

# PEKING REVIEW

39

September 27, 1960

## SPEEDING UP MECHANIZATION OF CHINA'S AGRICULTURE

Vice-Premier Tan Chen-lin discusses at length the policy, objectives and processes of China's agricultural mechanization (p. 6).

## SINO-BURMESE BOUNDARY TREATY TO BE SIGNED

Sino-Burmese joint press communique and other news (p. 11).

## Guarding Against U.S. Armed Intervention in Laos

Renmin Ribao's Observer exposes what U.S. imperialism is up to in Laos (p. 13).

*On the Eve of National Day.*  
*part 2 of Socialist Literature and Art in China: by Chen Yang.*

China and the World, Round the Week  
And Other Features

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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# LONG LIVE LENINISM

This book contains: "Long Live Leninism!", an article written by the Editorial Department of *Hongqi* (Red Flag) in commemoration of the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin; "Forward Along the Path of the Great Lenin!", an article written by the Editorial Department of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily); and "Unite Under Lenin's Revolutionary Banner!", a report delivered by Comrade Lu Ting-yi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, at a meeting held on April 22, 1960, to commemorate the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin.

108 pp.

Editions in Russian, Spanish and Japanese and revised English, French and German translations are now available. Cloth and paper covers for editions in all languages.

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## NATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT 1956 — 1967

The National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967) is of tremendous significance for the high-speed development of a socialist agriculture in China and the building of a new, socialist countryside. It provides for a big growth in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery within not too long a period of time and sets forth various concrete measures for reaching this goal as well as plans for the development of culture, education, public health and other fields of activity in the rural areas as production increases.

In addition to the programme, this booklet contains the full texts of the report delivered by Vice-Premier Tan Chen-lin entitled "Strive for the Fulfilment, Ahead of Schedule, of the National Programme for Agricultural Development," the resolution of the Second Session of the Second National People's Congress of the Chinese People's Republic, and the *Renmin Ribao* editorial on the same subject. This material throws an illuminating light on the big leap forward in China's agriculture and the great changes that have taken place in the Chinese countryside.

62 pp.

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# PEKING REVIEW

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

September 27, 1960 Vol. III No. 39

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September 27, 1960

## Round the Week

# Campaign Hits High Gear on Eve of National Day

A campaign for increased production and economy is sweeping the nation. It gathers momentum as October 1 approaches. In factories and mines, workers by the millions are throwing themselves heart and soul into the drive to fulfil and overfulfil their production targets. In the countryside, preparations for the "three autumn jobs"—harvesting, ploughing and sowing—are in full swing. Everyone is seeking to achieve triumphs worthy of National Day.

Grain and steel are the core of the campaign. All forces are mobilized to boost their production. At the same time, cadres are right at the front lines giving guidance. The result: Successes all along the line.

In Anshan, China's premier steel centre, literally every worker has been drawn into the drive. In the first 20 days of September the vast steel complex already registered a sharp increase in daily output and enhanced quality as compared with August. As a "gift" for National Day, an emulation demonstration to popularize advanced techniques was launched on the 22nd to achieve a high yield *xun* (ten-day period). At every link in the process of steel-making, key problems are tackled and snags overcome. Where similar conditions exist, emulation goes on between plants, furnaces and even individuals. Challenges boldly offered, are boldly accepted. In the midst of this great ferment, records reported daily show that production has zoomed.

Pretty much the same process is going on in other steel centres. In Shanghai, more than 3,000 steel workers have emerged as pace-setters successfully cutting smelting time and improving the quality of the products. At the Shihchingshan Iron and Steel Plant in Peking, workers introduced a series of measures to lengthen the operational period of furnaces, shorten the smelting time, improve charging devices and mechanize loading and unloading equipment.

Nor are the extractive, machine-building, railway and other transport industries lagging behind. Realizing that a leap forward in their own work is vital to the continued high-speed advance in steel, workers in these branches have also plunged into the campaign. In the Fushun Colliery, one of the biggest in north-east China, the emulation drive centres around the popularization of more advanced experiences in mining. The slogan here is "see who picks up the largest number of advanced experiences, disseminate them fastest and applies them longest." By pooling strong points, miners often devised a whole set of advanced methods. The upshot: 21.3 per cent more coal in the first ten days of September as compared with the previous *xun*!

On the agricultural front, this is a busy season all around. On China's vast farmlands, the decisive moment in which the peasants reap the fruit of their year's labour has arrived. Cotton and other industrial crops have reached full growth; tubers, maize and other cereals are almost ready for harvesting, while in the south the late rice is turning green. Harvesting has already begun in some areas; in others, lively preparations are underway. All this needs tending. And this year, with acreage under cultivation expanded, variety of crops increased, more meticulous field management practised and mass manufacturing of new farm tools for autumn ploughing and sowing—it can be well imagined that the countryside is alive with activity!

Inspired by the Party's call to go in for agriculture in a big way and aided by industry, commerce and in fact the whole nation, the peasants are full of enthusiasm. They are determined to do everything in their power not only to bring in a good harvest this autumn but to lay a sound foundation for bumper crops next summer.

In Kwangsi, a mass checkup on field management is taking place and on-



the-spot conferences seeking means to make the late rice grow still better are held right in the paddyfields. Throughout Kweichow Province, commune members are in the midst of an emulation conducted within production brigades and teams and between individuals. This has raised average labour productivity by over 20 per cent. In northwest China, commune members in Ningsia and Kansu are going all out in a timely and thorough job of harvesting cereals. There, autumn ploughing is starting immediately after the crops are gathered. Hopei, Honan and the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region are already astir with a mass campaign for the sowing of winter wheat. In all these areas, not only is sowing earlier than usual, but the total sown acreage planned is larger than the previous year's. In Chinghai, in the spirit of "grasping today with one hand and tomorrow with the other," the peasants have carried on a mass seed selection campaign guaranteeing that only the best seed will be sown next year.

In all these divers efforts, farm machines and new-type farm tools are playing an increasingly important role. By the end of August, the commercial departments had supplied the rural people's communes with twice as many such farm implements—including semi-mechanized harvesters, threshing and sowing machines and double-wheeled and double-blade ploughs—as last year. Spare parts for tractors and internal combustion engines as well as insecticides are also available in greater quantity.

The working people of China will celebrate this National Day with pride and jubilation. And they have good reason!

### Peasant-Scientists: Intellectuals Of a New Type

In recognition of their contributions to the country's production and science, Chekiang Province recently appointed 31 peasant agronomists and farm machine and water conservancy engineers. Another 196 have been invited by the provincial academy of agricultural science to be special research fellows.

These Chekiang peasants have come a long way. Yet they are only pacesetters in a veritable mass movement of China's peasants to storm the gates



Autumn Sowing Begins

Sketch by Kao Che-min

of science. For with Communist Party guidance and state assistance, farmers in all parts of the country are entering the once remote field of research by the thousands.

No peasant in the old society would ever dare dream of being a scientist. Cruelly exploited and oppressed, deprived of an opportunity for even a meagre education, they spent their days in endless toil for the bare necessities of life. Though they had much of what it takes to make a scientist—talent, perseverance and a wealth of practical experience—they had neither the education, the time nor the means for research.

Liberation and the ensuing fundamental social changes swept away all these handicaps. Agronomist Chang Yu-fa had once dreamt of doing away with the off-years in the tangerine harvest, but what chance was there to test his ideas. After liberation, the state allotted him an experimental plot, assigned special technicians to assist him and after years of hard work his dream was realized.

An undeviating devotion to work, faithful execution of Party directives, close integration of production and research and full reliance on the masses—these are the common traits of our peasants-cum-scientists. Rooting out the pink bollworm is a key measure in raising cotton production. So Chou Hsi-lin responding to a Party call took up the subject. He spent days and nights in the cotton fields observing every detail of the life cycle of this species of bollworm. In the end he discovered a new way to eliminate it.

Seed-expert Yang Kuang-pao experimented on more than 180 strains

of rice in the last eight years. Every one of the several new strains he developed was achieved by pooling the collective wisdom and experience of his fellow commune members. Yang helped train scores of peasants to become experts in seed selection and breeding new strains. He is now vice-head of a people's commune and assistant head of the Department of Agronomy in Chekiang Agricultural University.

There was no rose-strewn path to success for these peasant-scientists. Agronomist Ying Hsien-tung had only one year of formal education. In order to do research, he spent years poring over more than 40 volumes of scientific works and went to consult Yang Kuang-pao some 120 times. Like a solicitous parent he slept beside his makeshift hothouse keeping watch on the young shoots.

### Worker-Engineers Armed with Theory

Worker-engineers are the city twin of the peasant-scientists. From the working class, in the van of the nation's march towards industrialization, there have already emerged thousands of worker-engineers promoted to leading posts. This has been reported in earlier issues. While this process continues, efforts are being made to raise the theoretical level of those already promoted so that their rich store of practical experience can be put to even more effective use.

In Tientsin, north China industrial metropolis where by the end of last year more than 2,000 workers had been assigned to engineering posts, the task is handled by the machine-build-



ing industries through a special spare-time technical training class.

Sixty-five worker-engineers are enrolled in this course. Professors of technical institutes and leading functionaries and technicians of many factories have taken part in preparing the curriculum. When theoretical propositions are expounded, special care is taken to link them up with the students' own experience in production. College graduates are assigned as tutors to give individual help after classes.

Although it will be two years before the students attain the theoretical level of a technical institute graduate, many of them have already applied their new-gained knowledge with success. Whereas previously production problems were in the main solved by rule of thumb, now a theoretical foundation gives added depth to practical experience.

### **Women to the Fore!**

At a time when Chinese women, freed by the people's communes from the age-old drudgery of household chores, are taking part in production by the millions, more and more women cadres are being trained and promoted to leading posts at all levels.

Yenan, once the nerve centre of the Chinese revolution, again points the way. Whereas before agricultural co-operation, less than 30 per cent of the able-bodied women in this special administrative region took to the fields during busy farming seasons and over 80 per cent in 1958, the year the people's communes were first established, now almost all have a hand in production the year round. As a local saying goes, "Powerful are the women at work for they prop up half of the heaven!"

And quite naturally, when women started to work, a host of new problems peculiar to them cropped up, such as tending to minor needs of the family after work, attendance at literacy classes and others. It was, moreover, necessary to ensure that conditions of work were adjusted to their physical capacity. Male cadres could deal with these problems, but there was no doubt that women would do much better.

The Yen'an Regional Party Committee, with its ear to the ground, sized up the situation in good time. Realiz-

ing that under present conditions the training of women cadres for leadership among women commune members had become a key link on the agricultural as well as other fronts, it adopted a decision in May to assign women to leading posts at all levels, from county down to production team.

This decision was not made without a realistic estimate of the possibilities. Yen'an, being an old revolutionary base, has a long tradition of women activists politically advanced, having close ties with the masses and well tempered in years of revolutionary struggle and production. They have been augmented in recent years by young women who have shown themselves to be potential leaders and who are now promoted to responsible posts, given constant encouragement, imbued with confidence in their own abilities, helped on the job and sent to special short-term courses in Party schools. These women cadres soon proved their worth.

This policy of the regional Party committee has already borne fruit. All seven counties of the Yen'an Special Administrative Region now have added women to their county heads, and most of the people's communes and production teams boast leaders from the distaff side! With their special needs more effectively ministered to as a result of this measure, women commune members are "propping up their half of the heaven" even more firmly and with greater zeal.

### **New Tibet in the Making**

News of notable achievements continues to come out of Tibet, providing readers with a glimpse of the Tibetan people's giant step forward. Here are a few items culled this week.

