dead and rigid, and they propagate this fallacy everywhere to delude the masses of the people, thus seeking to perpetuate their rule."\* Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's concept that "two combine into one" treats the connections between the two sides in a contradiction as precisely "dead and rigid things." Utilizing every opportunity to disseminate this kind of view, he has tried to mislead many people, thus playing a role which serves the reactionary classes.

In the debate, some people made statements which, though differing slightly, coincide in the main with Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's concept that "two combine into one." For example, some said that the controversy is merely concerned with phraseology or usage; and added that, anyone can make a slip or two when lecturing in the classroom. Others, pretending to be fair and to see the question from all sides, have advanced the idea of using the concept that "two combine into one" to supplement the concept that "one divides into two," thus making the former into one aspect of the law of the unity of opposites; they assert that only in this way can we avoid "one-sidedness." Others again, pretending to make a concrete analysis of contradictions, divide

\*Mao Tse-tung, *On Contradiction*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, p.45.

contradictions into two types: those which have "unity as their main feature," and those which have "struggle as their main feature," claiming that the concept that "two combine into one" should be used in handling contradictions which have "unity as the main feature." Still others describe the concept that "one divides into two" as a means of analysis and the concept that "two combine into one" as a means of generalization, asserting that each is a component part of the dialectical method of cognition. All these assertions, however, are nothing but attempts to defend the thesis that "two combine into one."

Many comrades pointed out that the Marxist-Leninist concept that "one divides into two" has its definite meaning and that the concept that "two combine into one" put forward by Yang Hsien-chen likewise has its definite meaning. As a technical term, "one divides into two" very accurately, vividly and colloquially expresses the kernel of dialectics, that is, the essence of the law of the unity of opposites, whereas the concept that "two combine into one" put forward by Yang Hsien-chen is systematic metaphysics from beginning to end. These are two fundamentally opposite world outlooks. How can one possibly mix them together and not distinguish the one from the other?

### **Class Struggle in the Realm of Ideology**

At the forum, many comrades touched upon the great significance of this debate in philosophy.

Philosophy is a part of social ideology; it has its distinct Party character, that is, class character. The struggle on the philosophical front invariably reflects class struggle on the economic and political fronts. In class struggle, different classes, proceeding from their respective class interests, are bound to put forward different points of view and make philosophical generalizations of these viewpoints, which are either revolutionary or reactionary. There is the revolutionary philosophy of the proletariat, and there is the reactionary philosophy of the bourgeoisie. Thus, the struggle between the two antagonistic groups is reflected on the philosophical front. Those individuals within the ranks of the proletariat who have a bourgeois world outlook or who are influenced by the bourgeois world outlook, likewise often use bourgeois philosophy to oppose the revolutionary philosophy of the proletariat.

At the present time, internationally, the revolutionary struggle waged by the people of various countries is developing vigorously against imperialism, headed by the United States, and its lackeys. Inside the international communist movement, a fierce struggle is being waged between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. In our country, the class struggle between the proletariat on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and the remnant feudal forces on the other, as well as the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads have advanced to a new, deep-going stage. Confronted with

this situation in the class struggle internationally and at home the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung place great emphasis on using the concept that "one divides into two" and the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle to combat modern revisionism and to arm our people and have proposed to crush the offensive launched by the bourgeoisie and the remnant feudal forces by carrying out a widespread movement for socialist education in the cities and the countryside. Comrade Yang Hsien-chen's propagation of the concept that "two combine into one" at such a time is precisely and deliberately designed to meet the needs of modern revisionism, and aid the modern revisionists in their propaganda for class peace and class collaboration, and also for the theory of reconciling contradictions. It is at the same time deliberately designed to meet the needs of the bourgeoisie and the remnant feudal forces at home by providing them with so-called theoretical weapons for resisting the movement for socialist education.

It has already become very clear that this new polemic, that concerns the question of who will win over whom on the philosophical front, is a serious class struggle in the realm of ideology.

That such a debate should have arisen on our philosophical front is not difficult to understand. History has shown us that whenever a sharp class struggle develops in the political and economic fields, there is bound to be acute class struggle in the ideological field as well. Social life in the Soviet Union was in a period of drastic change towards the end of the 1920s. The unfolding of the movements for agricultural collectivization and socialist industrialization and the desperate resistance put up by the kulaks and the bourgeois forces had made the class struggle in Soviet society very acute. At that time the anti-Party group of Trotsky and Bukharin emerged within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The deeper the socialist revolution went on the economic and political fronts, the greater the shock it caused ideologically to various classes and strata. It was at this crucial moment that Deborin's anti-dialectical philosophical views became the ideological weapon of the anti-Party group, while the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Stalin sharply criticized and rejected the philosophical position of the Deborin school. That struggle in the realm of ideology was precisely a reflection of the acute class struggle in Soviet society.

At the present time, the debate which has started on the philosophical front in our country is continuing. In terms of numbers of participants or of its widespread influence and great significance, a debate such as this has rarely been seen in our academic circles for many years now. It seems that it is still far from being concluded. Step by step, it is deepening. Truth always develops in struggle. Through this debate, the dialectical way of thinking will certainly triumph over the anti-dialectical and the political and theoretical level of our people will be greatly raised.

# Cadres Must Take Part in Labour in Order to Persist in the Revolution

*Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of August 28. Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

**T**HE system whereby cadres at all levels take part in collective productive labour has been put into practice throughout China's vast countryside. In many places outstanding achievements have been made in this respect, greatly facilitating the class struggle in the rural areas to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology. Whether or not cadres take part in collective productive labour is in itself a serious and sharp class struggle. A host of facts show that only by persistently taking part in collective productive labour can cadres resolutely carry on with the socialist revolution.

## **Whether or Not a Cadre Takes Part in Labour Is a Question of Class Stand**

A large number of facts such as the following have taught our cadres a profound lesson: those ex-landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and undesirable elements who have not yet been remoulded as well as bourgeois elements and people with a rather serious spontaneous capitalist tendency have the greatest fear of cadres taking part in labour; they do everything they can to prevent cadres from taking part in labour and try to lure them away from it. Contrary to this, the former poor and lower-middle peasants and the overwhelming majority of those commune members who actively participate in collective labour most heartily welcome cadres taking part in labour; they help the cadres do this in every way and are against cadres divorcing themselves from labour.

These sharply contrasting attitudes should heighten our vigilance and are well worth pondering. Why do people of different classes have diametrically opposed attitudes towards cadres taking part in collective productive labour? The reason is that, as an old saying goes, "All ingenuity comes from diligence and all evil stems from laziness." Ardent love for labour is a virtue of the proletariat and all working people whereas indulgence in an easy life and aversion to labour is a most pernicious force of habit left over by the exploiting classes. The more industrious a person is, the more will he be able to bring the vigorous revolutionary spirit into play, the better will he know how to cherish the fruits of labour of the masses of the people, and the more will he be able to keep his ideology healthy. Once a person gets lazy, seeks personal satisfaction, loafs around, turns little things to his profit

and even does evil and wicked things, he is liable to make all sorts of mistakes. How is one going to live if he does not work? It is inevitable that he will seize or steal the fruits of labour of others and wallow in the mire with the erstwhile exploiters and parasites. A cadre who does not take part in labour will, consciously or unconsciously, inevitably defend the interests of those who gain without working or gain more by working less, and become their agents. Only those cadres who persistently and diligently engage in production along with the working people can defend the latter's interests and become their staunch leaders in carrying on the socialist revolution and construction. The difference between the industrious and the lazy is indeed tremendous! The two are heading in opposite directions: one towards the bright future of the proletarian revolution and the other towards the stinking quagmire of the declining exploiting classes.

From this it is clear that whether or not a cadre takes part in labour and whether or not he ardently loves it is in essence a question of what class stand he takes. If a cadre does not take part in labour and is not very keen on labour, he cannot possibly stand firmly on the side of the overwhelming majority of the working people and resolutely oppose acts and ideas of exploitation characterized by unearned gains, and he is liable to be corrupted by the ideas of the exploiting classes, and thus a "peaceful evolution" down the capitalist road will be effected in his case. Only by conscientiously and persistently taking part in labour together with the working people, fostering and reinforcing his ardent love for labour, will it be possible for a cadre to take deep root in the class ranks of the former poor and lower-middle peasants; only in this way can he be fearless in any kind of storm and always remain firm. Only in this way can cadres from working families always maintain and constantly bring into play the innate fine qualities of hard work, plain living, industry and courage, and maintain a firm class stand on all occasions; only in this way can cadres from non-working families really remould themselves through labour and become members of the working people and really acquire the class sentiments of the proletariat.

## **Participation in Labour Facilitates Leadership in Class Struggle**

The living facts in the movement for socialist education also have profoundly educated the cadres: Where the cadres at every level persistently take part

in collective productive labour with the masses there the movement for socialist education will be developed more effectively, and comparatively profound changes will take place in the political situation in the countryside.

During the movement for socialist education, cadres at every level have raised their class consciousness and fostered their class sentiments by persistently working together with the masses of commune members, and this helps them the better to comprehend and rectify their mistakes and shortcomings in being divorced from the masses and to improve their working style and method. Thus the viewpoint of relying on the former poor and lower-middle peasants will be further clarified, the nucleus of leadership at every level and class ranks will unite more closely, and the predominance of the former poor and lower-middle peasants will be established more firmly. Under these circumstances, the well-to-do middle peasants will generally rally more closely around the Party branch and the former poor and lower-middle peasants, and will participate in collective production with greater enthusiasm; the class enemy will be further disintegrated, the handful of diehard landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and undesirable elements further isolated and all freaks and monsters in the countryside will draw in their horns.

Where cadres persistently take part in labour, there the old ideas and habit of despising physical labour and labouring people left over by history will be dealt a serious blow, and the new idea and habit of loving collective productive labour and the collective economy will develop rapidly. As a result, the enthusiasm of the mass of the commune members for collective production is higher, cadres at every level find their leadership in production more effective, and new improvements are made in the management of the collective economy. Therefore, cadres take part in collective productive labour not only because it is beneficial to their leadership in the struggle for production, but primarily because it enables them to lead the class struggle better. Only when good leadership has been given to the class struggle can the struggle for production and scientific experiment be really effectively promoted.

### **A Major Development in the Theory of Proletarian Dictatorship**

In helping cadres at every level sum up their experiences in participating in collective productive labour through living facts, restudy of the directives of the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung on cadres' participation in collective productive labour must be organized for them to understand further the great significance of the fact that only by persistently taking part in productive labour can they persist in the revolution.

Our Party has always advocated the practice of cadres' participation in productive labour. In recent

years, with the deepening of the socialist revolution, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have given closer attention to cadres' participation in productive labour and have issued several directives and stipulated a necessary system on this score. The "Directive Concerning Participation in Physical Labour by Leading Functionaries at All Levels" issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in May 1957 points out that participation by leading cadres at all levels in physical labour and the gradual integration of mental and physical labour are a development of the fine tradition of Party cadres taking part in productive labour during the Revolutionary Civil Wars and the War of Resistance Against Japan. It also declares that some comrades, under the ideological influence of the exploiting classes of the old society, have forgotten this fine tradition of the past. They look down upon physical labour and have formed a habit of seeking fame, gain and position. They are reluctant to go back to their production work once they have left it. This tendency is extremely dangerous, and the Party must wage a resolute struggle against it. The directive also points out in particular that whether or not Communist Party members take part in physical labour is a momentous test for them to see if they are capable of striving to fulfil the general task of the Party under new historical conditions.

In his May 1963 note on "The Seven Well-Written Documents of Chekiang Province Concerning Cadres' Participation in Physical Labour," Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out still more explicitly the great significance of cadres' participation in labour in the class struggle, linking it up with the task of consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship and preventing a counter-revolutionary comeback. Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in summing up the practical experience in the dictatorship of the proletariat, has put forward a series of theories and policies; one of the main contents is as follows: "It is necessary to maintain the system of cadres' participation in collective productive labour. The cadres of our Party and state are ordinary workers and not overlords sitting on the backs of the people. By taking part in collective productive labour, the cadres maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the working people. This is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system; it helps to overcome bureaucracy and to prevent revisionism and dogmatism." This is a major development in the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### **An Important Part of the Socialist Revolution**

The nature and task of our Party and state as well as those of the socialist revolution all determine that cadres must take part in productive labour to create material wealth in accordance with a definite system. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat and represents the supreme interests of all working people. The working people are the masters of our

socialist state; the leading cadres of our Party and state at all levels are both revolutionaries and ordinary workers.