On September 15, 130 young Tibetans graduated from the Lhasa Middle School and an attached teachers' training class. The first group of junior middle school graduates in the history of Tibet, they will continue their studies in newly established senior classes or themselves teach in primary schools.

The Lhasa Middle School was established in 1956. At that time it had only 130 students; now its enrolment is well over 600. Tibet's second middle school has in the meantime been set up in Shigatse, the region's

second largest city. It boasts three classes and 90 students.

Before Tibet's peaceful liberation in 1951, it had not a single primary school. Children of the serfs who made up the bulk of the population, never saw the inside of a school.

Of the many new-type farm implements such as harvesters and threshers supplied to the Tibetan peasants for the autumn harvesting, many are produced by Lhasa's own handicraftsmen, who this year turned out 1,500 new industrial products.

This growing prosperity of the handicraft industry is a far cry from the wretched situation obtaining before the quelling of the rebellion of the reactionary upper strata clique in Tibet. At that time Lhasa's handicraftsmen were on the verge of bankruptcy as a result of the heavy taxes and unpaid services extracted by the feudal lords.

The remarkable revival of Lhasa's handicrafts came as a result of state assistance and co-operation. Credits have been provided by the state bank. Since the establishment of handicraft mutual-aid teams in the past year, output has gone up several fold. Collective efforts have paved the way for gradual mechanization of heavy manual labour and for increased efficiency. Skilled workers have come to Lhasa from other parts of the country to impart their skills to local craftsmen. They have helped Lhasa handicraftsmen turn out water-wheels, windmills, thermos flasks and other producer and consumer goods.

Climbing mountains and fording rivers, scores of mobile teams composed of local veterinaries as well as experts all the way from Liaoning, Kirin and Chinghai Provinces and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region are making the rounds of Tibet's remote villages and pastures and offering their services to stockbreeders. While there they also pitch in with harvesting and other chores, and eat and live as do their pastoral hosts.

These veterinary workers take the initiative in setting up special courses for the dissemination of knowledge of livestock hygiene among the Tibetan people. Over 1,000 Tibetan veterinary workers have been trained in the past few months.

# Speeding Up Mechanization of China's Agriculture

by TAN CHEN-LIN

**C**HINA is speeding up the technical transformation of its agriculture. Mechanization of agriculture is being vigorously developed. Last year the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung issued the momentous call to carry through, in the main, the mechanization of China's agriculture within ten years. Immediately, the whole Party and the entire people went at it with a will, and now a nationwide movement for technical innovations and technical revolution in agriculture is surging forward with might and main.

Many factories, mining enterprises, army units, government offices and schools in various parts of the country are taking an active part in this movement, regarding it as a glorious task to provide support to the technical transformation of agriculture. Factories and mines have one after another "hooked up" with the people's communes, giving them all manner of help. Some directly help the people's communes set up their own industries for making and repairing farm implements; some help with their spare machinery now lying idle and scraps and waste material; some organize large numbers of technicians into service teams to go to the countryside and repair machines for the people's communes or pass on to the peasants techniques in the operation of machines. Not a few factories and mines have recipients to whom they give regular aid, with plans mapped out and definite systems established in rendering all-round aid. Agricultural machine-building departments work day and night, planning and speeding the manufacture of all kinds of farm machines. The People's Liberation Army is giving full play to its glorious tradition of consistent and active aid to mass movements in various localities. Large numbers of personnel and huge amounts of materials have been detailed to help the people's communes make farm machinery and train technicians. Trade departments devise all possible ways and means to aid agriculture; they take stock of their warehouses, tap latent potentialities, exchange information and supply goods wherever necessary, thereby increasingly playing the role of an ordnance department for those industries assisting agriculture. Many government offices and schools also do everything possible to provide enthusiastic help to the peasants culturally and technically. With aid from the whole Party and people, the broad masses of the peasants are high in spirits and morale. In an effort to realize the mechanization of agriculture ahead of schedule, they are taking positive measures to accumulate funds, pressing ahead with capital construction on the farms in

a big way, developing commune-run industries to repair and manufacture farm implements, training technicians and making all-round preparations for using farm machines. In particular, the movement for improving farm tools now unfolding is rapidly gathering momentum; it has entered a new stage. From the improvement of individual tools it has moved on to the improvement of whole sets of them; from the improvement of farm tools to all-round improvement of tools employed in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, subsidiary occupations, fishery and collective life; and from the improvement of tools currently used to the invention of semi-mechanized and mechanized new tools.

## Preparations for Mechanization

It is by no means accidental that, within a comparatively short period, such a large-scale upsurge in technical innovations and technical revolution took shape in the villages throughout the country. Our Party has, since liberation, led the whole nation in carrying out arduous struggles and making full preparations for effecting a fundamental change in the backward state of China's agriculture.

First and foremost, the establishment of socialist relations of production has cleared the path for the development of our agricultural productive forces. After the completion of the agrarian reform, the Central Committee of our Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have charted an integral and concrete path for achieving agricultural co-operation in our country. They have resolutely led our peasants higher and higher and faster and faster up the road of socialism, from mutual-aid teams, agricultural producers' co-operatives of lower and higher types to the people's communes which are the best form of organization, thereby accomplishing the task of the socialist transformation of agriculture in a comparatively thorough manner. The people's communes, with their bigger size and a higher degree of public ownership, have broken through the limitations of the agricultural producers' co-operatives, which were small in scale, and have created extremely favourable conditions for the mechanization of agriculture.

In the course of the socialist transformation of agriculture, every change in the relations of production inevitably promoted further growth in the productive forces. Our Party's leadership accurately reflected and



skilfully applied this objective law. While agricultural co-operation was being realized, our Party led the peasants in carrying out a whole series of capital construction on the farms and technical reforms in farming, such as the building of water conservancy works, amelioration of soil, improvement of farming techniques, and popularization of improved seed and new-types of farm tools. According to data compiled by the State Statistical Bureau, in the period from liberation in 1949 to the end of 1957, the irrigated area in the whole country was expanded by nearly 300 million *mu*, while 1,650,000 double-wheel ploughshares and 1,710,000 water-wheels of new types had been introduced to the countryside. After the completion of agricultural co-operation, our Party at once mapped out and promulgated the National Programme for Agricultural Development (Draft), and put forward a comprehensive "Eight-Point Charter" for developing agricultural production. Particularly since the big leap forward in 1958 these measures have, along with the growth of the movement for the people's communes, greatly accelerated capital construction on the farms and the movement for deep ploughing of land; China's agriculture is rapidly moving towards its goal of tending the fields like gardens. The movement for improving farm tools has been developing more intensively and on a broader scale than before; many peasants have become skilled artisans. All these have ensured that there has not been any decrease but a steady increase in the agricultural output in the course of socialist transformation of agriculture. They have also laid the necessary foundation for achieving the mechanization of agriculture.

The smooth development of the socialist transformation of agriculture and the steady growth of agricultural production have enhanced the growth of our national economy as a whole. The big leap forward in industrial production and the nationwide drive for more iron and steel, enabled our country to produce more than 13 million tons of steel last year. This makes it possible for us to allocate a larger amount of steel products in 1960 than the total allocated during the First Five-Year Plan for making farm tools and machines. At the same time, we have not only come to have completely up-to-date industries for the manufacture of agricultural machinery, but also begun to build industries for producing or repairing farm machines in the provinces, counties as well as the people's communes. This means that our industries have already begun to lay certain material foundations for the mechanization of agriculture.

It is clear from all this that the call issued last year by our Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung to accelerate the mechanization of China's agriculture was extremely timely and entirely correct.

### **The Importance of Farm Mechanization**

The mechanization of China's agriculture has extremely great importance for effecting a fundamental change in our agriculture and for promoting an all-round leap forward in our national economy.

Even before the completion of socialist transformation in our country, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out the importance of the mechanization of agriculture. He

said: "Only when socialist transformation of the social-economic system is complete and when, in the technical field, all branches of production and places wherein work can be done by machinery are using it, will the social and economic appearance of China be radically changed."\* He also said: "If, in a period of roughly three five-year plans, we cannot fundamentally solve the problem of agricultural co-operation, if we cannot jump from small-scale farming with animal-drawn farm implements to large-scale farming with machinery . . . we shall fail to resolve the contradiction between the ever-increasing demand for marketable grain and industrial raw materials and the present generally poor yield of staple crops. In that case our socialist industrialization will run into formidable difficulties: we shall not be able to complete socialist industrialization."\*\* When our Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the general line for building socialism in our country, they were issuing at the same time a call to the whole Party to change the situation in which 500 million people engage in food production. Later, for the mechanization of agriculture they put forward the concrete demand to "work for a minor solution within four years, get an intermediate solution within seven years and achieve a major solution within ten years." At the eighth plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung further expounded the theory that agriculture was the foundation for the development of our national economy, and proposed that the Ministry of Agricultural Machine-Building Industry be set up. The Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have always given great attention to the question of mechanizing China's agriculture, regarding it as a fundamental question in changing the backward state of our economy.

The victory won in the socialist transformation of agriculture has promoted the development of agricultural production and ensured that agriculture was able to meet the demands made on it by socialist industrialization in its early stage. But since China's socialist construction has entered a new stage of continuous leap forward, the question once more comes to the fore: How should agricultural development meet the needs of an all-round growth of the national economy? The Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave the timely directive to step up the mechanization of agriculture. This pointed up the crux of the problem and presented measures for solving it. The new situation at present is: The rapid growth of industry puts ever-increasing demands on agriculture to supply more marketable grain, industrial raw materials and labour power; the development of national economic construction calls for a corresponding upsurge in the cultural revolution. The elimination of illiteracy, popularization of education, the undertaking of scientific research on an extensive scale and the raising of scientific and technical levels—all make it necessary that the required personnel be transferred from the production fronts and that the peasants be given time for study. In agriculture, the realization of a continued, all-round leap forward demands of necessity the systematic implementa-

\**The Question of Agricultural Co-operation*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1956, p. 34. — Ed.

\*\**Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.



tion of the "Eight-Point Charter" for increasing agricultural output and the all-round development of a diversified economy combining agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, subsidiary occupations and fishery. This also requires still greater amount of labour power. In short, there is the question of a shortage of labour power, whether in meeting the needs of industrial growth, the development of agriculture itself, or in promoting scientific and cultural undertakings. What is the essence of this contradiction? It is the incompatibility between the state of agriculture in which operation by manual labour is still predominant and the high-speed development of socialist construction. The mechanization of agriculture in China not only can solve the question of the labour power shortage and guarantee a continued leap forward in socialist construction, but is the only way the directives of the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung can be realized to effect a fundamental change in the backward conditions under which 500 million people engage in food production.

### Special Features of China's Farm Mechanization

In order to realize the mechanization of our agriculture, we should modestly learn from the advanced experience of foreign countries, primarily the experience of the Soviet Union. But we must not simply copy experience from others; we must take into full consideration the actual conditions and characteristics of our country.

Firstly, the mechanization of agriculture must conform to the system of intensive and meticulous farming which has been our tradition. Farm work has all along been carried on intensively and with meticulous care in those parts of our country where the population is dense. The experience accumulated in this respect has been, since liberation, systematically summed up and elaborated by our Party into the "Eight-Point Charter" for increasing agricultural output, and turned into a comprehensive system of farming intensively and with meticulous care. Our experience in boosting agricultural output proves that the system of intensive and meticulous farming both guarantees a steady rise in per *mu* yields and economizes manpower and material resources to the maximum. This system is the most scientific and most economical one and has the brightest future. The "Eight-Point Charter" for increasing agricultural output and cultivating the land as one would a garden, as summed up by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is a crystallization of this system of intensive and meticulous farming, and is an integral and effective good method and system for raising per *mu* yields. The widespread popularization of this system has guaranteed a big leap forward in agricultural production for the past two years, and has opened up a broad path for a continued leap forward in agricultural production and for the realization of the great ideal of turning our land into a garden blooming with trees and flowers. Since the increase in China's agricultural output is attained mainly through implementation of the "Eight-Point Charter" and garden-like cultivation of the land to raise per *mu* yields, it is obvious that the mechanization of our agriculture must be one that, basing itself on the foundation existing at the present time, continues to develop the "Eight-Point Charter" and helps realize the ideal of garden-like cul-

tivation. The process of achieving the mechanization of agriculture must be one of the continuous and rapid increasing of per *mu* yields. Ploughing machines should be so made that they meet the needs of deep ploughing; sowing and cultivating machines should meet the requirements of close planting; irrigation machinery should be adapted to scientific methods of supplying water; and machines for dressing fertilizer must be so devised that they meet the requirements of applying large amounts of pigsty manure to the fields; and so on and so forth. So our agricultural machinery should in general be fine and skilfully made, not crude and clumsy. It should not only increase labour productivity and reduce the intensity of physical labour, but also raise the quality of work, ensuring that the work done by farm machines is better and not worse than that done by manual labour. Of course, in certain parts where the population is sparse and scattered over a large area, farm machines should be appropriate to the specific conditions prevailing there. But in these areas, too, farm work will ultimately be done in an intensive and meticulous way. This is one of the characteristics we should take into consideration as we press ahead with the task of mechanizing China's agriculture.

Secondly, mechanization of agriculture should be so carried out that it suits the complex natural conditions of our country. China is a vast country: some parts are extremely cold, others are sub-tropical in climate; some parts are mountainous and hilly, others are plains and low-lying lands; in some parts the climate is spring all the year round, while in others only a very short period in a year is frost-free; in some parts there is only one crop a year, in others there are two or three harvests annually. For this reason we have a great and rich variety of farm produce. We should, therefore, have a great variety of agricultural machinery, of different types and sizes and with varied capabilities. This is another characteristic we cannot ignore in working for the mechanization of agriculture in our country.

Thirdly, the mechanization of agriculture is now being carried out in China's vast rural areas where the people's communes have been universally organized. The people's communes call for not only the mechanization of agriculture but the mechanization of all kinds of work in all trades. The people's communes are not confined to agriculture alone; they go in simultaneously for agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, subsidiary occupations and fishery, and set up large numbers of small industries of all kinds, including factories for repairing and making farm tools and machines and for processing farm and subsidiary products. Therefore, although the people's communes primarily need farm machines, they also need other machines to meet the demands of a diversified economy as mentioned above. So with emphasis on agricultural machinery but with due consideration for gradually realizing the mechanization of all other lines, we shall be able to equip our people's communes with all the necessary machines, thereby releasing a large labour force and speeding up socialist construction in our country. Since the people's communes go in for various kinds of undertakings in a big way and on a large scale, and since the various undertakings in the villages are mostly seasonal in character, every effort must therefore

be made to devise machinery which performs various functions and can be used all the year round. Our agricultural machine-building industry should, in accordance with the requirements of the people's communes' wide field of endeavours, manufacture machines of all types and kinds and see to it that these machines can be used for many purposes. This is still another point we must consider in fulfilling the task of the mechanization of agriculture.

Fourthly, since the natural conditions of our country are complex and farm produce is most varied, the agricultural machines we make should not be only large in size, but there should be small and medium-sized ones too, thus combining the making of large machines with the making of small and medium-sized ones. In such a large country as ours, large quantities of agricultural machinery of all types and sizes are needed. At present our capacity to manufacture modern agricultural machinery is still limited. Under these circumstances, to accelerate the mechanization of agriculture we must, besides relying on large modern factories, rely on the thousands of local and commune-run small and medium-sized factories. These small and medium-sized factories for making and repairing farm machinery are in a better position to take into consideration local production needs, make use of all kinds of raw materials and materials, closely co-ordinate with the ingenuity and creativeness of the masses and use both indigenous and modern methods to produce more effective machines suited to local conditions. These factories are not so well equipped, but there are great numbers of them scattered over large areas. Moreover, they are growing rapidly and constitute a force that cannot be ignored in our effort to mechanize China's agriculture. The industry for making agricultural machinery should, therefore, integrate large, medium-sized and small enterprises and use both modern and indigenous methods. This is also an important point we should take into consideration in our effort to bring about the mechanization of agriculture.

From what has been said above, the farm machines we need for the mechanization of agriculture should be high in quality and varied in type; large, medium and small in size and serving as many purposes as possible. Such machines are not to be found in our country for the moment, and even in highly-industrialized countries ready-made machines serving all the purposes enumerated above are hardly available. We must at the same time be aware of the fact that, with the resources now at our command, it would take a relatively long period to achieve the mechanization of agriculture. But the growth of our national economy and the masses of our people urgently demand that this period be shortened. The mechanization of agriculture is therefore not an easy thing. This great historic task can only be accomplished by relying on the concerted efforts of the whole Party and people and by their arduous struggles and creative labour.

### **Key to Mechanization of Agriculture**

The key to the mechanization of agriculture in our country is the resolute implementation of our Party's general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism and the policy of "walking on two legs."

First and foremost, we should launch mass movements, give a free hand in mobilizing the masses and rely on their initiative and creativeness. The correct answer and solution to the question "what machines are most urgently needed under certain specific conditions" can only be obtained through practice in production by millions of people. In tackling the question of how to expend the least amount of financial and material resources to produce more machines within the shortest possible time and make them produce maximum results, we should rely all the more on the collective strength and wisdom of the broad masses. It might be possible for us to mechanize our agriculture without launching mass movements and by relying only on a handful of people and a few state factories; but the results would inevitably be fewer, slower, poorer and less economical. On the other hand, by launching mass movements and mobilizing the people we can certainly achieve the mechanization of agriculture with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

While we stress the importance of launching mass movements, we by no means ignore the part played by scientists and technicians. They constitute an extremely important force in the technical revolution, and their participation is essential. But only when they take part in the mass movements and work closely with the masses can they make much greater contributions than by working alone. All revolutions are, in the last analysis, the affairs of the broad masses of people, and can only be accomplished through their own efforts. Our movement for the mechanization of agriculture is, of course, no exception.

Secondly, we must "walk on two legs," making use of both indigenous and modern methods and building large, medium-sized and small enterprises simultaneously. At present, we do not have a complete set of ready-made agricultural machinery suitable to conditions in our country. These machines are still to be invented and then improved through practice in production. By practice in production, we are referring in the first place to the mass movement for improving tools. This movement provides the foundation for the mechanization of agriculture; the improvement of farm tools will lead to the invention of new farm machines. From indigenous methods we can evolve modern methods; there can be no doubt about this. This is a dialectical law of development, and a truth borne out by years of practice. Through improvement of farm tools we have, in the past few years, invented some large, medium-sized and small new farm machines of different types that meet requirements in our country. Such innovations as rice transplanters suited to the paddyfields in China and cable-tow machinery have been evolved respectively from simple transplanters made of wood and from cultivating machines operated by wind force. They are all products of mass movements for improving tools. There is no doubt that, now that we are exerting every effort towards the goal of mechanization of agriculture and inventing and improving farm machines on a large scale, the only short cut is through the use of both indigenous and modern methods and making large, medium-sized and small farm machines simultaneously. When we say that the movement for improving tools is the foundation for mechanization of agriculture, we are not underestimating



the part played by the farm machines available at present. Our goal is to modernize agriculture with up-to-date farm machinery. We now have our own industry for producing agricultural machinery; large numbers of tested farm machines of standard types, are being turned out. These agricultural machinery works constitute the main force in the mechanization of agriculture. But, as for their continued development, they still have to rely on the inventions and innovations and suggestions for further improvement emerging from the movement for improving tools. Without the aid of modern methods, indigenous methods cannot be raised to a higher level. On the other hand, without indigenous methods there will be no foundation from which modern methods can evolve. Therefore we should correctly combine the two and simultaneously develop indigenous and modern methods. Only in this way can our movement for the mechanization of agriculture develop smoothly and achieve perfection through a ceaseless process of popularization and elevation, re-popularization and re-elevation. We must be cognizant of the fact that it takes time to accomplish the mechanization of agriculture. Before it is fully achieved, we should count primarily on improvement of farm tools and on the simultaneous use of indigenous and modern methods to promote production.

Thirdly, we should aim at the greatest result within the shortest possible time with the least amount of financial and material resources. To achieve this, we must solidly base ourselves on actual needs and possibilities: use modern methods wherever possible, otherwise use indigenous methods; manufacture large agricultural machines wherever warranted, and small ones when they serve the purpose; give priority to those farm machines which play the most important role in promoting production and which achieve the maximum economy of labour power; make vigorous efforts to turn out those farm machines which use the least amount of material but yield the greatest results and take the shortest period of time to produce. As the natural conditions in our country are complex and the capacity for producing agricultural machinery is for the time being limited, we must therefore decide what machines should be given priority in the light of specific conditions. In areas where two crops a year are planted, we should give priority to those machines needed for harvesting and sowing in the two busy seasons of summer and autumn. In so doing, the farm work in those two busy seasons can be guaranteed, the shortage in labour power greatly reduced, and agricultural production developed in a better way. In some areas, irrigation machines should receive top priority; in others the foremost question is the use of vehicles in transportation; in still others ploughing and sowing machines are most urgently needed. In short, we should take a realistic attitude, base ourselves on concrete conditions, give due emphasis to important problems and move ahead in a planned and systematic way; we should give full play to our subjective activity and work energetically for the mechanization of agriculture at top speed.

Fourthly, we should fully utilize the agricultural machinery we have at present, and make preparations for the overall mechanization of agriculture in the future. At present, in places where mechanization has been preliminarily realized, particularly the mechanized state

farms, conscious efforts should be made to evolve an all-inclusive set of experiences for overall mechanization, from ploughing to harvesting, threshing and processing of farm products. At the same time, we should properly study the following questions: What changes in farming system are likely to result from the farm mechanization? What questions are likely to crop up in management? Which processes still lack ready-made machines and what machines do they need? These large pilot areas for the mechanization of agriculture should work in close co-ordination with the mass movement for improving tools; keep a sharp eye on the inventions and innovations of the masses, test them, improve them and elevate them to a higher level; and at the same time give timely and necessary technical guidance to the movement for bettering tools. Through these large pilot areas, we shall certainly discover concrete methods to achieve the mechanization of China's agriculture that give greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The experience we have gained proves that the correct policy for achieving mechanization of agriculture that yields greater, faster, better and more economical results is: closely rely on the masses; carry out mass movements in a big way; simultaneously use indigenous and modern methods and move ahead from using indigenous methods to using modern methods; build large, small and medium-sized enterprises; and, with the movement for improving tools as the basis, popularize and better farm tools and machines at the same time.

We need about ten years to accomplish the mechanization of agriculture in our country. This year and the next two are a period in which we shall work for "a minor solution." But this is an extremely important period. The present movement for technical innovations and technical revolution, which is developing vigorously, will further increase labour productivity and ensure a continued leap forward in agricultural production through the improvement of tools and semi-mechanized devices. It is also a good beginning for the successful accomplishment of the mechanization of agriculture. We should give serious and effective guidance to this movement and successfully fulfil the tasks set for this period of "a minor solution," thereby creating conditions for "an intermediate solution" and "a major solution" in the days to come. Through this movement, we should basically fix the types and sizes of various kinds of farm machines needed; sum up on a relatively broad scale a whole set of experiences for overall mechanization in large areas; train a substantial force of personnel able to make, repair, manage and use modern agricultural machinery. If we do these works well, we shall be able to accomplish the great task of bringing about the technical transformation of agriculture ahead of schedule.