Socialist revolution means the abolition of all systems of exploitation and the enforcement of the principle of "He who does not work neither shall he eat." The period of socialism is one of transition to communism, during which the differences between physical and mental labour should by no means be widened, but should be reduced step by step so as to create the conditions for the gradual elimination of those differences. If the cadres, instead of participating in labour, live far better than the ordinary working people, they will easily degenerate. Whether or not cadres at all levels participate as ordinary labourers in productive labour with the working people, therefore, involves the important questions of whether or not the socialist revolution can be carried through to the end and whether or not revolutionary cadres will assuredly never fade in colour. Cadres' participation in labour is in itself an extremely important part of the socialist revolution.

Cadres' participation in labour, which is a revolution, has made a very good start in our country. But a full account must be taken of the enormously difficult nature of the revolution. In various parts of the country many facts show that only after undergoing repeated processes of acquiring both positive and negative experiences and lessons can a cadre take part in labour regularly and combine it closely with revolutionary work. Genuine revolutionary consciousness can be firmly established only after the process of practice, knowledge, more practice and more knowledge is repeated many times, and after one ideological struggle after another. Such an ideological revolution must

be carried forward through the self-education of the cadres themselves. But, just as all mass movements for socialist revolution in all other fields cannot take place spontaneously, so the revolutionary consciousness of the masses of cadres in participation in collective productive labour cannot grow spontaneously. This growth requires repeated education and guidance by the Party organizations at various levels and the guarantee of an appropriate system.

In the countryside, the cadres' participation in labour is both a very important link binding them closely with the class army of the former poor and lower-middle peasants and the most effective weapon for resisting ideological corrosion by all exploiting classes. Its even more profound and far-reaching significance lies in the fact that it sets an example for the younger generation to follow and points up the path for the healthy development of successors to the revolutionary cause. The cadres at different levels and the successors to the revolutionary cause for generations to come must all look at labour from the proletarian viewpoint of class struggle and persist in participating in collective productive labour according to a system and on the basis of continuously raising their class consciousness. When this is achieved, there will be a reliable guarantee in the most important respect that our revolutionary ranks will be always staunch and our revolutionary cause will advance from victory to victory. The cadres' participation in labour is a revolution of profound significance and far-reaching influence — politically, ideologically and economically — a revolution which must be carried through to the end, if the socialist revolution on all fronts is to be brought forward to its conclusion.

# U.S. Presidential Election: A Farce

by OBSERVER

*Following is a translation of the commentary "Look at the Farcical U.S. Presidential Election" which appeared in the September 3 "Renmin Ribao." Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

THE curtain has gone up on the U.S. presidential election campaign which takes place once every four years. At their recent conventions the Democratic and Republican Parties each nominated their presidential and vice-presidential candidates and announced their party platforms. The next stage in this farce will be dominated by Johnson and Goldwater, the two leading actors.

## Caught in a Vise

The current campaign for the presidency is taking place at a time when the ruling groups within the Unit-

ed States are caught in a vise of difficulties both at home and abroad. During the four years of its rule, the Government, under the Democratic Party, has been severely thumped domestically and internationally. In the more than nine months since he assumed office, Johnson, far from faring any better, has gotten himself deeper in the mire.

In its domestic policies, the Johnson Administration enacted the fraudulent "Civil Rights Law" but failed to take the edge off the American Negro movement against racial discrimination. The Negro people's fight for equality and freedom has developed with added vitality. The Administration's so-called measures for tax reduction have not been able to cure the seriously ailing American economy. Many U.S. bourgeois economists have predicted that a grave economic

recession may be around the corner. The much vaunted "war on poverty" is a pure fraud which can in no way assuage the sharp class contradictions.

In foreign policy, the Johnson Administration has committed a great variety of crimes, such as massacring the Panamanian people, subverting the legitimate Brazilian Government, stepping up provocations against Cuba, directly suppressing the Congolese (L) people's patriotic struggle, conducting open armed aggression against Laos and even launching a surprise attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam under a fabricated pretext. However, all these have not only failed to save U.S. imperialism from defeats in pushing its policies of aggression and war, but have further exposed its vicious features before the world's people and landed it in unprecedented isolation. Internally, public anger is seething; externally, anti-U.S. feelings are ever mounting. Confronted with these numerous difficulties, the U.S. monopoly capital groups, despite the innumerable efforts they have made, have failed to prevent the drastic aggravation of their internal contradictions. As a result, phenomena rarely found in the past have already taken place in the current election campaign.

The U.S. presidential election is a fraud used by monopoly capital to deceive the American people. Lenin hit the nail on the head when he said half a century ago: "The people have been deceived and diverted from their vital interests by means of spectacular and meaningless duels between the two bourgeois parties."

The current election campaign is no exception. The Democratic and Republican Parties are playing opposing roles and very earnestly at that. The protagonists — Johnson and Goldwater, the two presidential candidates — wear different make-up and have publicly proclaimed their platforms in vastly different tones. The Republican Party platform makes no bones in its counter-revolutionary clamour about a "cold war offensive on all fronts," while the Democratic Party continues to resort to underhand counter-revolutionary dual tactics, using the word "peace" many times in its platform and making a show of a so-called "sense of reality" and "responsibility" required "in the search for peace." U.S. propaganda tries hard to present Johnson as the representative of those who are "sensible," and Goldwater as the embodiment of "extremism." It claims that the Democratic platform "contrasts sharply" with the Republican. Thus, it tries to create the impression that the Democratic and Republican Parties pursue two entirely different policies.

#### Modern Revisionists' Ludicrous View

Extremely ludicrous is the sight of the modern revisionist clique dancing to the tune of the U.S. propaganda machine. It chants that the Republican platform is "the most reactionary, militant and adven-

turous in American history," while hailing the Democratic platform for its "sober ideas reflecting a realistic assessment of the present-day balance of world forces" and for showing "a concern in the ensurance of peace." In its opinion, the world would be blessed with peace if Lyndon Johnson is re-elected, while it would be cursed with doom if Goldwater comes to power.

The ravings of the sabre-rattling Goldwater have filled the modern revisionists with the fear that once in power, this barefaced "knight of the cold war" would impede their further efforts to compromise with and capitulate to U.S. imperialism and disturb their fond dreams of U.S.-Soviet co-operation for world domination. They, therefore, pile their stakes on Johnson. They try by every possible means to give Johnson a helping hand in his election campaign at the expense of the fundamental interests of the people of the world. They pray that the Democratic Party will remain in power. Such opportunist and capitulationist ideas and practices are ridiculous in the extreme.

Anyone with a rudimentary knowledge of politics knows that power in the United States is concentrated in the hands of the monopolies. They map out the country's domestic and foreign policies. Both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party are mere tools in the hands of the monopolies. Of course, there are sharpening contradictions among the different groups of monopoly capital. Despite their dog-fight, however, they are in perfect agreement in the fundamental policies of intensifying their exploitation and enslavement of the people at home and seeking to dominate the world. The U.S. Administration, whether Democratic or Republican, and the U.S. President, be it Johnson or Goldwater, can only execute the set policy of the U.S. monopolies. The U.S. imperialist policy, if traced to its roots, is not determined by this or that party, this or that president.

#### Platforms of Desperate Struggle

Those who judge things for what they really are and not for what they seem to be, will easily see that the Democratic and Republican platforms are both designed to help the desperate effort to reverse the worsening situation facing U.S. imperialism.

Firstly, both platforms call for the continued intensification of the general arms drive and the preparation for all kinds of war. The Democratic Party pledges to "continue the overwhelming supremacy of our [U.S.] strategic nuclear forces," "strengthen further our forces . . . for fighting subversion" and "maintain the world's largest research and development effort . . . to ensure continued American leadership in weapons system and equipment." On its part, the Republican Party advocates the need to "maintain a superior [to that of the socialist countries], not merely equal, military capability . . . a capability of balanced force, superior in all its arms."



Secondly, while actively preparing for a full-scale war, both platforms call for the employment of different means of subversion, sabotage and aggression against the socialist countries with a view to restoring capitalism. The Democratic Party announces that it will "hasten the day" when "captive peoples living under communism" will "achieve full freedom and self-determination." The Republican Party pounds away at following "a course leading to eventual liberation of the communist-dominated nations of Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America. . . ."

Thirdly, both platforms advocate the unscrupulous suppression of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the intensification of political, economic and military infiltration of the newly independent countries so as to seize the first intermediate zone. The Democratic Party emphasizes the need to "help" the Asian, African and Latin American countries "create conditions in which freedom and independence can flourish," "support our [U.S.] friends in and around the rim of the Pacific," and "pledge unflinching devotion to our [U.S.] commitments to freedom from Berlin to south Viet Nam." The Republican Party raises a hue and cry about dealing with "all Communists now supporting or planning to support guerrilla and subversive activities," moving "decisively to assure victory in south Viet Nam," and seeing "that none of the foreign aid programmes bolster and sustain anti-American regimes."

Fourthly, both platforms want to fortify the U.S. position of aggression by putting the second intermediate zone embracing North America, Western Europe and Oceania under firm control. The Democratic Party stands for strengthening the "partnership" between the United States and its West European allies and "building always more firmly on the sure foundation of the NATO Treaty." The Republican Party advocates the need to "revitalise" the North Atlantic alliance and return other military blocs to "the forefront of [U.S.] foreign policy planning."

Fifthly, both platforms leave no stone unturned in trying to dampen the American Negroes' struggle for equality. While the Democratic Party stresses the "fair and effective enforcement . . . of the civil rights law," in reality it means continuing the Johnson Administration's violent suppression of the Negroes under the smokescreen of "maintaining the rule of law." The Republican Party also promises "faithful execution" of the law but asks in fact that local racists be allowed to persecute the Negroes more wantonly than before.

In short, the basic policies advocated in the platforms of the Democratic and Republican Parties are identical. Both are expressions of the desperate struggle of U.S. imperialism approaching its end. They show that Washington will intensify its repression of the American people and continue to push its policies of aggression and war so as to realize the objective of

its global strategy for world domination — establishing an unprecedentedly big empire by tightening control over the imperialist camp, stamping out the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and disintegrating and eliminating the socialist camp.

### "Trial Balloon"

Of course, it does not follow that the unusual phenomenon in which the Republican Party's presidential candidate Goldwater has been cast in the villain's role is not worth attention. On the contrary, one must attach importance to this because it truly reflects a trend of the U.S. monopoly capital groups in their present desperate situation. It is not groundless for a number of U.S. journals to regard Goldwater's run for the presidency as a "trial balloon" sent up by U.S. monopoly capital. As early as May last year when Kennedy was alive, the well-known U.S. columnist Walter Lippmann revealed the intention of U.S. Big Business. He wrote: "It would be just as well to try it out once and let Kennedy and Goldwater . . . fight it out and see what the country wants." To put it more plainly, U.S. monopoly groups are purposely creating an atmosphere to impel the U.S. Government to follow reckless and reactionary domestic and foreign policies in a more undisguised fashion. *I.F. Stone's Weekly*, a U.S. journal, recently pointed out that even if Goldwater failed in the election, he would still exercise influence on the domestic and foreign policies of the United States and make the Johnson Administration "turn to the right." It is thus clear that Johnson and Goldwater are both indispensable characters in the farce.

But nothing will help extricate the U.S. ruling groups from their increasingly difficult situation, or assist in their death-bed struggle. This is so no matter what deception the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie may practise in the current presidential election farce, whatever wild war cries Goldwater may shriek, whatever deceitful peace tunes Johnson may sing, or whoever is eventually elected. Rotting day by day, U.S. imperialism is having tougher and tougher going.

The farce of the U.S. election campaign once more exposes the vicious nature of the domestic and external policies of U.S. imperialism. This farce enables the American people and the peace-loving people the world over to realize more clearly than ever that the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism will never change and the revisionists' claim that the monopoly capitalists now in power in the United States are "sensible" is an obvious fallacy designed to serve U.S. imperialism. Consequently, the people will cast off their illusions and rally more closely together to fight unrelentingly against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and completely defeat its vicious plan for world domination and enslavement of mankind.

# A Criminal Political Bargain

Following is the translation of an article by "Remin Ribao's" Commentator published on September 8 under the title, "Oppose This Criminal Political Deal!" — Ed.

**B**ONN politicians and propagandists have recently been clamouring for the "peaceful" elimination of the German Democratic Republic and its socialist system. They call for "German reunification without the participation of Communists from central Germany." They openly advocate a "deal with the Soviet Union" to buy the German Democratic Republic for a certain price. This is a plot that deserves close watching.

The West German revanchists have always dreamt of annexing the G.D.R. With the backing of U.S. imperialism, the ruling circles in Bonn have, over a long period, energetically revived militarism and increased their military power in the hope of annexing the G.D.R. by force and rebuilding the German empire. While busily working out plans for military adventures, they have recently been doing their utmost to isolate the G.D.R. and prepare the dirty deal of "buying the G.D.R. from the Soviet Union" in order to achieve their aim of "reunifying" Germany "in freedom."

What makes the Bonn revanchists so bold as to push openly such an insolent plan of "buying" the G.D.R.? And what makes them regard the G.D.R. as something put on sale by certain persons? Can it be that they have received some tacit approval or hints from those who recently sang the praises of the West German militarists? But in so doing, these people are reckoning without their host. They should know that

the days of Munich are gone for good. *Neues Deutschland* put it well when it wrote, "As for the price offered to the Soviet Union, it is of course easy to give away things which one does not possess and can never obtain." The paper added, "No bargain can ever be struck by offering such prices, even in the 'free market economy.'"

The German Democratic Republic is a state of the German people themselves and a member of the great socialist community. It is not to be sold or bought by anyone. As Albert Norden, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, has declared, "It is impossible to annex the G.D.R. or buy it from any other socialist country." The destiny of Germany is in the hands of the German people. The G.D.R. cannot be bypassed in seeking a settlement of the German question. Those who want to treat the G.D.R. as a piece of merchandise and strike a political bargain at its expense will never succeed.

The Chinese people have all along supported the people of the G.D.R. in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, against West German militarism and revanchism, and for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and the settlement of the West Berlin question on that basis. We firmly support the G.D.R. people's righteous stand in safeguarding their country's sovereignty, and resolutely oppose the West German militarists' aggressive scheme to annex the G.D.R. and all criminal designs to buy or sell out that country.

## Cap in Hand to Bonn

# Another Deal in the Making

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**A**N official Bonn announcement on September 3 confirmed that N. Khrushchov will visit West Germany for political talks with Chancellor Ludwig Erhard.

As was reported earlier, the Khrushchov trip was arranged by Alexei Adzhubei, the Soviet leader's son-in-law and editor-in-chief of *Izvestia*, during his visit to Bonn last July. The West German news agency DPA had then reported that Erhard's condition for the Bonn-Moscow parley was that there should be no restriction on the range of subjects to be discussed, the German and Berlin questions not excepted.

Reporting on Washington's reaction to the September 3 announcement, AP said that U.S. officials were

"pleased" with the proposed visit, considering it a "new indication" that the Soviet leader was determined to stick to his course of "peaceful coexistence." UPI (September 4) also quoted "informed sources" in Bonn as saying that the West German leaders were prepared to offer Khrushchov "large trading credits," in return for Soviet "political concessions" which would have "to include a reorganization of the Communist regime in East Germany." It added that some West Germans saw "a ray of hope" for such a Soviet concession in the fact that the Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic did not participate in the recent Prague meeting. Khrushchov, it was reported, had there discussed the German question with the Czechoslovak President and the Polish, Hungarian and Bulgarian Foreign

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## Recent G.D.R. Statements on the Plot

**A**T a State Council meeting on June 24, Walter Ulbricht stated that Erhard was only willing to establish with the People's Democracies those relations which would permit Bonn to maintain its revanchist demands. "Mr. Erhard is ready to improve relations with the Soviet Union too, provided the latter is prepared to yield to the imperialist-revanchist demands of the federal government," he said.

The G.D.R. Foreign Ministry in a memorandum to the governments of various countries on August 3 stated that "the establishment of normal relations by a third nation with the two Germanys may be conducive" to the settlement of the question of German unification, but "the establishment of a unified Germany is entirely within the jurisdiction of the two Germanys."

In an editorial entitled "The Erroneous Way That Would Lead to Another Prewar Period," *Neues*

*Deutschland* (August 9) accused West German politicians of seeking to make a deal with the Soviet Union and "peacefully" eliminate the G.D.R. "If a certain person should . . . open the door to the burglar who had once broken into his own house and caused the most serious damage, can this be called sensible?" it asked. A way of "settling the German question by bypassing or defying the G.D.R. . . . simply doesn't exist," it declared.

On August 13, the same paper pointed out editorially that those who sought to "isolate," "buy" or "break through a certain back door into" the G.D.R. "fail to realize this important point, namely, the national question can never be solved in the absence of the G.D.R." It said: "It is imperative at present to conclude peace treaties with the two Germanys if a system of enduring peace is to be established in the whole of Germany."

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Ministers, and in the absence of the G.D.R. leaders who were not invited to take part.

If the U.S. news agencies were hopeful, DPA was jubilant. "Politicians in Bonn," it reported on September 3, "were speculating today what Khrushchov may bring with him since he is not likely to come with completely empty hands."

This of course is not the first time Bonn has been talking about striking a deal with Khrushchov. Since becoming Chancellor in October last year, Erhard has more than once indicated that he did not believe the Soviet attitude towards the German and Berlin questions "will remain unchanged for ever." West Germany, he once said, was willing to pay a high price for "reunification," adding, "We will not flinch from great material sacrifices." In an interview with the *U.S. News and World Report* published on June 8, Erhard spelt out his terms for Soviet political capitulation. "We are ready to conclude a trade treaty [with the Soviet Union]. I can only repeat we would not shun sacrifices, if by economic means we could improve the lot of the German people in the Soviet occupation zone, or could move a step towards reunification and self-determination," he said. These cant phrases are a cover for Erhard's desire to wipe out all the gains of socialism in the G.D.R. and restore capitalism there.

Revealingly enough, it is none other than Adzhubei who has lately been zestfully spreading the idea that the West German ruling circles have now become "realistic." In the series of articles published in *Izvestia* (August 8, 10, 13 and 15) after his return from Bonn, Adzhubei described Erhard as a "person one can talk with." He also expressed his admiration for Franz-Josef Strauss, saying that he has abandoned the idea of "wiping the Soviet Union off the map." According to Adzhubei, the directors of the Ruhr's biggest metal-

lurgical concern now show a "realistic spirit" towards relations with the Soviet Union and "West Germans of different political, social and economic standing now have or are beginning to have a more sensible view" of the world.

In sharp contrast to this "Bonn-has-changed" theme, the leaders of the German Democratic Republic have stressed that the present West German regime remains militarist and revanchist, that "both the present West German Chancellor Erhard and former Chancellor Adenauer are revanchists," and that Strauss is a "most aggressive extremist."

For example, the Chairman of the State Council of the G.D.R. Walter Ulbricht declared at a mass rally in Moscow on June 12: "Many people at home and abroad had hoped that Erhard's new government would follow a policy of peace, reason and goodwill." However, he added, "the course of events proves that such hopes are wrong," and "the Erhard government has not brought any essential change in the aggressive revanchist policy of West German imperialism."

Recently, Ulbricht has been even more outspoken against any double-crossing deal with Bonn. In a speech on the 25th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II and 50th anniversary of World War I, he told the 7th session of the G.D.R. People's Chamber: "The German question cannot be settled in the absence of or in opposition to the German Democratic Republic, nor can it be settled by other countries." If the Western powers and other anti-Hitler allies, he declared, instead of maintaining normal relations with the G.D.R., supported the revanchist policy of West Germany, yielded to its pressure and discriminated against peaceful Germany and its citizens, they would be going against not only the interests of peace but also their own commitments.

# A Flourishing Theatre to Serve the Socialist Economic Base

by KO CHING-SHIH

Following is the second, and concluding, instalment of a translation of the speech made by Ko Ching-shih in Shanghai at the East China Modern Drama Festival which lasted from late 1963 to early 1964. It was published in "Hongqi" (No. 15, August 15) with some revisions and additions by the author under the title "Energetically Develop and Foster a Socialist Theatre the Better to Serve the Socialist Economic Base." Ko Ching-shih is a Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the First Secretary of the Central Committee's East China Bureau. The first instalment appeared in issue No. 35. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

### III

#### **Our Socialist Era Will Surely Produce More and Better Dramatic Works of High Ideological and Artistic Standards**

Our socialist theatre will attain unprecedented new heights both in political content and in artistic quality. This is historically inevitable as it is the demand of our times.

From the criterion of socialist theatre, what after all should be counted a good play? In his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "In literary and art criticism, there are two criteria: the political and the artistic."<sup>10</sup> And he added: "Politics cannot be equated with art, nor can a general world outlook be equated with a method of artistic creation and criticism. We deny not only that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable political criterion, but also that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable artistic criterion; each class in every class society has its own political and artistic criteria. But all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second. . . . What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Works of art which lack artistic quality have no force, no matter how progressive they are politically."<sup>11</sup> **In this passage**

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has most clearly elucidated why the political criterion should come first and artistic criterion second and what are the dialectical relations between political and artistic criteria. We must examine and evaluate all works of art and literature according to this standard. The proletariat must put forward even more clear-cut demands regarding the political criterion. Proletarian dramatic art must strive for "the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form." In accordance with the specific conditions of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid down in concrete terms that in regard to the political criterion "everything is good that is helpful to unity and resistance to Japan, that encourages the masses to be of one heart and one mind, that opposes retrogression and promotes progress; on the other hand, everything is bad that is detrimental to unity and resistance to Japan, foments dissension and discord among the masses and opposes progress and drags people back."<sup>12</sup> In the socialist period, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also laid down six political criteria in his work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. Among the six, two are most basic—to be helpful to socialist transformation and socialist construction and to be helpful to the consolidation of the leadership of the Communist Party. These six criteria constitute the political standard by which we judge today whether a play is good or bad.

As regards artistic standards, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "All works of a higher artistic quality are good or comparatively good, while those of a lower artistic quality are bad or comparatively bad. Here, too, of course, social effect must be taken into account. There is hardly a writer or artist who does not consider his own work beautiful, and our criticism ought to permit the free competition of all varieties of works of art; but it is also entirely necessary to subject these works to correct criticism according to the criteria of the science of art, so that art of a lower level can be gradually raised to a higher level and art which does not meet the demands of the struggle of the broad masses can be transformed into art that does."<sup>13</sup> Comrade Mao Tse-tung did not consider the question of art of a high or low level, or good or bad art, as being something

<sup>10</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, p. 29.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, p. 30.

abstract and leave things in a void. Time and again he has emphasized that proletarian art must meet the demands of the struggle of the masses and serve proletarian politics better. He has always maintained that a struggle on two fronts must be waged on questions of art and literature, that is to say, a struggle both to oppose the tendency to produce works of art with wrong political viewpoints and the tendency towards "the poster and slogan style" which is correct in political approach but lacking in artistic power.

Fine works of art are created under certain social and historical conditions; they are not created entirely according to the subjective will of individuals. All good works of art and good artists are products of their times. In our country, which is in the midst of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, we have the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung; our revolutionary banners are held high and are clear for all to see; the people are keen and enthusiastic in the cause they fight for; the cause of socialism is forging ahead vigorously and the face of our society is changing from day to day, from month to month — such a rich, colourful and vivid life as we lead today is in every respect unknown to the people of ancient times. **On this basis, there have inevitably emerged a number of good, revolutionary writers who produce very good works that are fine in political content and are of high artistic value. This is determined by the times. If a particular writer does not write such books, someone else will; if he fails to produce a fine piece of work, someone else will; and if one piece of work is not so good, then another will be.** Today, in imperialist and capitalist countries, because capitalism has decayed and is in its decline, it is impossible for the men of letters who persist in their reactionary, bourgeois stand and viewpoint to create good works: they can only produce works which reflect bourgeois ideology and the sick bourgeois way of life. In countries where revisionism is in power, where the revisionists, while not making revolution themselves, do not allow others to make revolution, the revisionist writers, who are anti-Marxist-Leninist, too, can only produce works that are decadent, languishing, empty and reactionary, works that demoralize readers and pave the way for the restoration of capitalism.

Of course, the existence of a rich and colourful social life is only the objective condition under which fine works may be produced. **Writers must exert subjective efforts to produce fine works; without such efforts, without painstaking work, fine works will still not be produced. The production of a fine work of art is a process of arduous, creative work, a process in which our writers go deep into life, familiarize themselves with it, and steadily elevate their ideological and artistic levels.** A play, in particular, if it is to win popularity among the broad masses, if it is to become a fine play liked by the masses, must be continuously revised, polished and improved to perfection by absorbing the opinions of the audience on a wide scale during the course of staging.