We are convinced that, in the extremely favourable conditions of an all-round upsurge of socialist construction, with the brilliant leadership of our Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, guided by the beacon of the general line and by relying on the lofty ideals and boundless enthusiasm of the whole Party and people, we shall surely continue to register great victories in the agricultural technical revolution, just as we have achieved great successes in the socialist transformation of agriculture.



# Joint Press Communique of the Chinese And Burmese Governments

*Following is the text of a joint press communique issued on September 24, 1960, by the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Burma. — Ed.*

**A**T the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China and Premier of the State Council Chou En-lai, His Excellency U Nu, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, will arrive in Peking at the end of September 1960 to pay a friendly visit. During his visit, Prime Minister U Nu will sign the Sino-Burmese boundary treaty with Premier Chou En-lai and will attend the celebrations of the 11th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. His Excellency General Ne Win has also accepted the invitation to pay a friendly visit to China with Prime Minister U Nu.

To celebrate the peaceful and friendly settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question and to express to the Chinese people the kinsmanlike sentiments of the Burmese people, the Burmese Government will present, on the day of the signing of the boundary treaty, to about one million Chinese inhabitants living in close proximity to the Sino-Burmese boundary through officials designated by the Chinese Government, with a gift of 2,000 tons of rice and 1,000 tons of salt. The Chinese Government expresses its profound gratitude for this.

At the invitation of the Government of the Union of Burma and Prime Minister U Nu, Premier Chou En-

lai will arrive in Rangoon at the beginning of January 1961 to pay a friendly visit. During his visit, Premier Chou En-lai will exchange the instruments of ratification of the Sino-Burmese boundary treaty with Prime Minister U Nu, and will attend the celebrations of the 13th anniversary of the independence of the Union of Burma.

To celebrate the coming into force of this historic boundary treaty and to convey to the Burmese people the kinsmanlike sentiments of the Chinese people, the Chinese Government will present, on the day of the exchange of the instruments of ratification of the boundary treaty, to about 1,200,000 Burmese inhabitants living in close proximity to the Sino-Burmese boundary through officials designated by the Burmese Government, with a gift of 2.4 million metres of printed cloth and 600,000 porcelain plates. The Burmese Government expresses its profound gratitude for this.

The conclusion of the Sino-Burmese boundary treaty, the exchange of friendly visits by the Prime Ministers of the two countries on each other's National Day, and the presentation of gifts by the Government of one country to the inhabitants of the other along the border, would symbolize the further consolidation and development of the friendly relations between the two countries; and this has greatly satisfied both the Chinese and Burmese Governments.

## Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty To Be Signed

**T**HE Sino-Burmese boundary treaty soon to be concluded in Peking will be the first boundary treaty ever signed between two Asian countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit and in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual concessions. Premier Chou En-lai made this statement at a banquet on September 20 honouring the Burmese delegation to the Chinese-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee headed by Brigadier-General Aung Gyi, which is in Peking to attend the Committee's fourth session.

The signing of the boundary treaty, Premier Chou En-lai declared, will turn the Chinese-Burmese boundary into one of peace and friendship and develop still further the friendly relations between the two countries and the traditional, kinsmanlike friendship between the two peoples.

The Chinese Premier pointed out that the Chinese and Burmese delegations to the Joint Boundary Committee

have in a very short time held three sessions and are now holding their fourth. It can be said that the tasks stipulated in the Chinese-Burmese boundary agreement have in the main been fulfilled. Now the two sides are drafting the boundary treaty. He believed that the draft could be completed in the next few days so that the Chinese-Burmese boundary treaty would be formally signed by the Premiers of the two countries in Peking during China's National Day celebrations.

Prime Minister U Nu, General Ne Win and delegations comprising more than 300 people from various walks of life in Burma will attend China's National Day celebrations in Peking, Premier Chou said. The Chinese-Burmese boundary treaty will be formally signed on this happy occasion. This, he said, will lift Chinese-Burmese friendship to new heights.

Premier Chou expressed thanks to Brigadier-General Aung Gyi and the Burmese delegation he leads and

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## Uruguayan C.P. Anniversary Greeted

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has sent a message extending warm fraternal greetings to the Central Committee of the Uruguayan Communist Party on its 40th anniversary.

The message declares: "The history of the past forty years has proved that the Uruguayan Communist Party is worthy of the name of vanguard of the Uruguayan working class and is the faithful representative of the interests of the Uruguayan nation and people. For forty years, your Party has struggled consistently and unremittingly to uphold national independence and win democratic liberties and a better life for the people, and has scored magnificent successes in that struggle.

"Developments in the present international situation are highly favourable to the struggles of

the peoples of all nations for peace, democracy and socialism and unfavourable for imperialism and its agents. We believe that the Uruguayan Communist Party will certainly further unite the peoples of Uruguay and Latin America and strengthen the opposition to U.S. imperialism's acts of aggression and the support of the Cuban people's revolutionary struggle. At the same time, it will certainly make greater efforts to safeguard the solidarity of the international working class, defend Marxism-Leninism, uphold the Moscow declarations and oppose modern revisionism."

The message expresses the hope that the Uruguayan Communist Party will achieve great successes in the new struggle.

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to the entire Burmese staff which had participated in the surveying and other rear services at the boundary for their arduous work in delimiting the boundary between China and Burma.

Speaking at the banquet, Brigadier-General Aung Gyi expressed thanks for the warm welcome and hospitality shown them by their Chinese hosts. He said that the Chinese-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee had worked for a total of 84 days. In that time, he stated, we and our Chinese friends have made a common effort to settle the difficult boundary question left over by history. This arduous work, Brigadier-General Aung Gyi added, has been done under an incomparably powerful and valuable umbrella, that is, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit which will be recorded in the annals of history. We have observed these principles in practice, thus enabling us to traverse the difficult road to settling the Chinese-Burmese boundary question in a short period. He said that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence would never become stale and could be repeated at any time and in any place. They sound a note of peace at a time when such terms as guided missiles and rockets are being widely used.

The Brigadier-General declared that the work now being done by the Chinese-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee, in accordance with the wishes of the peoples of the two countries and their leaders, forms part of the great edifice of lasting Chinese-Burmese friendship. On this auspicious day, Brigadier-General Aung Gyi concluded, when the Chinese people are gaily preparing to celebrate their National Day, we will contribute all our wisdom and might to the conclusion of a Chinese-Burmese boundary treaty.

On September 23, Chairman Liu Shao-chi received Brigadier-General Aung Gyi and other Burmese dele-

gates and had cordial talks with them. Earlier, on September 19, Vice-Premier Chen Yi also received them.

On September 21, Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, gave a banquet welcoming the Burmese delegation. In his banquet speech Senior General Lo said: "The settlement of the boundary question between our two countries is a common victory for the Chinese and Burmese peoples and a victory for the practice of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence by countries having different social systems."

Senior General Lo declared that for purposes of maintaining Chinese-Burmese friendship and the tranquillity of the border between the two countries, the armed forces of China and Burma have in recent years consistently carried out friendly co-operation and exchanges of cordial visits. He expressed the conviction that with the appearance of a boundary of peace and friendship between the two countries, the kinsmanlike friendship between the two peoples and the friendly exchange of visits between the two armed forces will certainly be further developed.

Brigadier-General Aung Gyi in his reply said that the armed forces of Burma and China have both conducted struggles against imperialism and taken an active part in building their own countries. At present they are both taking part in the work of demarcating the Chinese-Burmese boundary. They have also co-operated in the defence of world peace. It is certain that the armed forces of the two countries will fully co-operate with each other in the future and make even greater contributions to the development of friendship of the two peoples and to the defence of world peace, Brigadier-General Aung Gyi declared.

# Keep Vigilance Against Grave Danger of U.S. Armed Intervention in Laos

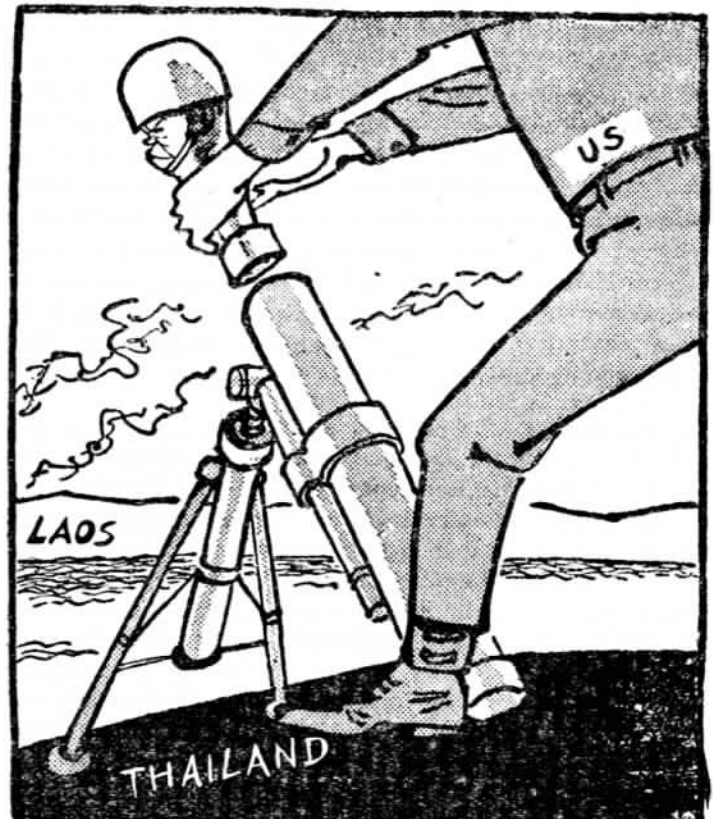
by OBSERVER

*The following commentary was published in "Renmin Ribao" on September 21. — Ed.*

AT the instigation of U.S. imperialism, Thailand authorities went so far as to bombard Vientiane early on the morning of September 18 and committed an act of armed aggression against Laos. This aggressive act of Thailand has aroused the extreme indignation of the Royal Laotian Government and the Laotian people. The Royal Laotian Government has lodged a stern protest with the Thailand authorities. The Chinese people express their profound sympathy and determined support of the Laotian people's just struggle against intervention by the United States and Thailand, in defence of their national independence and in upholding the policy of peace and neutrality.

The bombardment of Vientiane by Thailand is a grave danger signal indicating that U.S. imperialism's frenzied interference in Laotian internal affairs is developing further—from indirect support for the criminal activities of the pro-U.S. traitorous clique in Laos to subvert the Royal Laotian Government into the launching of armed aggression against Laos. It is well known that ever since the coup d'etat in Laos on August 9, U.S. imperialism has all along been engaged in many-sided conspiratorial activities to interfere in Laotian internal affairs and put the pro-U.S. traitorous clique in Laos back into power. The U.S. State Department openly announced its non-recognition of the legitimate Royal Laotian Government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma. U.S. imperialism is giving all-out support to the so-called "revolutionary committee" formed in Savannakhet with pro-U.S. Laotian traitors Phoumi Nosavan and Boun Oum Na Champasak at its head. The U.S. propaganda machine is working full blast to incite the Nosavan clique to "march on Vientiane." U.S. imperialism, furthermore, has goaded the ruling clique of Thailand to carry out military provocations against the Laotian Government, openly collude with and support the Nosavan clique, send large numbers of officers and soldiers to join Nosavan's armed forces and help the army of the Nosavan clique push towards Vientiane by way of Thailand. U.S. imperialism has, however, apparently realized that because of the resolute opposition of the Laotian people, it is difficult for the counter-attack of the pro-U.S. traitorous clique in Laos to succeed. That is why it has to come out from behind the scenes to assume a direct role.