All the items presented at the East China Modern Drama Festival have been repeatedly revised and polished, and they will continue to be revised, polished and perfected to form a permanent part of our repertoire. Some people, however, in dealing with certain roughnesses in socialist plays — roughnesses which are inevitable at the start as in the case of anything new — instead of taking an attitude of giving warm support and positive help, go in for fault-finding and making difficulties, nagging and pointing an accusing finger, leaving the strong impression that they are concentrating attacks on one flaw while ignoring other good qualities. Their attitude is actually one of saying "no" to plays on revolutionary, contemporary themes. Obviously, this is an incorrect attitude. Can plays on contemporary themes be criticized? Yes, they can be criticized. Not only that, criticism is indispensable for making plays on contemporary themes a success. But what is needed is constructive, well-intentioned criticism, not ill-intentioned, destructive criticism. As long as the attitude in criticizing is right, there is no need to worry even if the criticism itself is wrong. We admit that not a few plays with contemporary themes are very rough and need to be improved. This is something we must attend to in real earnest if we are to develop our socialist theatre and make it flourish. We are also firmly opposed to stereotyped plays written to a formula and produced in a hurry because they compromise the reputation of socialist plays and are not welcomed by the masses. Here, one point must be made quite clear: the elevation we are referring to is elevation on the basis of popularization, elevation in the direction of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, of serving socialism, not the kind of "elevation" that is divorced from the workers, peasants and soldiers, not the kind of "elevation" that runs counter to the line of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, of serving socialism.

Our theatrical workers must thoroughly remould their ideology and permanently go deep into the life of the workers, peasants and soldiers if they wish to write and stage more and better socialist plays. Why are there people who fail to produce anything in spite of the rich, colourful, vivid living reality they are faced with? The main reason is that they have not solved these two fundamental problems or have not done so well. Why are there people who are keen on promoting and writing capitalist, feudal plays but are lukewarm in promoting and writing socialist plays? Why are there some actors or actresses who very much regret not having played a role in a foreign classic play, but who do not feel sorry because they have not acted in plays reflecting the real life and struggles of today? This shows that something is wrong with their stand and attitude, something is wrong with their thinking and sentiments, and that capitalist, feudal ideas must have a very strong influence on them. People with different sentiments and different ways of thinking have different likes and dislikes. If someone does not remould his ideology but lets old ideas clog his mind, then, it is as if he has a cold, is colour blind and deaf: he cannot properly smell, see, or hear the many new things that

exist, nor will he be able to write plays depicting the new men, new things, new thoughts, new social habits of socialism, nor will he be able to stage them well. Some of our theatrical workers, like many comrades in other professions, have *not* really gone deep into life, into the struggle, and hold aloof from the masses and reality. So it is really the old things and not new things, or only new things in the abstract, and not new things in the concrete, that occupy their minds. If this is so, it is impossible for them to remould themselves successfully or produce good works of art, no matter how resolved they are to do so. **Therefore, we must go deep among the masses, into the heat of the struggle, only thus can we change our stand, attitude, ideas and feelings thoroughly and completely break away from the survivals of capitalism and feudalism. By doing this, an artist becomes mentally more active, widens his field of vision and broadens his knowledge; in this way he will find many subjects for his writing and be confident that he can produce good works of art.** "China's revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise," says Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyse all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work."<sup>14</sup> All of us theatrical workers must act in accordance with this instruction given us by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

**To produce more and better socialist plays our theatrical workers must also be courageous enough to break away wholly from all out-moded artistic concepts; they must be daring in shattering the artistic confines of the capitalist and feudal classes.** So as to reflect fully the rich, colourful and vivid life of the era of socialism, to give profound expression to the thoughts and feelings of the workers, peasants and soldiers in this era and create lively images of the advanced people of this era, it is necessary to shatter the restrictions of the banal art, that does not cater to present-day needs. Some of our theatrical workers, long under the influence of artistic concepts of the capitalist and feudal classes, often confine themselves within certain set frames of artistic creation and failing to get out of these frames, have become a conservative force acting against the renewal of art. Marx and Engels said in the *Communist Manifesto*: "The communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas."<sup>15</sup> **If we are to develop socialist plays and carry out theatrical reform, we must most resolutely make a break with the political and**

**artistic ideas of the capitalist and feudal classes handed down from the past and truly build up the political and artistic ideas of the proletariat.**

This, of course, should not be understood as a rejection of the fine artistic and literary heritage of the past, both Chinese and foreign. We should take over from that heritage all that is good, be it Chinese or foreign. The point is that a correct attitude should be adopted in so doing. We are not nihilists towards history, nor do we prostrate ourselves before the heritage of the past. Our attitude towards that heritage is to take it over in a critical way. Only so can we create completely new things that are our own. Lenin said: "Marxism has won itself its world historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat because it has by no means discarded the most valuable conquests of the epoch of the bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary, mastered and worked over all that was valuable in more than two thousand years of development of human thought and culture. Only further work on this basis and in this same direction, inspired by the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the last stage of its struggle against all exploitation, can be acknowledged as the development of a truly proletarian culture."<sup>16</sup> Comrade Mao Tse-tung also pointed out: "... we can benefit only if we treat these foreign materials as we do our food, which should be chewed in the mouth, submitted to the working of the stomach and intestines, mixed with saliva, gastric juices and intestinal secretions, and then separated into nutriment to be absorbed and waste matter to be discarded; we should never swallow anything whole or absorb it uncritically"<sup>17</sup> He further said: "We must take over all the fine things in our literary and artistic heritage, critically assimilate whatever is beneficial, and use them as examples when we create works out of the literary and artistic raw materials in the life of the people in our own time and place. . . . But taking over legacies and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work; nothing can do that."<sup>18</sup> That is to say, we should critically take over fine literary legacies, and do so for the purpose of using them as examples when we create works out of the actual life and struggles of the socialist era; we should not swallow anything raw or accept it indiscriminately in *toto*, still less should we use it to replace our own creative work. It should be admitted that the histories of China and other lands know many fine literary and artistic works such as those of the 18th and 19th centuries which, by exposing the evils of feudalism and capitalism, acquired significance for their historical times. But we must be aware that

<sup>14</sup> V.I. Lenin, "On Proletarian Culture" [written in 1920], *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 31, p. 292.

<sup>15</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *On New Democracy*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 75.

<sup>16</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>15</sup> Marx and Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p. 53.

these are legacies from the eras of feudalism and capitalism and that in their basic ideas they propagate the ideology of the feudal classes including their concepts of morality as well as the individualism, democracy and humanism of the bourgeoisie. All these are diametrically opposed to the socialist ideology of the proletariat and we must effect a most radical and thoroughgoing rupture with them. We should critically analyse the whole literary and artistic heritage, the theatre included, and the greater their influence, the more exhaustively we should criticize them. Only in this way can they be made useful to socialism and the people of today. However, some of our people have praised the literary and artistic works of the 18th and 19th centuries to the skies, and prostrated themselves before them. They don't want to analyse and criticize them. Such a blind cult of this heritage means, in practice, to propagate feudal and capitalist ideas under the pretext of taking over the heritage of the past.

Insofar as artistic forms are concerned, some fine classical works of literature and art have their unique features, and the traditional theatrical arts, too, have a set of stage conventions evolved over a long period of time. Under appropriate circumstances it is both necessary and possible—after efforts are made—to utilize and reform these old forms in order to express a new content. But form and content are closely inter-related; a new content always requires a new form of expression. Old forms utilized and reformed to carry a new content are no longer purely old forms; in a certain sense and for all practical purposes they can be described as a kind of new form. The conventions of traditional plays are suited to the portrayal of the ancients. Without proper reform they cannot satisfactorily depict the new people of today. To portray the workers, peasants and soldiers of today on the stage requires the introduction of their images, their language, manners and actions, that is, the introduction of new forms of expression which can hardly be found in the artistic and literary works or the theatrical arts of the past. After all, when portraying heroes from among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers on the stage we cannot present their language, actions, style, etc., in such a way that they take on airs and graces and become affected and ostentatious like the feudal and capitalist classes! A change of content necessarily demands a break-through in the forms of expression. Certain artistic skills taken over from the past can, when conscientiously reformed, be used to portray our contemporaries; this is an aspect of things which we should not overlook. The main aspect, however, should be the extraction from actual life of artistic forms suited to the portrayal of our contemporaries. The images, language, manners and actions of workers, peasants and soldiers can, when drawn from actual life and artistically refined and polished, become very good and beautiful artistic forms. **This means that theatrical workers will eventually find new forms suited to the representation of socialist life as a result of integrating themselves more closely with the masses of workers, peasants and**

**soldiers, through extensive artistic practice in staging plays and operas on contemporary themes depicting these masses and through a process of prolonged exploration and accumulation of experience. These new forms will inevitably have a more strongly marked national and mass character.** Some of our people, however, are overawed by the present boundaries of their art and dare not go one step beyond those boundaries. They lack the courage to make a break-through and introduce innovations. What they have been engaged in is merely uncritical transplanting and copying. Comrade Mao Tse-tung already cautioned us a long time ago: "Uncritical transplantation or copying from the ancients and the foreigners is the most sterile and harmful dogmatism in literature and art."<sup>19</sup> **In all our theatrical arts, with regard to both their form and content, we should weed through the old to let the new emerge—weed out the old, i.e., feudalism and capitalism, and let the new, i.e., socialism and communism, emerge. Failing this, these arts will not only disqualify themselves politically, but will stop growing artistically; in the end they will inevitably be swept aside by the times and discarded by the masses.**

All in all, we must believe that there is no ancient whose attainments cannot be excelled and that those who come after are capable of making ever greater achievements. We should not be complacent with regard to whatever has been left us; we should not eulogize the old and disparage the present; we should not blindly believe in the past. This applies to the sciences as well as to the theatrical arts, and, indeed, to every branch of our activities. However, this by no means signifies that we shall not encounter difficulties as we advance, and that the growth of our socialist theatre will all be plain sailing. The building of our socialist theatrical arts will be a protracted and arduous task. Our socialist theatre will have to go through a process of developing and perfecting itself. Both feudal and capitalist cultures and arts came into being and grew up over a long period of time. China's feudal culture and arts had a history of vicissitudes lasting for several thousand years. The development of capitalist culture and arts in the Western European countries, with the "Renaissance" as its inception, also took several hundred years. In our country, socialist culture and arts have a short history of just 15 years, and our socialist theatrical arts are after all just a budding sprout. **The creation of a socialist theatre is in itself a great and profound revolution. To put our socialist theatre on a firm basis and completely edge off from the stage those plays which disseminate feudal and capitalist poison will require concerted, protracted and arduous efforts and struggles on the part of our script writers, directors, actors, actresses and other theatrical workers.** When faced with difficulties, we must not lose heart or fear to forge ahead. As long as we follow a correct direction, make unceasing efforts and continuously enhance the ideological and artistic level of our socialist theatre, we shall

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, p. 19.

be able to bring into being a theatre which will measure up to this great era of ours and enrich the stage with a matchless flourishing of artistic flowers.

#### IV

#### **Hold Still Higher the Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thinking on Art and Literature; Strive for the Development and Flourishing of a Socialist Theatre**

The class struggle, both at home and internationally, will exist throughout the entire period of socialism and will be protracted, complicated and tortuous. Art and literature is a weapon in the class struggle, and a barometer of the times. The class struggle is inevitably reflected in art and literature. The question of whether or not our art and literature should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and socialism, represents a serious and protracted class as well as ideological struggle on the front of art and literature. In this struggle, if proletarian ideology does not take over the hegemony, revisionist ideas will advance unchecked and pave the way for the restoration of capitalism; if socialist drama does not occupy the stage, capitalist and feudal drama will take it over and make it an encumbrance to the socialist revolution and socialist construction. We must always bear in mind the fact that at present there still exists the struggle between two classes and two paths, and that bourgeois and feudal ideologies still exist. We should not for a single moment forget the class struggle. All our revolutionary theatrical workers and workers in the field of art and literature must hold still higher the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking on art and literature, make it still more clearly visible for all to see and strive to build a socialist theatre, art and literature. All workers in the theatrical, art and literary fields must conscientiously study Mao Tse-tung's thinking, study his views on art and literature, seriously, repeatedly and with a determination to master them, so as to raise their level of cognition and remould their ideology, so as to ensure that our socialist theatre, art and literature will advance with firmer, bolder strides along the path charted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

**If the line of art and literature set forth by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is to be firmly adhered to, the Party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to let the new emerge" must be correctly carried out. This is a basic policy guiding the reform and development of our theatrical art. Practice has shown that this policy is completely correct. It was put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in accordance with the line of art and literature serving the workers, peasants and soldiers; it is also to make art and literature serve the workers, peasants and soldiers still better. This is a policy that helps to develop socialist art and literature in our country, and bring it to a flourishing state. It is definitely not a policy that protects feudal and capitalist art and litera-**

ture and should never be utilized for the development of things which are feudal or capitalist. We are for the free development and contention of different themes, different styles and different schools of art along the socialist line. But we shall never tolerate works that speak for capitalism and feudalism.

**To advance our socialist theatre and make it flourish, it is necessary to organize and step up the building of the ranks of our revolutionary theatrical workers; that is, bring up a body of theatrical, art and literary workers who are capable of correctly implementing Mao Tse-tung's thinking on art and literature and who are politically sound and professionally expert.** Theatrical, art and literary workers, including playwrights, directors, actors, musicians and decor artists, should first of all make up their minds to become staunch proletarian fighters and work to revolutionize themselves continuously. **The question of revolutionizing the ranks of our theatrical workers is one of paramount importance. It must be urgently solved. Revolutionization means to become truly proletarianized and communist, to equip our minds with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking.** As far as our theatrical workers are concerned, however, quite a number of people have not yet completed their socialist ideological remoulding and have still not acquired many proletarian ideas. On the contrary, some of them are still seriously infected with bourgeois and even feudal ideas, and yet they are appearing on the stage and making propaganda every day and have a very great influence on the masses. Hence the question arises: in exactly what image should they transform the world: the proletarian image, the socialist image, or the image of the capitalist and the feudal classes? Chairman Mao Tse-tung points out: "Intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin always stubbornly try in all sorts of ways, including literary and artistic ways, to project themselves and spread their views, and they want the Party and the world to be remoulded in their own image. In the circumstances it is our duty to jolt these 'comrades' and tell them sharply: 'That won't work! The proletariat cannot accommodate itself to you; to yield to you would actually be to yield to the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie and to run the risk of undermining our Party and our country.' Whom then must we yield to? We can mould the Party and the world only in the image of the proletarian vanguard."<sup>20</sup> This statement of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is of extremely deep educational significance. **The educator himself must first of all be educated. If we do not earnestly remould our bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, and firmly uphold proletarian revolutionary ideology, it will be impossible for us to achieve revolutionization and we cannot possibly create a socialist dramatic art.** That is why all revolutionary theatrical workers must plunge themselves into the surging rush of life and the heat of the struggle and identify themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers of the era of socialist revolution and construc-

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, p. 39.



tion, remould their standpoint, viewpoint, ideas and feelings from top to bottom, rid themselves of all vestiges of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois individualism, liberalism and ideas of seeking personal gain, completely break with all outworn concepts and build up a proletarian world outlook. Only by so doing can we transform ourselves into staunch art and literary fighters for the proletariat, both in name and fact. **Whether or not our theatrical workers can really become one with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers is an important criterion determining whether or not they can truly become artistic and literary fighters for the proletariat.** Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The ultimate line of demarcation between the revolutionary intellectuals on the one hand and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals on the other, lies in whether they are willing to, and actually do, become one with the masses of workers and peasants."<sup>21</sup> This is also applicable to the case of our theatrical and art and literary workers. As some of these came from the old society, or from families of the exploiting classes, or received a bourgeois education, they must surely be contaminated with some residual poison from capitalism and feudalism. As to some of our younger comrades, they have not tasted the sufferings of class exploitation and class oppression and they lack tempering in the class struggle as well as personal experience in such struggle. On top of this, they have not been eating, living and labouring constantly and as they should together with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. That is why there always exists a by no means negligible gap between them and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers in ideology and sentiment. They must know themselves, face up to their own weaknesses, ceaselessly remould themselves, temper themselves, improve themselves, and turn their ideology and sentiments utterly and completely on to the side of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Only by so doing, can they truly transform themselves into artistic and literary fighters for the proletariat. Only by so doing, can they really come to love socialism ardently, portray socialist workers, peasants and soldiers wholeheartedly, praise our socialist heroes warmly, and so create works of a high ideological and artistic level.

In strengthening the ranks of theatrical workers attention must be paid to the building of a force of script writers. Playwriting is a key question in advancing the socialist theatre and making it blossom. Without scripts the socialist theatre cannot be developed speedily. The leading organs in theatrical work should take playwriting as their foremost task. In addition to training up directors, actors and theatrical workers of all kinds, an efficient contingent of playwrights must be fostered in all parts of the country. Professional playwrights should be aware of their great responsibilities, consciously go deep into life and

do their utmost to produce plays. At the same time special attention should be paid to fostering the ranks of spare-time theatrical workers, discovering and assisting amateur script writers, so that both professional and spare-time playwriting can be developed. Spare-time playwrights are scattered on various fronts, deep in the midst of actual struggles. There are many of them and they have great potentialities. So long as we carefully help them and cultivate them, they will become a force the importance of which cannot be overlooked.

**The ranks of our theatrical workers consist of all writers, artists and dramatists who are willing to serve socialism and the workers, peasants and soldiers. We must unite with them, warmly assist them to make progress, and help them to obtain adequate conditions for doing creative work.** It is our conviction that in our socialist society, as a result of tempering themselves in revolutionary struggles and artistic practice the great majority of artists and writers who want to go ahead can make the contribution that is expected of them to our motherland's socialist revolution and socialist construction, to our socialist theatre, literature and art.

The building of our revolutionary theatre, art and literature and the building of the ranks of revolutionary theatrical, artistic and literary workers demand that we seriously wage ideological struggles in artistic and literary circles. One method of conducting ideological struggles is to strengthen art and literary criticism. We must improve our art and literary criticism to guide and promote creative writing and stage performances, sum up our experience and wage ideological struggles in the field of art and literature. We must develop revolutionary art and literary criticism, energetically promote, foster and encourage all healthy, progressive and revolutionary art and literature and repudiate all that is bad, backward and reactionary. This is indispensable to the development and prosperity of our socialist theatre. The East China Modern Drama Festival through the plays it staged provides a lively way of crystallizing and swapping experience, helping to increase our knowledge and understanding, to introduce the campaign of "comparing with, learning from, catching up with the advanced and helping those lagging behind" into the sphere of the theatre and fostering mass art and literary criticism. Facts show that this is quite a good method of helping the socialist theatre develop and thrive, and it should be properly used in the future.

**The strengthening of the Party's leadership in the dramatic arts is a basic condition for the development and flourishing of socialist drama. Party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership in theatrical work, and strengthen ideological and political work among the ranks of theatrical workers. They should conscientiously carry out socialist transformation on the theatrical front and the ideological remoulding of theatrical workers, and treat these as an important task of the socialist revolution. This aspect of the socialist revolution should never be relaxed.** In the past there were people who denied

<sup>21</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "The May 4 Movement," *Selected Works*, Vol. III.

the importance of Party leadership under the pretext of "opposing intervention by the leadership in creative writing." This attitude is completely wrong and must be resolutely refuted. The modern revisionists were especially vicious when attacking our Party's leadership in art and literature. With ulterior motives, they alleged that our plays on modern themes "were all written under the direct leadership and with the direct participation of the Party organizations" and that "it would be better to say that these plays were written by the Party committees than to say that they were written by certain playwrights. . . ." As a matter of fact they attacked us because they vainly hoped to make our creative writing deviate from the leadership of our Marxist-Leninist party and accept instead the leadership of their revisionist party, and to make it depart from the Marxist-Leninist path and embark on their revisionist path. If we had been fooled, our theatre, literature and art would inevitably have become a fool for the restoration of capitalism and our theatrical, art and literary workers would have slipped down into the revisionist quagmire. Therefore we must be vigilant and carry the socialist revolution on the theatrical, art and literary front through to the end. Our theatre, art and literature are a weapon for revolutionary struggles and a powerful weapon for thwarting and gradually liquidating capitalist and feudal influence and for preventing revisionist corrosion. Our theatre, art and literature must be held firmly in the hands of the Party and be put under the firm leadership of the Party. If we are to strengthen Party leadership, the Party then will have to "intervene" in creative works which are detrimental to socialism and the people, and "destroy" the creative moods for such works. Comrade Mao Tse-tung put it well when he said: "Then does Marxism not destroy the creative mood? Yes, it does. It definitely destroys creative moods that are feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, liberalistic, individualist, nihilist, art-for-art's sake, aristocratic, decadent or pessimistic, and every other creative mood that is alien to the masses of the people and to the proletariat. So far as proletarian writers and artists are concerned, should not these

kinds of creative moods be destroyed? I think they should; they should be utterly destroyed. And while they are being destroyed, something new can be constructed."<sup>22</sup> **By strengthening Party leadership we mean that the Party must provide correct guidance in creative work, and not, as the revisionists alleged, monopolize creative work itself. As a matter of fact, in this great socialist era today the ideological level and the knowledge of the individual artist and writer are after all limited. The Party leadership, on the other hand, feels the pulse of the times, and is well aware of the revolutionary trends. Far from hampering the initiative and creativeness of artists and writers when it gives them assistance politically, ideologically and in selecting subjects and themes it will help them raise their ideological level and orientate them.** Actually it is only by abiding by the line charted by the Party, fully absorbing the rich mass experience of struggle and life, earnestly listening to the views and demands of the masses that theatrical workers can possibly produce plays that successfully reflect socialist life and struggle.

The present international and domestic situation is excellent. Theatrical, art and literary workers must catch up with the march of the times, step up the building and the development of the socialist new theatre, new art and new literature. Our revolutionary theatre, art and literature must not only serve the Chinese revolution, but the world's revolutionary people and take up the tasks called for by proletarian internationalism. Our theatrical, art and literary workers should without exception cultivate revolutionary aims and cherish lofty ideals, hold aloft the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking on art and literature, effectively using their weapons—the theatre, art and literature, to support and inspire the Chinese people as well as the peoples of the whole world in their struggle against imperialism, the reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionism and strive for the complete realization of communism!

<sup>22</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, p. 37.

## THE WEEK

(Continued from p.5.)

of the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou concluded.

In their discussions delegates to the congress representing all the nationalities of the *chou* expressed their satisfaction with the work of the council during the past year. They also indignantly denounced the subversive and sabotage activities of the Khrushchov revisionist group.

**Urumhan**, a deputy from Yumin County in the Tahcheng region, recalled that in 1962, the Khrushchov

revisionist group had incited or coerced a number of people living in the border areas to flee and for a time this had created difficulties for local production. But, he went on, with the help of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government, the people there had worked hard and soon restored production to normal. Lately, especially beginning from this year, letters had been received from many of the people who had run away saying that they had been deceived by Khrushchov. This, said Urumhan, had helped the masses to see still more clearly through the tricks of Khrushchov and

company. They were answering its sabotage with greater efforts to increase production.

The congress unanimously adopted a resolution declaring that the people of Ili would continue to hold high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and the three red banners of the general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's commune. It declared that they would carry the socialist revolution forward to the end, strive for still greater results and work energetically to smash completely all subversion and sabotage undertaken by the Khrushchov revisionist group.

## "Akahata" Condemns Yoshio Shiga Renegade Group for Supporting C.P.S.U. Leaders' Scheme for Schismatic Meeting

"Akahata," organ of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, on August 8 published an article revealing that Yoshio Shiga and other renegades are serving as tools in the vicious plot to split the international communist movement. Following are extracts from the article. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

**T**HE *Voice of Japan* issued by the Yoshio Shiga renegade group has increasingly revealed that the "proletarian internationalism" on their lips means blind submission to the international current of modern revisionism and that their greatest aim is to serve as contemptible tools in Japan in manoeuvres for an international split, *Akahata* stated.

They have cast to the winds the honour and revolutionary loyalty of the Japanese Communists and thrown themselves at the feet of a certain foreign force, followed its baton and abdicated their responsibilities towards the Japanese people, the article added.

"From the beginning," the article pointed out, "the disruptive activities of Yoshio Shiga and others against the Party have been part of the sinister scheme harboured by certain forces in the international communist movement for effecting a split in the Japanese Communist Party, the only Marxist-Leninist party in our country."

### The "Voice of Japan" — Mouthpiece of Moscow

The striking feature of that weekly sheet, the *Voice of Japan*, is that it specializes in carrying reports and articles published by a certain country and is virtually a Japanese edition of a newspaper of that country attacking the C.P.J. Its foreign news reports are all released by TASS, printed by *Pravda* or announced over Radio Moscow.