Of late, Thai Foreign Minister Thanad Korman has shouted that the Laotian situation might develop into an "international event." The Thai Prime Minister Sarit Thanarat has clamoured for the United States to take prompt action. On September 15, the U.S. Government announced the dispatch of naval reinforcements to operate in the South China Sea near the Indo-China Peninsula. 1,100 marines of the aggressive U.S. forces occupying Taiwan and a number of war vessels of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, with an aircraft carrier in the lead, have moved into the South China Sea, "ready for combat at all times." Joseph M. Carson, commander of U.S. naval forces in the Philippines, uttered the hysterical cry that the U.S. Seventh Fleet "is very much ready for action" and bragged that the U.S. aircraft carrier in the South China Sea is "within striking distance of any point in the area." The facts cited above clearly expose the intrigue of U.S. imperialism aimed at provoking a local war in Laos so as to aggravate international tension. This



The Mortar-man

Cartoon by Fang Cheng



cannot but arouse the sharp vigilance of the peoples of various countries of Indo-China and Southeast Asia and all the other peace-loving people of the world.

U.S. imperialism, in order to conceal its criminal instigation of aggressive war in the Indo-China area, is launching a smear campaign on so-called "communist aggression." On the very day before the bombardment of Vientiane by Thailand, the Nosavan clique, entrenched in Savannakhet, apparently prompted by U.S. imperialism, issued a so-called "appeal," spreading such big lies as "Vietminh armed forces . . . are advancing," "Chinese Communist, Pathet Lao and Vietminh combined forces" on Laotian borders are "ready to go into action," and so on. All these barefaced inventions which are out-and-out lies are intended to serve as an excuse for U.S. imperialism and the Thai reactionary clique to launch armed aggression against Laos. People still remember that last year, in order to carry out aggression and intervention against Laos, U.S. imperialism also instigated the pro-U.S. traitorous clique in that country to raise a hue and cry about "Vietminh aggression." But, in the end, this shameless ruse was laid completely bare before the watchful eyes of the world public. Even the U.N. "fact-finding subcommittee" manipulated by U.S. imperialism finally had to admit that this uproar by the pro-U.S. traitorous clique in Laos was a complete fabrication. Now U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are once more invoking the long bankrupt humbug of "communist aggression." It goes without saying that this will be futile. On September 10, the U.S. State Department, with ulterior motives, issued a statement on the Laotian situation; it threatened the Laotian people that "it [the United States] would . . . be immediately concerned by the efforts of any other outside power, or the agents thereof, to take advantage of the disturbed conditions prevailing [in Laos] and to intervene directly or indirectly." It is very obvious that this statement of the U.S. State Department is a smoke-screen to cover the activities of U.S. imperialism for launching armed intervention in Laos. It is the despicable trick of the thief crying "stop thief!" Facts provide the best testimony. Is it not precisely U.S. imperialism itself which has deployed its naval vessels in the South China Sea to pose an armed threat against Laos? Is it not precisely the reactionary clique of Thailand, running dog of U.S. imperialism, which has carried out armed provocations against Laos? The Laotian people are fully aware that it is none other than U.S. imperialism that is intervening directly or indirectly in Laos.

U.S. intervention and aggression against Laos are the continuation of its criminal policy of sabotaging the Geneva agreements, undermining the peaceful and neutral status of Laos, dominating and enslaving that country and turning it into a U.S. military base. The Geneva agreements and the Vientiane agreement of 1957 had already opened up bright prospects for the independence and national harmony of Laos and for it to take the road of peace and neutrality. It was only the intervention and aggression by U.S. imperialism that disrupted peace in Laos and provoked a civil war there. Seeing their motherland being further and further dragooned by U.S. imperialism onto a dangerous path, the Laotian people and patriotic armymen, at the end of their forbearance, could not but rise to overthrow the pro-U.S. traitorous

government. Following the August 9 coup d'etat in Laos, the new Laotian Government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma proclaimed that it would pursue a policy of genuine peace and neutrality and respect the Geneva agreements; and that, internally, it would bring about national harmony and, in its foreign relations, strengthen friendly ties with neighbouring countries and all other nations willing to establish amicable relations with Laos. This could be nothing but another major defeat for U.S. imperialism's policies of aggression and war in Asia. However, U.S. imperialism certainly has not reconciled itself to this defeat; it will by no means tolerate the emergence of an independent, peaceful and neutral Laos. That is why it has hastened to brandish its big stick, flagrantly interfere in Laotian internal affairs and even resort to naked military threats, trying to engineer a local war. U.S. imperialism has by its actions proved once more that it is the most truculent enemy of the independence and freedom of the Asian peoples as well as of peace in Asia and the world.

But it must be pointed out that the ever more frenzied interference and aggression against Laos by U.S. imperialism will only serve to further awaken the Laotian people, make them unite more closely and step up their just struggle to defend their national independence against U.S. imperialism and its stooges. Should U.S. imperialism dare to defy worldwide opposition, launch a new aggressive war in the Indo-China area and torpedo peace in the Far East, it would invite an inevitable and even more ignominious fiasco.

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# The Path of Socialist Literature and Art in China

by CHOU YANG

*Following is the concluding instalment of Chou Yang's report at the Third Congress of Chinese Literary and Art Workers. The first instalment of this report appeared in our last issue. — Ed.*

## The Integration of Revolutionary Realism and Revolutionary Romanticism

**I**N order that literature and art may better reflect our age and more effectively serve the broad masses of labouring people and the great cause of socialism and communism, we advocate the artistic method of integrating revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism.

The putting forward of this artistic method is another important contribution made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung to the Marxist theory of literature and art. Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward this method on the basis of the Marxist idea of combining the theory of uninterrupted revolution with the theory of the development of revolution by stages, on the basis of the laws of development of literature and art themselves, and in view of the needs of the current revolutionary struggles. He applied to literature and art the principle of combining the revolutionary spirit with a realistic approach, and dialectically unified the two artistic methods of realism and romanticism in literature and art, the better to depict our present age, the better to absorb comprehensively all the fine traditions of the heritage of literature and art, the better to develop the different individualities and styles of writers and artists; in this way, a free and spacious world has been opened up for socialist literature and art. The integration of the revolutionary spirit and the realistic approach is applicable not only to literary and artistic creation but also to literary and artistic criticism.

Let us first discuss the question of revolutionary ideals in socialist literature and art. What we call revolutionary romanticism, the basic spirit of which is revolutionary idealism, is the expression of revolutionary idealism in artistic method.

The ideological basis of our literature and art is Marxism-Leninism. Marxist-Leninist philosophy is the most thoroughly revolutionary philosophy; it combines cool-headed scientific analysis with a fervent revolutionary spirit and the practice of the struggle of the masses. The Marxist is at the same time the most sober revolutionary realist and the revolutionary idealist who has the richest ideals. The fundamental difference between us Marxists

and the mechanical materialists is that we, on the basis of a correct knowledge of objective reality, pay full attention to subjective activity, to progressive ideas and scientific foresight and to the great significance of revolutionary vision. Is it not precisely because he is inspired by noble ideals that a proletarian revolutionary fighter braves all dangers with resolute fortitude? To us there is no limit to the revolutionary task of transforming the world; today's ideal is tomorrow's reality, while tomorrow new and loftier ideals will inspire us to continue our advance. We struggle and labour in order to keep on turning advanced ideals into reality.

Our teachers in the proletarian revolution have always relied on scientific foresight and revolutionary ideals to discern clearly the course of historical progress. As we all know, Lenin in his book *What Is To Be Done?* urged "We should dream!" In his "Preface to the Russian Translation of the Letters of K. Marx to L. Kugelmann" written in 1907, he sharply condemned those opportunistic gentlemen in Russia at that time who as soon as they were confronted by a temporary ebb in the revolution hastened to discard "revolutionary illusions" and turn to "realistic" tinkering, those ". . . 'realist' wisecracs . . . who are deriding revolutionary romanticism." Comrade Mao Tse-tung, during the years when the Chinese revolution suffered serious setbacks and was temporarily at a low ebb, foresaw that "a single spark can start a prairie fire." In poetic language he prophesied the coming of a greater, more magnificent upsurge in the revolution like "the morning sun, rising with radiant beams in the east." It is this kind of far-sighted revolutionary vision that has played an inestimable part in the development of human history.

**E**VERY class in every age has its own ideals, and, according to its social ideals and moral standards, has created a series of heroic characters in its literature and art. The history of literature shows that all the various nations of the world have poetry in praise of their heroes which has been handed down for centuries. The literary works of the past in our country have created many typical heroes of different times, and their uncommon characters and uncommon deeds are constantly on the lips of the people. Western bourgeois literature during the rise of capitalism also portrayed some positive characters embodying bourgeois revolutionary ideas. But after the middle of the 19th century, the ideals which the bourgeoisie had advocated were completely blighted and bourgeois writers could no longer produce outstanding

characters of their own class. The works by modern reactionary bourgeois writers are full of sexual perverts, decadents, schizophrenics, misanthropes, as well as rogues, swindlers, gangsters and murderers, who are "heroes" in the eyes of the bourgeoisie now heading towards its end. In the age of proletarian revolution, new heroic characters can only be the advanced elements of the proletariat and the revolutionary people. Hence the creation of new heroic characters has become the glorious task of socialist literature and art.

Our literature and art should create characters which can best embody the revolutionary ideals of the proletariat. These characters are not the products of the writers' fancy but new men and women emerging from the actual struggle. Their most admirable attribute is seen in the fact that they never are daunted by difficulties and shrink back, nor do they feel satisfied with the victories gained and so stop advancing. With their socialist ideals, they carried through the arduous democratic revolution; today, inspired by a still higher, communist ideal, they are carrying out the mighty task of socialist construction. Lofty ideals and arduous struggle have cultivated and steeled their noble qualities and resolute character. They are for ever advancing, for ever marching in the forefront of life. These are the new men and women of socialism and communism, the progressive force that impels the times forward.

**R**EACTIONARY bourgeois writers and revisionists attack our literature and art simply because they hate the revolutionary ideals expressed in them and the new characters with these revolutionary ideals. They dislike socialist reality, and dislike even more the new men and women of socialism and communism; they do not believe that the great ideal of scientific communism and the great reality of the revolutionary struggle are able to produce such a countless number of the noblest and finest characters of our age. Those writers with bourgeois prejudices have always held that the advanced characters among the masses of the people whom we describe are untrue to life and that only colourless "petty individuals" or low, negative characters are "true." Their argument is that every man has some faults and defects, that there is a struggle between darkness and light in the depth of every heart; this is what they mean by the "complexity of the inner mind." We are against over-simplifying the inner mind of characters. The inner life of the people of the new age is of the richest and healthiest. They know what attitude to take with regard to labour, friendship, love and family life. Of course they must have worries, inner conflicts and shortcomings of one kind or another, or make this or that mistake; but they always endeavour to use communist ideas and morality as the highest criteria for all their actions. What has the so-called "complexity of the inner mind" which the bourgeois writers advocate to depict got in common with the rich inner life of the labouring people of this new age? The so-called "secrets of man's mind" which they want to reveal are nothing but an exposure of their own dark souls. Eager to depict weak-willed people and the petty affairs in which they are involved, they cannot see or are unwilling to describe the heroic characters and great struggles of today, or they foist the low, empty souls of the bourgeoisie

into the new socialist or communist men. Their works are shrouded in gloom and they paint completely black the new life of a socialist society and the fighting life of the masses. The result of this can only be to make people feel disappointed with socialist reality, and foster a spiritual disintegration and collapse among the people of the socialist countries. This precisely accords with the wishes of the imperialists, as is very clear when we look at the arguments of the imperialist critics of literature and art. They either exult over the fact that in our socialist countries someone has brought "superfluous people" into socialist literature, or they urge writers of socialist countries to seek out "the tragic illusions of the world." The imperialists and revisionists are leaving no stone unturned in their attempts to infuse into socialist literature and art their own rotten bourgeois ideas and sense of despair. Should their attempts succeed, socialist literature and art would decline into a variant of reactionary, decadent bourgeois literature and art, ceasing to be revolutionary literature and art.