For this reason, *Pravda* had showered praise on this sheet, describing it as "the new militant organ of patriots and the faithful sons of the people, the internationalists and activists dedicated to the cause of peace, democracy and socialism."

"Obviously, the *Voice of Japan* is bent on playing the role of the 'Voice of Moscow,'" the article said. The job of that sheet was to clothe the "Voice of Moscow" in a Japanese *kimono* with a view to influencing the

Japanese people and forcing them to swallow the revisionist theory directed against the C.P.J. and to act in accordance with that theory.

*Akahata* added that the role the Yoshio Shiga group was called upon to play was to induce, through the *Voice of Japan*, a section of the Japanese people to directly associate with the international current of modern revisionism, drag them into the modern revisionists' sinister activities to split the international communist movement and the international democratic movement, impose the modern revisionists' "international line" on the communist movement and the democratic mass movement in Japan, and step up propaganda and agitation to undermine the unity of the C.P.J. and the people.

### Why the Yoshio Shiga Clique Wants an Early World Meeting?

Speaking of the "reasons" advanced by Shiga and others for their support for the C.P.S.U. leaders' demand for a divisive meeting, the article pointed out that these "reasons" fully testify to their shameless betrayal, their total blindness in following others and their hostile attitude towards the C.P.J. These "reasons" were copied and patched together from the C.P.S.U. Central Committee's letters without the least trace of their own thinking. This plagiarism and patchwork show that they themselves had nothing to say. In fact, they need not have said anything of their own since they were satisfied to play the role of spokesman for a certain country.

Shiga and others are so eager to create a split that they believe "a world meeting must be held as soon as possible" in any event, the article said. On this question, our Party by no means believes in the advisability of simply "putting off the holding of an international meeting." The point at issue is not one of time: to call a meeting hastily or to put it off. The question is one of principle: to call a meeting in order to bring about a split or in the interest of genuine unity.

The article stated that Shiga and others placed their hope on an international meeting for a split. Obviously, their "earnest hope" was that at that meeting, their anti-Party group would be able not only to follow the "international line" of a certain Party, but

also be granted "a legitimate status" which may dispel the uneasiness which they cannot conceal, thus broadening their "international contacts."

"The Yoshio Shiga group are not just isolated saboteurs against our Party. They are renegades who have ganged up with those who are against the international communist current. Therefore, to defeat this group will be a major victory contributing not only to our Party's greater unity and progress but also to the consolidation and sound development of the international communist movement. . . .

"The defeat of the Yoshio Shiga gang will prove to the Marxist-Leninists of the world that the lip service

paid by a section of the international communist movement to unity and solidarity and their professed condemnation of divisive and factional activities against the movement, is only hideous humbug. In fact, they are engaged in unpardonable splitting activities against the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, and they are splitters who openly support the anti-Party saboteurs expelled by these Marxist-Leninist parties in accordance with their Party rules.

"For this reason, our Party's uncompromising struggle against the Yoshio Shiga group has won high praise and warm support from the other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties," the article said.

## Pen Probes

### Tinkle, Tinkle ... The Call of The New Colossus

**B**RITAIN accuses the U.S.A. of "living parasitically on other people's brains." The number of British scientists permanently emigrating to the United States doubled over the last decade and is still increasing. When 67 U.S. companies under the name of the "National Manpower Register" put an advertisement in a British paper inviting scientists and engineers to apply for jobs in the U.S.A., it drew 1,145 responses in a week.

This brainpower drain has caused much alarm in Britain. The *Manchester Guardian* attributes the trans-Atlantic outflow of first-class brains to what it calls "shabby conditions of work" in British academic and research institutions and the "attractive" conditions offered in the U.S. to highly qualified scientists and technicians. It sees no immediate way to halt the exodus as "sheer wealth is a sufficient explanation."

Rebutting these accusations of stealing brains from Britain, the *New York Times* told the British Establishment patronizingly that it "always has the option of meeting American competition by improving the salaries and other terms of British scientists." It reminded Britain's capitalists that that was the way free markets work and presumed that Britain's Conservative Party still believed in free competition.

Continuing its lecture, the "good grey *Times*" also reminded the British Tories that "scientific talent is a very scarce commodity" and is treated as such. Because of its scarcity, there is bound to be competition for such talent, both within nations and between nations. Thus, as *Manchester Guardian* reported, "some institutes collect stars much as if they were building up a baseball team."

The *Times* naturally forgot to add that the "attractive" conditions and fancy salaries are only offered to

"stars" while people on the lower rungs of the U.S. university ladder complain of hardship as often as in Britain. One postgraduate in Yale actually had to live in a ventilation shaft for seven months because he did not have the money to pay for his lodgings. U.S. capitalism, in fact, finds it cheaper to import brains than produce them. That is why it is syphoning them off from Britain. And, of course, there is the additional advantage that the brain drain weakens British capitalism's competitive power on the world market.

There is an inscription on the Statue of Liberty that stands in New York's Liberty Island. These lines of *The New Colossus*, by Emma Lazarus, read:

*Give me your tired, your poor,  
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me:  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.*

Perhaps a slight change might be in order:

*Send me your  
brains, your  
scarce com-  
modities of  
lore,*

*Your walking  
know-how,  
yearning for  
a fee,*

*The choicest  
morsels of  
your teeming  
shore,*

*Send these, the  
scientists,  
tempted, to  
me:*

*I lift my purse  
before the  
golden door.*



# ROUND THE WORLD

## U.S. Turns Japanese Ports Into Nuclear Bases

Despite widespread opposition the Japanese Government has succumbed to Washington's pressure and allowed U.S. nuclear-powered submarines to dock in Japanese ports. The decision came after a cabinet meeting on August 28, and it touched off a nationwide movement of opposition. Prime Minister Ikeda's official residence was bombarded with protests.

The Japanese National Peace Committee was among the first to lodge their protest. Then came Diet members of the Socialist Party, including its General Secretary Tomomi Narita, to denounce the move and demand a meeting of heads of political parties. Hundreds of trade union representatives and others went to Ikeda's office to add their voice of censure. Over 1,700 Japanese nuclear physicists made their protest in a strongly worded statement. The Government's action, they said, not only threatens the peaceful lives of the Japanese people but also heightens the danger of war in Asia.

In Sasebo and Yokosuka, the two ports where the U.S. 7th Fleet's nuclear submarines are to dock, the people at once decided on united action. Rallies were held and the participants marched through the streets to the U.S. base at each place to demonstrate their opposition.

In recent months the United States has been feverishly intensifying its preparations for nuclear war in Asia. Japan, with its naval facilities, figures prominently in these schemes. The U.S. 7th Fleet has been using Japan as a chief operational centre. Now it is reorganizing its missile-carrying units and Polaris-equipped submarines for new war moves and has deployed its ships off the mainland of Southeast Asia. At the same time it is building nuclear submarine bases in the Pacific with Guam Island, a nuclear arsenal, as

the pivot. The docking of the American submarines at Sasebo and Yokosuka thus forms an important part of Washington's nuclear war plan. By consenting to the docking of U.S. nuclear submarines in Japan in these circumstances, the Japanese Government has allowed itself to become a party to endangering peace in Asia and the Far East. This bodes no good for the Japanese people.

What deserves particular attention is that this grave step was taken when the United States was setting sparks to the tinder box in Southeast Asia. After the failure of its armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the United States has become still more frantic in its manoeuvres to get out of the impasse in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. The dispatch of nuclear submarines to Japan can only mean that the war planners in Washington, eager to extricate themselves from their sorry plight, have become impatient with the present progress of their plans to drag Japan along in their war adventures.

While it is plain that these moves are primarily directed against China and other socialist countries in Asia and the entire national-liberation movement on the continent, it is no less plain that the entry of U.S. nuclear-powered submarines into Japanese waters will harm Japan first of all. This is not to talk about radioactivity, against which the United States assures "safety pre-

cautions" and, in true Yankee style, "compensation arrangements." The danger lies in the very fact that Japan will become a U.S. nuclear war base, enmeshed in the U.S. nuclear strategic system. That being the case, Washington can tighten its control militarily. It will then be difficult for Japan to stay out of the aggressive wars unleashed by U.S. imperialism. The use of the naval base at Yokosuka by the United States to send ships to the Gulf of Tonkin during its attack on the D.R.V. last month points up the danger that Japan can be made an accomplice in U.S. aggressive wars in this part of the world, whether it likes it or not.

In permitting U.S. nuclear submarines to use Japanese ports the Ikeda government has alienated itself even from the capitalist press. In an editorial "Can the People Agree?" *Mainichi Shimbun* said on Aug. 29, "the Premier recently has liked to use the term firmness, but in this case it is better to say that his action was taken shamelessly rather than firmly." *Asahi Shimbun* wrote editorially the same day, "Speaking frankly, there is immense uneasiness among the Japanese people over the Government's pursuit of U.S. policy towards Asia at a time when a grave danger is growing in the Indo-China situation."

The tempo of struggle against the Government's decision is rising. The



**Tough Case in South Viet Nam**

The Pentagon has sent out a team of psychiatrists to examine the "attitudes" of frustrated G.I.s. (*Time*, August 7, 1964)

Cartoon by Jack Chen

forthcoming visit of death-carrying nuclear-powered submarines recalls to the Japanese people Nagasaki and Hiroshima. U.S. imperialism is for them the chief source of danger and therefore their mortal enemy. Mass rallies on a still greater scale are planned for Tokyo and other cities in Japan. The focal point of the struggle is the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. "security treaty" because U.S. imperialism is using the treaty to drag Japan into its war schemes.

#### Fate of a Mannequin

### Lodge Returns Empty-Handed

Henry Cabot Lodge, President Johnson's special emissary to Europe, has returned to Washington after a fruitless trip to "explain" the U.S. policy in Southeast Asia, and the "special war" in south Viet Nam in particular, to NATO allies. His swing through Europe gained the United States little sympathy and hardly any support. There is too much that needs "explaining."

Although the former U.S. "ambassador" to Saigon managed to secure vague expressions of support in some capitals, he sparked more fears that the Johnson Administration would extend the war in Indo-China. In Paris, the first stop of his tour, reactions to his "explanations" were such that one French columnist described Lodge's meeting with the acting Foreign Minister as "a cordial talk between two deaf persons." Lodge made another effort by visiting Paris again on August 25, but his confrontation with Foreign Minister Couve de Murville was equally unsuccessful.

Johnson's envoy fared little better elsewhere. Washington had pinned its hopes on Bonn. But even there Lodge failed to secure any new promises. The Erhard government only pledged "moral support" and continued "economic assistance" to the Khanh regime. Bonn was lukewarm, reluctant to go out on a limb when the defeats the United States is suffering may grow worse. The more military reverses, said *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the lower was the morale of the troops. "This is a vicious circle and there is perhaps no

possibility of getting out of it for the time being, unless the battle for south Viet Nam is given up."

Britain, partner of the United States in many adventures in Asia and elsewhere, met Lodge with fair words, expressing "sympathy and support." All the same, the British Foreign Secretary, according to AP, was reported to have made it clear that "there can be no question of a British military involvement in south Viet Nam for the foreseeable future." If the chestnuts are to be pulled out of the fire, the United States must do it itself. Such is the attitude of Whitehall.

Before his departure from London, Lodge glibly talked of the "understanding" between the United States and its NATO allies. But his mission, not surprisingly, has been a complete failure. He was asked to defend U.S. aggression in Indo-China and to argue that the United States was doing not too badly and would win the war for the "free world" if only its allies would extend a little help. But the most embarrassing thing of all happened in the last stages of his tour. The people of south Viet Nam burst forth in mighty demonstrations, demanding that U.S. imperialism get out of their country and threatening to bring down the puppet regime.

As *La Liberation* wrote on August 25, "In the face of the crumbling edifice, Monsieur Cabot Lodge is still dangerously unconscious of what he is doing — parading from one European capital to another with an outstretched hand. How can people give him alms other than some nice words, when those behind him . . . have lost their confidence in the victory of the government forces [Khanh's puppet troops] supported by American might." It added: "Monsieur Cabot Lodge, with the smiling face of a shop-window fashion mannequin, keeps repeating words which he himself does not believe any more than his audience."

#### Tanzan Republic

### President Nyerere Protests

One of the fondest hopes of the colonial powers is to drive a wedge

between the new emerging countries in Asia and Africa. Solidarity, continentwise or between continents, does not work in their favour. In fact, it brings the day of their doom nearer. Thus they go to any lengths to undermine the ties of friendship between peoples who once endured in common the iniquities of colonialism. The slander levelled at China and the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar by the governments of certain countries of late is a case in point.

At a press conference on August 31 President Julius Nyerere took strong exception to the behaviour of these governments for questioning him on accepting military aid from China. He said his government had to train an army and there were difficulties in seeking military aid in the light of its policy of non-alignment. China, he said, offered to send to the United Republic seven instructors and four interpreters to train the army for a period not exceeding six months. President Nyerere said the acceptance of Chinese military aid was "a very small effort at being non-aligned."

He ridiculed those who cast aspersions on the decision of his government and who questioned whether it was not a risk to have seven Chinese instructors training the army. He gave them a telling reply when he said: "The maximum risk the Government takes is that the army will revolt. But my army revolted in January—it was not trained by the Chinese." President Nyerere read out an article in a British newspaper which suggested that China would transform Tanganyika into a colony through the efforts of these instructors and interpreters. He asked, "Am I expected to deal with such rubbish?" The press conference, he continued, was both an explanation and a protest. He said he did not expect other people to take decisions for his government, as in the case of the Congo (Leopoldville), where "the decision to form a government in the Congo was taken outside, not in the Congo." He stressed, "I do not like this kind of pressure."

# ACROSS THE LAND

## Great Changes in Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou

**T**UCKED away in the northwest corner of China, the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou is the size of Italy. On September 1, the one million inhabitants, of which about half are Kazakhs, celebrated the *chou's* first decade, ten years of steady progress and prosperity:

—The population which had declined disastrously before liberation has climbed steadily since 1949,

—enough grain is now being grown for the *chou's* own needs,

—farming area is 2.2 times above 1949,

—irrigated area has reached 573,000 hectares, more than three times the 1949 figure,

—livestock has risen from about 3.5 million to almost 10 million and

—in this formerly desolate area, there are now modern industries, highways, civil airlines, and modern hospitals and clinics,

—state prices for animal and agricultural products purchased have gone up 70 per cent, retail prices of manufactured goods have gone down 20 per cent and the people's purchasing power have risen sharply in the last decade.

**Politically**, nearly one half of the people's deputies to the *chou* people's congress are Kazakhs. Many Kazakhs and other national minority members have become leading cadres at all levels in the *chou*. In the people's communes, the cadres are, in the main, members of local minorities. The Kazakhs also have their own elected People's Deputies sitting in the National People's Congress, the supreme organ of state power. The old saying that "Ox hairs do not make felt, nor Kazakhs make officials," has been buried for ever.

**Culturally**, almost all school-age children are in school. Every county has middle schools and some communes have set up their own. Before 1949, there were no schools at all in the area, and not a single Kazakh college graduate. The number of engineers, agronomists, doctors and other specialists of local national minority origin including Kazakhs has risen 37-fold in the past ten or so years. Recently many more national minority graduates from institutes of higher learning have returned home to Ili to work.

**Economically**, the picture continues to be excellent this year. Livestock raising, the main occupation, is booming. For 1961-63 the average annual increase

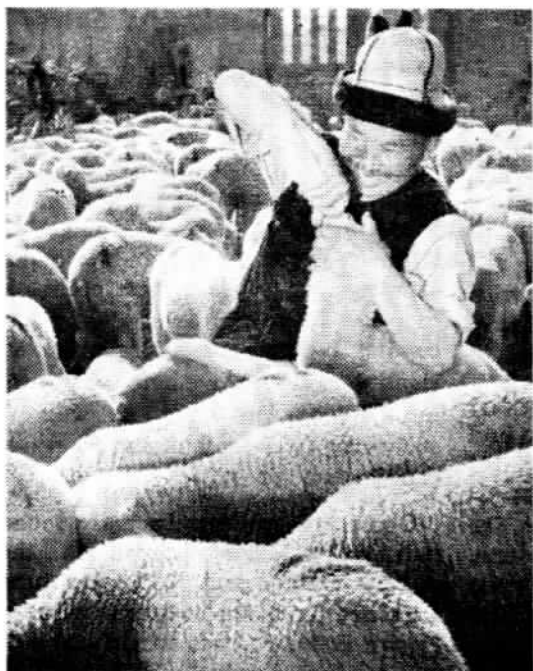
was 2.5 million young animals. This year the increase is 2.6 million lambs, foals, kids and calves.

The output of cereals in 1964 is expected to be about 20 per cent higher than in 1963 and the oil-seed crop 70 per cent higher.

The story of the predominantly Kazakh Altai area in the north is the story of the other areas and counties in the *chou*. From 1939 to 1949, the Kazakh population of 100,000 had dwindled to 50,000 because of ruthless plunder and slaughter by bandit minions of Chiang Kai-shek and other reactionaries. Between 1940 and 1949 there were four mass migrations to escape oppression. Many Kazakhs were killed and more lives were taken by starvation and pestilences. Today, the Kazakhs of Altai number more than 110,000; about 37 per cent of them born after liberation.

Most families now leave their children and elders behind in comfortable new settlement centres when they go out to graze their flocks and herds. More than 130 of these centres have been built in the last dozen years with a floor space of some 400,000 sq. m. Most families have new yurts (felt tents). In one commune of 1,300 families, each family has recently bought a new dwelling.

Six out of ten families have opened savings accounts, another sign of the rising prosperity among the Kazakhs of Altai. In the old days they did not have a cent in their pockets. If they wanted to buy a brick of tea, for example, they had to go a long way and pay several sheep. Today, one sheep will buy more tea than people formerly drank in a year, right in their production brigade's store. Official estimates put the herdsmen's purchasing power at 16 times that of 1949. Herdsmen are buying 15-20 times more tea, sugar, clothes, cloth and silk than in 1949. Many older herdsmen can remember the great day after 1949 when they put on their first garment of woven material. Until then these Kazakhs only had a single suit of clothing: a sheepskin which in the winter was



A Kazakh shepherd feeds his lambs

worn with the fleece against the skin and turned inside out in the summer.

### A "Real Farming Cadre"

**R**EGULAR participation by cadres in productive labour in the people's communes, factories, mines, shops and other enterprises at the basic level has become a noticeable feature of life in China.

Many press reports reflect how cadres at all levels, by taking part in physical labour, constantly remind themselves that they are like any worker or peasant, and, by getting down to earth, improve their style of work and leadership. They find this an effective way of maintaining a firm class stand.

A recent feature tells the story of Liao Hsi-lung, Party committee secretary of a people's commune in southern Chekiang Province, who has persistently taken part in productive labour for the past 15 years. A former farm labourer and cowherd for a landlord, he became after liberation a cadre in his village, then a mutual-aid team leader and later leader of a co-op farm. Throughout this period he regularly took part in field work, and for many years was a model peasant in his county and province. Since he was elected Party secretary of his people's commune in 1958, his increased office duties have not kept him from field work.

People know him as a man who invariably volunteers for heavy work. In the busy rice-transplanting or harvesting season, he is always among the first on the job. When typhoon, flood or some other calamity strikes the former cowherd always can be found at the point of danger.

Regular outdoor work has become a habit with Liao Hsi-lung. Commune members say: "If he has to go to the provincial capital on official business in the afternoon, you will find him still with muddy legs at noon." If Liao goes for a few

days without doing physical work he feels there is something wrong. He says: "An idle life makes one lazy. Good, honest work keeps one's mind fresh and clean!"

Liao Hsi-lung also lives a simple life. He is always first to set his hand to work and the last to enjoy its fruits. When the commune built a hydro-electric power station, electricians were preparing to install electric lights in his house but he told them to wait, saying: "Fix lights for the others first. We cadres will be served last." Liao's house got electric lighting three months later.

Liao puts on no airs at work and does a thorough workmanlike job. The peasants praise him as a "real farming cadre," treat him as "one of the family" and open their hearts to him. They have elected him a deputy to the people's congress both of the county and of the province.

Liao Hsi-lung has set a fine example for his colleagues. Party branch secretaries, production brigade leaders and other leading cadres of the commune all take part regularly in productive labour. Under such leadership the commune has prospered. For several years running it has been cited as an outstanding collective in agricultural production for Chekiang Province and the east China region.

### Commerce Helps Industry

**H**OME trade, the link between producer and consumer, between areas and between enterprises, is playing a salutary role in the emulation movement among industrial enterprises to catch up with advanced domestic and world levels in the quality of their products.

Not satisfied with just buying and selling, Shanghai's purchase and supply depots offered nine exhibitions this year, displaying outstanding domestic and foreign wares for the enterprises concerned. At one, 420 types of paper from 22 regions of the country were shown. The sponsor, the Stationery Purchase and Supply Depot, made a careful analysis of specimens, noting their

respective merits and defects in detail. The exhibits were an eye-opener to local paper mills, which easily found where their own products lagged and why, and took measures to close the gap.

Trading departments also polled consumers directly or by inviting veteran shop assistants to forums, and kept in touch with wholesale distributors all over the country. Distributors of newly developed chemical fibre fabrics canvassed cleaners as well as customers and reported their finds to manufacturers for improvement. More than 30 study groups left the city for a dozen provinces to find out how Shanghai products were received. Their suggestions later helped radio manufacturers improve the sensitivity of their receiver sets, to mention one example.

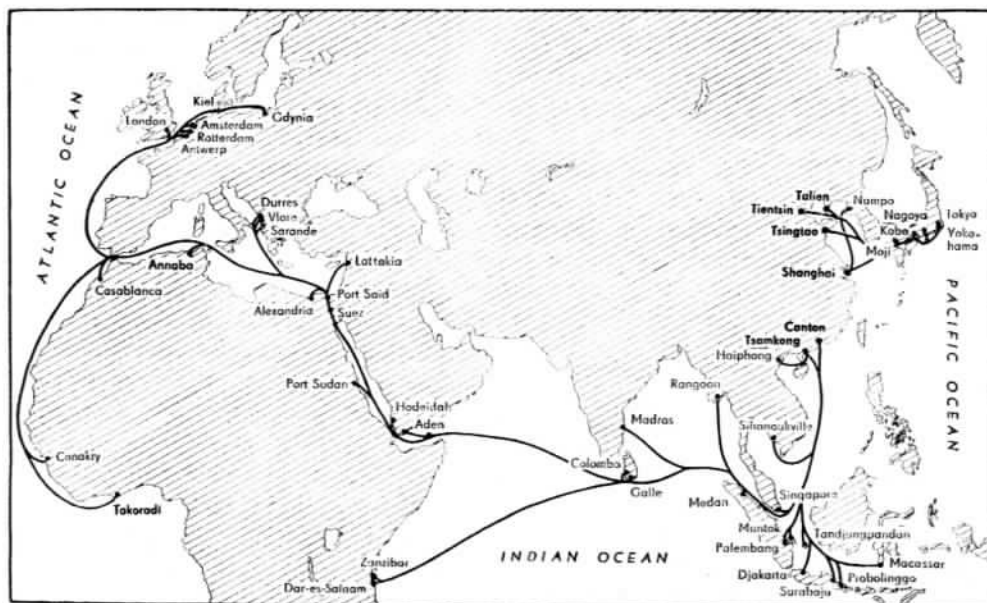
In their attempts to raise quality, some factories found themselves in need of certain special raw materials, equipment or chemical reagents not available locally. In such cases, the trading organizations spared no effort to discover supplies to meet their needs. Manufacturers now refer to their distributors as their "general staff" and excellent assistants.

### Mammoth Geological Survey

**C**LOSE to 10,000 hydro-geologists and engineering geologists are doing field work this year on a mammoth geological survey covering the length and breadth of China. Their primary aim is to gather hydro-geological data for the major areas growing grain and economic crops. They are investigating the country's water resources with irrigation, soil improvement and water for livestock in mind, as well as surveying sites for building 21 water conservancy projects.

Geological workers recently found rich water-bearing strata in the northwestern part of Shantung Province and the eastern part of Honan Province, two wheat and cotton producing areas whose development has been handicapped by a low





Sketch map by Liu Ying-ching

annual rainfall. Abundant good quality underground water has also been discovered on Tungshan Island off the coast of Fukien Province. The first conduit laid on the island is delivering water to the fields and homes of the islanders.

Surveys have supplied valuable data for measures to lower the water table and salinity on croplands. The several hundred test bores drilled in various parts of the country by surveyors, turned over to the local communes, are already playing a useful role in the fight against drought.

Pre-liberation China's handful of specialists in hydro-geology and engineering geology has grown into a huge army to keep pace with the needs of industry and agriculture. In recent years 2.5 million sq. km. and more than 1,300 sites for reservoirs have been surveyed.