**E**VERY writer should have his own ideals. Of course, there are various kinds of ideals: there are lofty ideals and petty ideals, correct ideals and wrong ideals, revolutionary ideals and reactionary ideals. Only ideals that conform to the development of objective reality and accord with the interests of the majority of the people are correct ideals. Today, the highest revolutionary ideal of mankind is the realization of communism. The imperialists and all kinds of reactionaries have their "ideal" too, and that is to preserve and expand capitalism and counteract and eliminate socialism. Our writers and artists should observe and depict life from the pinnacle of the highest ideal of this age—communism, foster the people's communist moral qualities, and eliminate the remnants of various kinds of old ideas and habits left by past ages. When compared with the great aim of liberating mankind, all individual desires are petty and not worth mentioning. The ideal of communism should be the soul of our literature and art.

When we lay such emphasis on the revolutionary ideal in literature and art, will it impair the truthfulness in literature and art?

Our understanding of the question of "truthfulness" and "realism" is completely different from that of the revisionists. The revisionists often oppose tendentiousness in socialist literature and art under the pretext of "depicting truth" and "realism." They deliberately set truthfulness in opposition to tendentiousness, claiming that tendentiousness hampers truthfulness; actually what they oppose is only revolutionary tendentiousness in literature and art, and their aim is to replace it with the reactionary tendentiousness of the bourgeoisie. They want to sweep away progressive ideals in life. Their so-called realism is a "realism" divested of advanced ideals, which is actually not realism but vulgar naturalism or decadence. Their so-called "truthfulness" is in fact a distortion of reality. We have always maintained that literature and art must be truthful, we oppose false literature and art. We are not among those, however, who advocate "truthfulness for its own sake." In a class society, writers and artists



always observe and depict reality with a certain class tendentiousness, but the most profound comprehension and reflection of the truth of the age are possible only from the standpoint of the progressive class and the masses of the people. When a people's writer chooses and describes a certain subject, he must first consider whether it is beneficial to the people. To us, there is a unity between truthfulness and revolutionary tendentiousness.

**S**PEAKING of realism, we must quote Engels' famous definition: "Realism implies, besides truth of detail, the truthful reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances." ("Letter to Margaret Harkness.") Engels wrote these words to a woman writer. In his letter he criticized her for presenting London workers as too passive, considering that her working-class characters were not sufficiently typical of the London working class which had struggled for decades. What conclusion can we draw from this definition? First, realism must not simply pay attention to truthfulness of detail but truthfulness of detail must obey the principle of typicalness. Secondly, Engels asked the writer to present "typical characters under typical circumstances"; to revolutionary writers this means that they are asked to depict new characters and new ideas able to represent the progressive forces of the age, and to depict the heroic struggles of the proletariat and the masses. At a very early period Engels sharply criticized those works by so-called "true socialists" in Germany for always "praising all sorts of 'petty characters,' but not giving praise to strong, heroic, revolutionary proletarians." ("German Socialism in Poetry and Prose.") However, this classical Marxist writer's magnificent theory of realism has long been most viciously distorted by revisionists like Hu Feng and Lukacs. Engels raised the problem of realism from the standpoint of a communist world outlook and the interests of the proletariat; he called upon writers to look ahead, to create images of the progressive characters of the age. The revisionists, however, have from Engels' letter deduced the fallacious conclusion that in literature and art world outlook is not important, and even claim that the more reactionary the world outlook the better. They call upon revolutionary writers to look backwards, to model their world outlook on that of Balzac. The time has now come to make a clean sweep of such fallacious arguments.

More than twenty years ago the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Soviet literary and art circles headed by Gorky, on the basis of the experience of the development of Soviet literature, raised the slogan of socialist realism, which has been approved by revolutionary writers throughout the world. In recent years the revisionists have made desperate attacks on socialist realism; their purpose has been to slander the great achievements of socialist literature and attack the socialist system, in an attempt to drag socialist writers onto the bourgeois path. They use "depicting truth" as a pretext to oppose the noble task of literature and art—the education of the people in the spirit of socialism. Chin Chao-yang was an example of this in our country, while some other writers whose revolutionary fervour had flagged or who faltered in their revolutionary resolve have also been influenced by this ideological trend of revisionism. They look specially for the dark corners and the garbage of

history in present-day socialist life, unable to see the radiant picture of socialist life as a whole and the still more radiant future of communism. We hold that literature and art should depict the reality in revolutionary development and the aspirations for an even better future, integrating revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism. This is a forceful answer to the attacks of the revisionists.

**O**UR age abounds in heroic deeds and achievements of every kind. Never before have the masses of our people so fully displayed their firm revolutionary will and high creative spirit or shown such tremendous revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism on all the fronts of building and defending our motherland. How then are our literature and art to give a truthful reflection of this spiritual outlook of the masses, in other words, how to reflect the features of our age? Can we reflect it in melancholy tones, in pallid language and by petty, naturalistic methods? That is absolutely impossible. We must use heroic language, powerful tones and vivid colours to praise and describe our age. The revolutionary romanticism in literature and art is the crystallization of the revolutionary romanticism in our people's life. Adoption of the artistic method which integrates revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism can help our writers and artists to depict this heroic age and its heroes most truthfully and most profoundly.

Of course, life is full of contradictions. What is new in life always comes into being and grows up in a struggle against the old. The characteristic of our advanced people of today is precisely that they dare to combat all negative phenomena which run counter to the people's interests, they can overcome all manner of difficulties and obstacles and open up a path for the new life. We face squarely the contradictions which exist within the ranks of the people in the socialist society; this keeps us from falling into the error of the non-conflict theory from the very start. Our literature and art must not evade defects and difficulties, ignore passive phenomena and negative characters, or water down the contradictions and struggles in life; such cheap optimism can only over-simplify life, presenting real advanced people as lifeless men of straw. Works of this sort can neither arouse admiration for what is fine nor indignation against what is evil; they are still less able to induce men to think about life's problems, and once read they are immediately forgotten. We should praise the new people and new ideas with all our hearts; we should also scourge the old things and old ideas pitilessly. We should give penetrating expression to the sharp struggle between the new and the old; for it is in such struggles that resolute, lofty, heroic characters are formed and manifest themselves.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Art and Literature* said: "An artistic or literary work is ideologically the product of the human brain reflecting the life of a given society. Revolutionary art and literature are the products of the brains of revolutionary artists and writers reflecting the life of the people." This explains that truth in art springs from truth in life, beauty in art springs from beauty in life. One who does not accept this is not a Marxist or a

materialist, but a bourgeois idealist. However, merely accepting this does not make one a complete Marxist or complete materialist. Speaking of life and art, Comrade Mao Tse-tung further said: "Although both are beautiful, life as reflected in artistic and literary works can and ought to be on a higher level and of a greater power and better focused, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life." He also pointed out: "Revolutionary art and literature should create all kinds of characters on the basis of actual life and help the masses to push history forward." Here Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given a most penetrating explanation of the characteristics of literature and art. Life in reality is the fount of literature and art, but literature and art should be on a higher level than reality; through images they reflect life and create characters; their aim is not passively to reflect reality for its own sake, but actively to reflect and impel reality forward and transform it. This alone is the complete Marxist view.

At the very outset, human art had both realistic and idealist elements. Later, realism and romanticism developed into two different schools. The realists pay more attention to observation, and are good at presenting accurate pictures of the objective world; the romanticists pay more attention to imagination, and are good at expressing fervent visions of an ideal world. From different angles they both reflect reality and enrich the history of literature and art.

However, in the past there existed a one-sided view about realism and romanticism. When they spoke of traditions of literature and art, many people often only emphasized realism, as if all realism is good and all romanticism is bad, forgetting the fine romanticist tradition which has grown rich through continuous accumulation in the mighty current flowing throughout the history of literature and art. They consider romanticism to be incompatible with realism. Actually, in the history of literature there has been progressive realism imbued with ideals but also vulgar, short-sighted realism; there has been passive, reactionary romanticism but also positive, progressive romanticism. The difference is determined mainly by the attitude of the writer or artist towards the people, towards reality. Though many of the great, outstanding writers and artists in history lived in different ages and had their different individualities and styles, some had a greater share of the realist spirit while in others the romantic spirit predominated; some excelled in meticulous realistic descriptions, others excelled in soaring passion and bold imagination; yet usually their works show different degrees of integration of these two spirits, realism and romanticism, these two artistic methods. When exposing various iniquities in society, they always embodied their social ideals, their strong feelings of love and hate, their clear sense of approval and censure, in the characters described and in their relationships; at the same time, their great passion and lofty ideals were always stirred up by injustice in reality and had their roots in real life. The *Li Sao* of Chu Yuan shows the poet's concern for his country, his love for the people, his deep hatred for evil and his sublime, magnificent vision, which combined to make it an immortal work. Kuan Han-ching's *Snow in Midsummer* and some other fine Yuan Dynasty dramas truthfully depict a cruel

reality and passionately express the deep indignation and hatred felt by those who are wrongly accused and persecuted and describe the final triumph of justice. *Water Margin* presents one hundred and eight heroes of the peasant revolution, each with his individual character; and through the fight put up by these men, who shared glory and dishonour, lived and died together, the author expressed his ideal of "the world as one community, and the brotherhood of man." Dante's *Divine Comedy*, many of Shakespeare's plays, Goethe's *Faust*, all show a wonderful combination of fantasy and reality; while Gorky's *The Stormy Petrel* and *Song of the Falcon* are clarion calls to arouse men to revolutionary struggle. Lu Hsun's works from *Call to Arms* to *Old Tales Retold* show his sober attitude towards reality and critical spirit as well as the fervent aspirations of a revolutionary idealist.

The integration of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism which we advocate today critically inherits and synthesizes the fine traditions of realism and romanticism in past literature and art, and under new historical conditions, on the basis of the Marxist world outlook, combines the two in the best manner, forming a completely new artistic method. We are living in the era of the victory of socialism and communism, when men are leaping from the "realm of necessity" to the "realm of freedom." Our people, now liberated, have begun to be the masters of their own fate; they have far-reaching ideals; they also have a rich experience of struggles in revolution and of production; their ability to recognize and transform reality is unbounded. Thus the most fertile ground in reality is provided for the integration of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism.

### Refuting the Bourgeois Theory of Human Nature

ABOVE I have described our line, path and method in literature and art; there is a sharp divergence between us and the revisionists on all these problems. In the final analysis, this is the divergence between two fundamentally different political lines, two different world outlooks.

Literature and art form a part of the whole political and ideological front, and revisionist ideas in the realm of literature and art are not isolated phenomena but the expression in literature and art of revisionist views on politics and philosophy. At present the revisionists are desperately pushing the bourgeois theory of human nature, the false humanism of the bourgeoisie, "the love of mankind," bourgeois pacifism and other fallacious notions of the sort, to reconcile class antagonisms, negate the class struggle and revolution, and spread illusions about imperialism, and thus to attain their ulterior aim of preserving the capitalist old world and disrupting the socialist new world.

The "theory of human nature" is an important ideological weapon of the revisionists. They use an abstract, common human nature to explain various historical and social phenomena, use human nature or "humanism" as the criterion of morality and art, and oppose literature and art serving the cause of liberation of the proletariat and the labouring people. People can see that these reactionary ideological trends have already had a most pernicious influence on the people and on the people's literature and art.



The revisionists use literature and art in particular to propagate the theory of human nature and their so-called "humanism." Thus Yugoslav revisionist writers and artists claim: "Art is humanism," art should express "the inherent feelings of man," describe "general human nature." Of course this theory is not new. The old revisionist theorist Lukacs claimed that the humanistic ideal and principle are the "absolute criteria" in artistic criticism, and this so-called humanistic ideal or principle is "common human nature." In China, Hu Feng, the earliest pedlar of these theories of Lukacs, said, "The socialist spirit is the humanistic spirit," in other words "philanthropy." Feng Hsueh-feng also claimed that men's basic demand is "the friendship of humanity as a whole." When the rightists were attacking us violently, Pa Jen once more brought out these old weapons to attack socialist literature and art, asserting that revolutionary literature and art lack "human interest" because they do not express "what men have in common" and "lack the humanism inherent in human nature." Thus revisionists, whether Chinese or foreign, all sing the same tune.

**W**HAT should we understand by humanism? We consider that in class society there is no abstract principle of humanism which transcends the age and classes. In a class society, humanism as an ideology always possesses a class content of a definite age. We must differentiate between proletarian humanism and bourgeois humanism. No matter what the guise assumed by bourgeois humanism, its ultimate aim is to help to prolong the system of exploitation; proletarian humanism, on the other hand, aims to liberate mankind for good from all systems of exploitation. We are for proletarian humanism. At the same time, we make a correct and full appraisal of the progressive role of bourgeois humanism in past history.

Humanism as a trend of social thought first appeared during the Renaissance in Europe. The humanists of that time and supporters of the Enlightenment Movement in the 18th century advocated "humanism" as opposed to "divine power," "human rights" as opposed to "the rights of kings," "the emancipation of the individuality" as opposed to "the fetters of religion" of the Middle Ages and all medieval survivals. This trend of thought certainly did play a positive, progressive role in history and many brilliant works were created under its inspiration. However, the bourgeois Enlightenment Movement in Europe called for no more than the establishment of an "idealized bourgeois kingdom" and in that "kingdom" the so-called human rights meant simply bourgeois ownership, so-called individuality meant only that of bourgeois individualism. The revolutionary bourgeois thinkers of that time regarded the struggle against feudalism as a struggle to establish a social system suited to man's "nature," but that was merely an illusion of theirs. After the bourgeoisie had seized state power, its slogan of humanism, like its other slogan of "liberty, equality, fraternity," lost all its previous anti-feudal lustre and became a fraud to cover up capitalist exploitation in order to deceive the working class and act as an opiate to benumb the labouring people.

A section of the positive romanticist writers and critical realist writers of the 19th century brought stirring accusations against the seamy side of capitalism. Many

of them also appealed for humanism. But because they were not able to shake off the limitations of their bourgeois and petty bourgeois views, the humanism they called for was unable to go beyond the confines of private property and individualism. Their works often ended either in compromise with the bourgeois order or in pessimistic fatalism.

Tito's clique in Yugoslavia in its programme has spared no pains in advocating "humane relationships among people," "human sympathies and comradeship among people," the education of the people in the so-called "humanist spirit," the evaluation of all things from the "humanistic angle." They claim that socialism is no more than humanism. Let us see, then, what it is they call "humanism." In their programme they say, "Socialism cannot subordinate man's personal happiness to any kind of 'higher aims' because the highest aim of socialism is man's personal happiness." They set individual happiness and individual interest up in opposition to the lofty ideal of the happiness of mankind as a whole, placing the interests of the individual above all else. It is very obvious that what they mean by "humanism" is in fact bourgeois individualism. One Yugoslav writer in an article praising this programme expressed great admiration for Oscar Wilde's statement: "Socialism itself will be of value simply because it will lead to individualism." This remark is a voluntary confession of what is in fact the thing they call "humanism."

This Yugoslav writer boasted that they were "members of the big family of mankind," and that this big family "stretches to the East as well as to the West." In England a small group of renegades from communism unfurled the banner of so-called "socialist humanism" and advocated the "indivisibility" of mankind. Modern revisionists mendaciously claim that dividing the world into two camps, socialist and imperialist, is "the root of all trouble." This shows their purpose in advocating "humanism." It is clear that their aim is to deny the antagonism between the two camps, to deny the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, to deny all revolutions.

**T**HE ideological basis of bourgeois humanism is the theory of human nature while the core of this theory is what they call the "love of mankind," and bourgeois men of letters and revisionists regard this "love" as "common human nature," the eternal theme of literature and art.

We know how pitilessly Marx and Engels laughed at bourgeois thinkers like Kriege more than a century ago for turning communism into rantings about love, and how sharply Engels later criticized Feuerbach's preaching about the love of mankind, considering that this kind of abstract "love" advocated by Feuerbach was designed to reconcile the class contradictions; the result is that "the last relic of its revolutionary character disappears from the philosophy, leaving only the old cant: love one another—fall into each other's arms regardless of distinctions of sex or estate—a universal orgy of reconciliation." (Engels: "Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy.") Now some people within the ranks of Marxists have confused communism with bourgeois humanism, claiming that communism is the "highest embodiment of humanism," the theory of socialism the "most humane" theory, as if there were some mysterious "hu-



manism" which is an immutable absolute truth, as if communism were simply an expression of its final stage of accomplishment. In this way they cast aside the great Marxist theories of historical materialism and class struggle to go back to the reactionary bourgeois standpoint of historical idealism and the theory of human nature. They say little or nothing about class nature and the class struggle, but a great deal about "human nature," "love of mankind" and "humanism." They abandon the language of Marxism and do their best to use old bourgeois concepts and terminology to flatter and suit the taste of the bourgeoisie, trying hard to turn communism into something which the bourgeoisie can accept. The result is that not only have they themselves fallen captive to bourgeois thought, but consciously or unconsciously they have played a part in helping the bourgeoisie to fool and benumb the people.

Of course, there are also some well-meaning people, who, deceived by these fine terms and unable to perceive the truth, have added their voices to the chorus and unconsciously cast Marxism to the winds.

**N**O Marxist, no genuine revolutionary, will propagandize abstract "humanism" and the so-called "love of mankind." In a world where class antagonism exists, where there exist exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed, there can be no "love of mankind" which transcends classes. The Marxist knows only the comradely love of the proletariat, the comradely love of the labouring people, the comradely love of the oppressed people. Because Marxists have a genuine love for the people, they naturally hate those who oppress and exploit the people. Instead of a one-sided advocacy of love, they advocate love for the people and at the same time advocate hatred for the oppressors and exploiters. They arouse the people's political consciousness and make them unite to struggle to overthrow the unjust social system and build a bright and happy new life. This is the content of proletarian humanism, the content which revolutionary literature and art should express.

Anyone with a knowledge of Marxism knows that in a class society, there can be no "human nature" transcending classes; there can be only the human nature of this or that class, and that is human nature invested with the class character. The founders of Marxism used "the science of real men and of their historical development" to replace "the cult of abstract man," (Engels: "Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy") and according to the Marxist interpretation "the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the *ensemble* of the social relations" (Marx: "Theses on Feuerbach"). Actually in the view of the revisionists, what they call "human nature" is just bourgeois human nature or bourgeois class nature. In their view, what is in keeping with bourgeois ideas, mentality and way of life is human; anything else runs counter to human nature. If a work of literature describes the selfishness of certain characters, their schizophrenia or dual personality, then it accords with "human nature" and is "human." If a work describes men who are free from all thought of private ownership and possess communist moral qualities, if it describes the selfless nature of the proletariat, then it

is "unnatural," lacking in "human interest," and contrary to "human nature." They have taken bourgeois human nature as the so-called "common human nature."

To use historical idealism to oppose historical materialism, to use class reconciliation to oppose the class struggle, to use the theory of human nature to oppose the class theory, to use the reactionary and corrupt bourgeois human nature to oppose the revolutionary and lofty proletarian human nature — this is the essence of the "theory of human nature" of the revisionists.

Modern revisionists observe all phenomena from the viewpoint of the "theory of human nature," and naturally they do the same with regard to the problem of peace and war. They make no distinction between just and unjust wars nor which class is waging the war and for what purpose, but regard all wars as being contrary to "human nature," as "inhuman."

**T**HE problem of peace and war is the concern of all people throughout the world. All the peoples of the world oppose the war threats of imperialism and long for peace. All revolutionary and progressive literature, films and art have played a great part in the struggle to defend world peace and oppose imperialism and colonialism. We Marxist-Leninists have always opposed the aggressive wars of imperialism. When the aggressors persist in forcing a war upon the people, the people have no recourse but to raise the banner of resistance to aggression, use a just war to stop an unjust war, and defend their motherland with their own lives and blood. Such just, courageous and heroic action on the part of the people deserves to be admired for ever. The history of Chinese literature has not a few moving poems condemning the evils of aggressive war, and always according the most fervent admiration and praise to those national heroes who resisted foreign aggressors. Many great poets were themselves heroes who resisted oppression and aggression. The Chinese people love peace; yet they are also fearless when it comes to resisting invaders and oppressors. The history of the Chinese people's dauntless and unflinching anti-imperialist struggle in the hundred years and more since the Opium War is a magnificent epic, capable of moving people to tears as well as to song. Though the French *Marseillaise* and our *The March of the Volunteers* were produced in different ages, in different countries and by different classes, they have nevertheless the same power to stir men's hearts. *Iron Flood*, *The Nineteen*, *Chapayev*, *How the Steel Was Tempered*, *The Young Guards*, *The Story of a Real Man* and many other fine books on similar themes by Soviet authors give true expression to the invincible revolutionary resolve of the Soviet people and their incomparable loyalty to their motherland and the cause of communism. These works have provided the people of our country and of the whole world with tremendous inspiration and enlightenment.

Writers of the people can only praise the just revolutionary wars waged by the people of various countries against aggression and oppression, they certainly cannot adopt any other attitude. Yet in recent years there has been a certain confusion over the question of how to depict war in literature and art. Some writers have even adopted a negative attitude towards just wars and wars

against aggression in history, as if all wars, regardless of their nature, were wicked and dirty. And they give a "gloomy and tragic" picture to these just wars too. Such writers dwell in great detail on all the cruelty and horror of war, describing the so-called "truth of the trenches," and one-sidedly exaggerating the inevitable sacrifice and death in war. The characters in such works seem to go to the battlefield in a completely passive manner as if they were playthings of an irresistible fate, as if on the battlefield they were controlled solely by their simple instinct of self-preservation while in bewilderment they ask this question: "What meaning is there in life?" These authors take as their theme the irreconcilable contradiction between the cruelty of war and individual happiness, laying great emphasis on the psychology of despair and the tragic fate of the hero. The whole atmosphere of such works gives readers a strong feeling of sentimentalism and pessimism about war. Apparently the authors have completely forgotten that what they are describing is the people's just wars. In such wars, the people show resolute fortitude, an indomitable spirit and a heroic contempt for the enemy; it is precisely the just nature of the war and the people's noble qualities that conquer horror and death and overcome the enemy's reactionary arrogance. In such wars, although the people may suffer heavy losses and much blood may be shed, everyone with political consciousness can see that the sacrifice of the individual is for the freedom of the motherland and in order to win social and historical progress and happiness for the people as a whole. It is precisely this conviction that impels the people to go bravely to the battlefield and gives them invincible moral strength. This is an unshakable historical truth. To depict a people's just war in a very gloomy and pessimistic manner and invest it with a mood of despair is a serious distortion of the historical truth of such a war. Such works serve only to undermine the people's faith in their own strength and in the future of their motherland and destroy the people's fighting spirit in defending their motherland and peace and opposing imperialism; they in no way help in the great task of winning a lasting world peace.