### Maritime Shipping

A TRANSPORT network has been woven along China's 14,000-kilometre mainland coastline, with state-owned ships of some 60 scheduled and non-scheduled lines calling at more than 20 big and medium-sized ports. Linked by rail, road and inland water transport, maritime shipping moves a daily-growing volume of goods throughout the country.

Ships from China also call at more than 40 ports in more than 20 countries and regions, including Korea, Viet Nam, Albania, Poland, Japan, Indonesia, the Yemen, the U.A.R., Guinea, Belgium and Britain.

The first ship to leave New China for a foreign port — Djakarta — was the *S.S. Guanghua* in 1961. The *S.S. Heping* was the first ship built by China to establish a direct link with the west coast of Africa, arriving in Conakry, Guinea, on New Year's Day 1963 with a cargo of building materials and some Chinese experts. While bound for home, a sister ship the *S.S. Youyi*, another China-built freighter, was on its way to Syria. Since then more and bigger vessels built by China's developing ship-building industry have sailed into many foreign ports, strengthening trade relations and friendship between China and other countries.

Most of the officers and men on the ships are young, trained in the last decade or so in the nation's several post-liberation maritime schools. The Talien Maritime Shipping College in the northeast alone has graduated 2,300 students.

### Instruments for Eye Operations

OF more than 70 factories around the country making surgical instruments, the first factory to make

instruments for eye operations is the Soochow Medical Instruments Factory. However, this east China factory is better known for the quality of its products. It makes the best ophthalmic apparatus in the country, over one hundred types, plus other delicate surgical instruments in 315 specifications. These instruments have enabled surgeons in a dozen countries to bring succour to the sick and blind. Its Graefe's knife, iris scissors, iris forceps and suction cups for cataract operations, are among those which have received high commendation.

The factory was set up in 1956 by gathering together individual handicraftsmen and men from handicraft workshops. Most of the 280 employees were silversmiths and coppersmiths who had no experience working with special steels and machine tools, and knew next to nothing about surgical instruments. The workers have gradually bridged the gap between what they could do and what was required of them through diligent study in factory-organized classes, lessons and lectures by specialists, visits to hospitals to observe operations and to talk with surgeons. The factory also organized experiments and called in experts to help the workers sum up and improve. By 1961 the workers — now numbering 450 — were making a wide range of surgical tools, specializing in ones for eye operations.

Hospitals, research units and specialists in different fields in 11 cities gave willing help to the factory. Dr. Shih Tien-hsiung, an eye specialist in the Chungking Medical College Hospital from over a thousand kilometres away became a close factory associate. The workers know him well as "the absentee consulting engineer" because his suggestions by mail were of enormous help at every stage of experimentation and production.

## Chinese Surgeons Rejoin Worker's Severed Arm

Surgeons in Shanghai have successfully rejoined a worker's completely severed arm. They are the same team of the Sixth People's Hospital which, in January last year, performed the now-famous operation that rejoined fitter Wang Tsun-po's completely severed hand to his arm. (See *P.R.*, No. 34, 1963.)

Tsao Hsing-lung of the Wujing Chemical Works in Shanghai, when checking over his machine on November 26 last year, neglected the prescribed safety regulations. His left arm was caught by the motor's axle and completely cut off three inches below the shoulder. He also received head and chest injuries. In this critical condition he was rushed to the hospital within an hour, where Drs. Chen Chung-wei, Chien Yun-ching, Pao Yueh-se and Wang Yen started operations five minutes later.

Now, after nine months, the patient can wave and flex his reknitted arm, lift his hand to touch his head, and hold one-kg. weights with it.

This operation marks a further advance in the field of traumatic surgery in China. In several respects, the surgeons faced more complicated problems than in the previous case of rejoining the severed hand to the arm. The patient was in a much

worse condition due to the severe trauma resulting from the arm, head and chest injuries. The doctors, however, set to work swiftly and confidently, backed up by the experience gained in the earlier case and the new findings of research since then. Their skill was supported by the finely co-ordinated efforts of the whole hospital staff. Consequently, the patient's arm tissues reknitted in a remarkably short time; no infection set in, and there was none of the post-operation swelling frequent in such cases. This case has produced further valuable experience in the field of rejoining severed limbs.

The surgeons first trimmed the broken ends of the humerus and then immobilized the fragments by means of an intramedullary pin. The damaged portions of the brachial artery were removed from both severed ends, which were then joined by a section of saphenus vein. The autogenous venous graft was sutured in place with extra fine silk. The basilic vein was also repaired with an autogenous venous graft. Two more veins were joined with specially devised tantalium rings. This was the main reason for the absence of swelling.

Next day, craniotomy was performed to remove a subdural blood clot.

Due to the severity of the arm injury, the nerves were not repaired primarily. Their repair with autogenous nerve grafts was carried out later in a number of stages. The reunited nerves are now

growing well; recent examinations show evidence of regeneration as far down as four inches below the elbow-joint.

Tsao Hsing-lung is now undergoing physiotherapeutic treatment and massage to improve the use of the arm.

The surgeons of the Sixth People's Hospital scored this new success because they resolutely rejected any hint of complacency after their earlier triumph. In a revolutionary spirit of service to the people they went on to deeper research in the techniques of rejoining severed limbs. A special research group was formed. Drs. Chen Chung-wei, Chien Yun-ching and others investigating anastomosis of the small blood vessels in animals pressed ahead with experimental work. They also made a special study into the causes and prevention of swelling after operations.

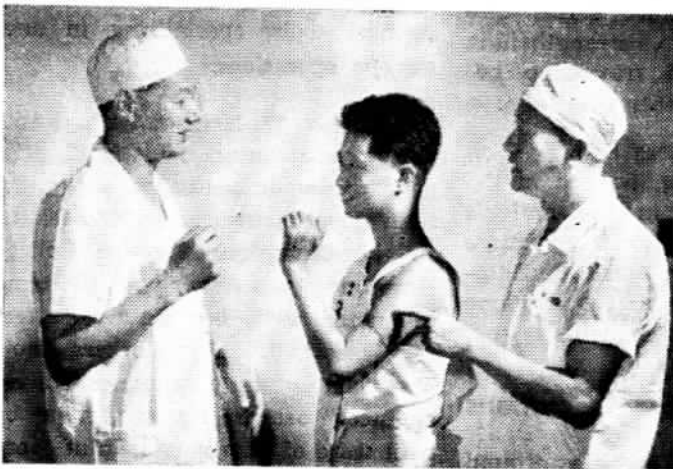
The communist spirit of co-operation in the medical world once again showed its strength. Well-known Shanghai specialists in neurosurgery, traumatic surgery, urologic surgery and internal medicine held a series of consultations with the surgeons of the Sixth Hospital and gave them valuable assistance. Technicians of the surgical instrument factories also helped by making improvements in the surgical needles, sutures and other equipment used.

## ARCHAEOLOGY

### *Decorated Han Tomb Bricks*

From time to time, Han brick tombs discovered in the vicinity of Chengchow, Honan Province, have yielded large hollow bricks bearing a wealth of stamped designs. A brief report on the excavations of two brick tombs at Erhlikang, Chengchow, published in a recent issue of *Kaogu* (Archaeology) monthly, adds much interesting material in this field.

The tomb chambers are both oblong in plan, but one of them has a gable-shaped roof while the other is flat-roofed and has a small side chamber. Apart from being horizontally arranged in rows two in height to form the walls, these



Drs. Chen Chung-wei (left) and Chien Yun-ching (right) with the patient

oblong hollow bricks also serve as the floor and roofing material. The tomb furniture consists for the most part of *wuzhu* coins, pottery vessels and models of granaries and stoves. These have enabled archaeologists to date the tombs to the period around the end of the Western Han (206 B.C.-24 A.D.) and the beginning of the Eastern Han (25-220) Dynasty.

Stamped designs found on the hollow bricks are usually of two types. One consists of geometric patterns, the other of pictorial designs taken from real life or inspired by the mythological beliefs of the time. They reveal a keen sense of form and a remarkable knowledge of stance and movement, but the stamping was done in a hurried, rather haphazard manner and is often out of alignment and overlapping.

A brick from the back wall of the gable-roofed tomb, for example, would be decorated on both sides. The decorations on the front side are in two parts. Those in the upper part form nine horizontal bands, each repeating the same design from one end to another. These include such scenes as a man attacking a tiger with a spear; an impressive gate-house flanked by a pair of towers and guarded by two squatting warriors, each holding a long halberd; an animated dance scene in which a graceful long-sleeved dancer is performing to the accompaniment of two musicians; an elegant chariot with two riders followed by an attendant carrying a long halberd. The seventh band is rather unexpectedly made up of lozenge designs. The last two bands, practically forming a separate area as a result of this interruption, are of a hunting scene dominated by a high mountain at the centre. To the left of the mountain a deer is climbing frantically up the slope and turning its head to look at the hunter on the other side of the valley. To the right of the mountain a man is attacking a fox with a spear while another hunter, squatting at the foot of the mountain with a drawn bow, is about to shoot a boar.

The designs in the lower part of the brick consist of squares with circle and dots stamped diagonally

across an oblong frame. Identical designs of a tiger chasing after a deer stamped continuously on three sides form a graceful border for this frame.

Decorations on the back of the brick is likewise divided into two parts. New additions to the repertoire of pictorial designs include a riding scene, a fencing scene, and two different designs of single human figures.

The decorated bricks unearthed from the flat-roofed tomb are usually used on the walls and roof and bear designs in the same style as those described above but with other new motifs: an animated drum dance scene, a masked dance, a mythological nine-tailed fox gazing covetously at a bird perched on a bough, a crane and tortoise design, a mounted warrior with a long spear, and a man riding a winged dragon.

These stamped designs are done in a light, airy and naturalistic style highly characteristic of the times. Obviously, the unknown artist who executed them was a keen observer of life and a master of his craft, capable of portraying his animal and human subjects in all their characteristic stances. In spite of their small sizes, the best of these pictorial designs are masterpieces of carefully related forms and linear rhythms. They are also of great value to the study of the life, material culture, folklore and decorative art of the ancient Han people.

—C.M.

### SHORT NOTES

**P.L.A. Photography Exhibition.** A hundred and twenty-one professional and amateur photographers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army held an exhibition of 240 works from July 28 to August 17 in Peking. They gave a kaleidoscopic picture of the face of the P.L.A. and its many-sided life and activities in the past two years. Critics and public have praised their high political and artistic level. The P.L.A. has shown itself in the



Rubbing from a brick of the gable-roofed tomb (detail)

van of revolutionization of yet another field of art.

**Amateur theatrical festivals** were held in the national minority areas of Szechuan, Kweichow, Hunan and Kansu Provinces. A festival of professional artists from eight nationalities has just ended in Inner Mongolia. At a festival in the autonomous *chou* of the Yi people in the Liangshan Mountains of Szechuan Province, 130 amateur artists of Yi nationality performed over 100 items. Former slaves told of their happy present-day life in songs, dances and modern plays.

**Harbin's summer music festival** has just ended. This year, socialist construction and contemporary Chinese life were the main themes of this annual festival. Many amateur peasant singers took part. Among the most applauded items at the 13-day series of concerts was a chorus at the opening ceremony of 300 outstanding workers conducted by 52-year-old Su Kuang-ming, a nationally famous milling-machine operator who has been promoted an engineer. They sang a song about the workers' emulation campaign and another one in praise of the successes of 1964.



# DIRECT JET LINK BETWEEN

## CHINA

## MIDDLE EAST

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-8	12.25			10.45		dep SHANGHAI			08.45		10.25
-8				12.45		arr CANTON	dep		08.45		08.40
-14	11.00			13.35		dep	arr		07.50		02.30
-14	16.10			15.10		arr	dep		02.30		02.30
-14	16.10			16.10		dep	arr		01.15		01.15
-15	18.30			18.20		arr KARACHI	dep		21.00		21.00
+5						dep KARACHI	arr		04.30		10.55
+3	23.15	08.45	23.15	08.45		arr TEHERAN	dep		00.30	04.55	06.55
+2	00.45	10.15	00.45	10.15		arr BEIRUT	dep		20.15	02.40	02.40
+1	04.40		04.40			arr DOME	dep		15.25		14.35
+1	14.10		14.10			arr GENEVA	dep		21.00		21.00
+2						arr MOSCOW	dep				07.00
+1	06.20		06.20			arr FRANKFURT	dep		13.00		00.35
+1	08.15		08.15			arr LONDON	dep		12.25		23.45

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