At present, revisionism is the main danger in the international workers' movement. Revisionism in literature and art is also an international phenomenon, and to continue the struggle against revisionist ideas is still an important task that is now confronting the literary and art circles of our country. Of course, in the struggle against revisionism, we must differentiate carefully between those whose whole outlook is systematically revisionist and those who have been temporarily led astray by the deception of revisionism. Revisionism must be completely exposed; while in the case of certain mistaken views, the rights and wrongs must be made clear through criticism, so that those comrades led astray can come to their senses and return to the correct stand to advance together with us.

### **The Critical Revaluation and Inheritance Of the Heritage**

**T**HE approach to past heritage of literature and art is another problem on which there is a sharp divergence

between us and the revisionists and bourgeois men of letters.

Should we in our approach to the heritage adopt the critical Marxist attitude and reevaluate it from a historical viewpoint, taking all aspects into consideration, or should we either acclaim or condemn everything in a one-sided manner? Should we take its fine essence and discard the dregs, or take its dregs and discard the fine essence? Should we develop the new from the old, or retain what is old and outworn? These are the main points of controversy.

The revisionists either spurn the fine classical heritage and hawk around the decadent art of the modern bourgeoisie in a big way, or manufacture a superstitious awe about the heritage of bourgeois literature and art. The aim of both tactics is the same: that is, to use bourgeois literature and art to oppose the revolutionary literature and art of the proletariat.

Hu Feng, Lukacs and others give extravagant praise to the bourgeois literature of 19th century Europe. They look upon the bourgeois humanistic ideas advocated in those works as representing the highest ideals of mankind; they consider that the artistic achievements of those works are peaks that are unapproachable, and describe critical realism as something transcending all ages and classes and completely untrammelled by the world outlook of the authors. They use bourgeois literary criteria to judge socialist literature, in an attempt to belittle the achievements of socialist literature, blaming socialist writers for not exposing the "darkness" of socialist society after the fashion of the critical realists and thus depriving literature of its "critical" functions. Their purpose in putting forward such arguments is solely to oppose the socialist system and socialist literature. These arguments have been refuted as they deserve.

**H**OWEVER, there are still some literary and art critics today who call themselves "Marxists," but who also have a blind veneration for the literature and art of the past, especially the literature and art of the bourgeoisie of 19th century Europe. They cannot distinguish clearly the line between bourgeois and proletarian literature and art. They confuse the bourgeois humanism of those works with the socialist spirit of today, confuse the bourgeois revolutionary nature of those works with the proletarian revolutionary nature and confuse critical realism with socialist realism, thus causing great chaos in the field of theory. They have forgotten that the literature and art of the past were products of their age and reflections of it, that it is impossible for them not to have their historical limitations. They have forgotten that the literature and art of 19th century Europe are essentially the literature and art that belong to the bourgeois category and must inevitably have its class limitations. They stress in a one-sided manner the fact that socialist literature and art are by inheritance the continuation of the literature and art of the past, and do not dare to criticize or break through past traditions, nor dare to admit the qualitative change effected by socialist literature and art.

This blind worship of the legacy of literature and art has had a bad influence on our literary and art circles and young intellectuals. Some literary and art workers have so prostrated themselves before the idols of Western bour-



geois art that they cannot stand up straight. Some young readers, because they lack judgment and critical ability, are unconsciously influenced by the negative features in works of bourgeois literature, and consequently become bewildered in their thinking. It has therefore become imperative that we find a correct solution to the problem of how to deal with the legacy of literature and art according to the views of Marxism-Leninism.

**M**ARXISTS have always advocated a critical attitude towards the cultural heritage. Whenever Lenin spoke of accepting the cultural heritage, he always stressed the need to criticize and transform it. Comrade Mao Tse-tung, dealing with the problem of how to approach the cultural heritage of China and other lands, has consistently opposed making a break with history and rejecting everything of the past, but at the same time he is against bolting things raw and absorbing them uncritically. He proposed that, as regards past culture, we should take the fine essence and discard the dregs. He pointed out: "We must not refuse to take over the legacy from the ancients and the foreigners and learn from such examples, whether feudal or bourgeois. But succession to a legacy and learning from examples should never take the place of the creation of our own work, for nothing can take its place. In art and literature, the uncritical appropriation and imitation of the ancients and foreigners represent the most sterile and harmful artistic and literary doctrinairism." Comrade Mao Tse-tung has used the classical phrase "develop the new from the old" to explain the process of revolutionary development from the old literature and art to the new, from the old tradition to the new.

On the basis of the principle of developing the new from the old we have done a great deal of work in taking over and renovating our own heritage of literature and art, and have achieved rich results. I have already spoken about this aspect. Now I want to say something about the problem of dealing with the heritage of European literature and art. The fine heritage of the literature and art of other lands, like that of our country, is an important part of the treasure of human culture, and we must inherit and learn from it. But a critical appropriation is needed whether of our own heritage or that of other countries.

The literature and art of every age are products of the society and history of the age. So long as classes exist, in every age and every country there is an antagonism between the literature and art representing reaction, representing the oppressing class, and the literature and art representing progress, representing the oppressed class. Part of the Western bourgeois literature and art of the 18th and 19th centuries represents what is reactionary and can be studied as negative examples. What we want to take over critically and develop is the tradition of progressive literature and art. The literature and art of 18th and 19th century Europe and Russia made a great contribution to mankind, producing a number of great writers like Goethe, Balzac and Tolstoy. The good works of critical realism and positive romanticism expose the evils of feudalism and capitalism, and in varying degrees express the feelings and aspirations of the people of the time; from them we can understand the old society, absorb the wisdom and fighting experience of the people of the past, inherit their striving spirit and good qualities;

at the same time there is much worth learning in the artistic techniques with which these works describe life. However, even in the case of these works, we should adopt an analytical, critical attitude, and we must also see their negative side. Although the progressive works of literature of the 19th century Europe criticized capitalist society, the great majority of them did so from the standpoint of bourgeois democracy, bourgeois humanism and reformism. Though the world outlook of these writers has its progressive side, its simple materialism and theory of evolution, they were restricted by their class limitations so that they could not make a thorough exposure of the source of social contradictions, much less point out the way to solve these contradictions. Many of the characters described in these works are individualist "heroes," like Julien in *Le Rouge et le Noir*, who because his personal ambition was frustrated carried out a vengeful, despairing revolt against society, or like Jean Christophe who relied on the strength of individual character and took the greatest pride in his loneliness. If young readers take these characters as their models, far from helping them to build up the new individuality with a collective spirit, this will serve only to destroy it, will simply strengthen old individualist ideas.

By the second half of the 19th century, after the proletariat as the grave-diggers of capitalist society had entered the political arena with the most progressive ideological weapons, the critical weapons of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois humanism appeared by comparison to be most old-fashioned and outmoded. In the socialist society of today if anyone tries to pick up the old spears and javelins of bourgeois humanism and individualism, as the revisionists advocate, to "criticize" the new society and expose the "darkness" of the proletariat and the people, that is an act utterly opposed to the people and to socialism.

**I**N dealing with the heritage of literature and art, the reactionary bourgeois men of letters and the revisionists invariably choose the dregs and discard the essence, and particularly praise the dregs to the skies to poison the young; while we invariably choose the essence and get rid of the dregs. The revisionists always encourage people to look backwards, while we encourage them to look ahead. We make a scientific analysis of the heritage of literature and art according to the revolutionary world outlook of Marxism and historical materialism, pointing out, on the one hand, the significance and role of good works of the past under the historical conditions prevailing at that time, and assigning them a definite place in history; and on the other hand, we must also point out their significance for the people and the role they play under present conditions—we should pay even more attention to this side and on no account ignore it. Only by paying attention to both aspects at the same time can we avoid one-sidedness and attain an integral, revolutionary and historical view. In short, we must differentiate between and analyse our own and foreign works of the past, point out which works are still of great value to us and will still be enjoyed by readers today and in time to come because they contain penetrating descriptions of the social life of that period and reflect the historical truth with moving artistic skill, and which works lack a profound understanding of the social reality of their day or have even made obvious distortions of it and have no artistic merits either.



We should also analyse the ideas in these works which once played a progressive part, pointing out which of them still retain a positive significance today, which are no longer suited to the present and which under the new historical conditions have become reactionary. We must be selective too when we learn from the technique of past masters, and not copy it mechanically. This is the Marxist historical viewpoint and critical attitude which we propose to adopt.

A study and critical revaluation of the major literary and art works of 18th and 19th century Europe is now being carried out in our literary and art circles and in the departments of literature and art in our colleges and universities. To inherit the cultural legacy, we must study and criticize it. In order to criticize it, we must study it too; while criticizing is for the purpose of inheriting it better. The process of critical revaluation is also a process of learning Marxism and studying the heritage. We study the heritage, then criticize it, then study it again, then criticize it again; only by such a repeated process can we critically inherit the legacy of the past in a proper way. With the accumulation of experience in socialist cultural construction and the raising of the communist ideological level of the people, such critical revaluation will become more and more exact and penetrating, and in the process of breaking through old traditions, new traditions will be gradually established. We learn while we criticize; in criticizing, we should pay attention to study; in study, we should pay attention to criticism. We must rid ourselves of superstitious awe in our critical revaluation of the heritage, and liberate our minds; but then this may lead us to adopt a harsh attitude and condemn everything; thus we should take care lest we become harsh. When we study the heritage, it may lead us to imitate it and copy it mechanically; thus we must lay stress on a critical attitude, emphasize renovation and oppose conservatism, oppose the blind worship of ancients or foreigners. We should learn from all good Chinese and foreign works of literature and art of the past, but we must not let the old literature and art fetter us and hamper our creativeness.

The new age demands a new literature and art. We want to paint the newest, most beautiful pictures, write the newest, most beautiful poems—this is the demand made on us by the age. Thus we must have our own new ideas, new techniques, new artistic methods and new path for creation. We should learn from our predecessors, but we must not think poorly of ourselves. History always advances incessantly. Those who are born later should be fully confident that they can surpass their predecessors. Because we have a new social environment, a new life and new thought, because the masses of people have now been given better conditions than their predecessors to develop their talents, a host of new geniuses will certainly appear among us as a result of persistent, unremitting, earnest and conscientious efforts. In their different aspects they will surpass the artistic achievements of past masters.

SINCE the founding of our People's Republic our achievements in literature and art have been very great. But a full affirmation of our achievements certainly does not mean that we have done well in every respect. Compared with the demands of the age and of the people, what we have achieved is far from adequate. We have

not the least cause for self-satisfaction. Our socialist literature and art are in the process of rapid, all-round growth and maturing; they are full of exuberant vitality, but at the same time certain defects are inevitable in this process of growth. Many aspects of our people's rich experience in revolution and construction have not yet been given full artistic generalization and full reflection in art; the ideological and artistic standard of many works falls short of the masses' level of appreciation which is rising daily; some writings still have the shortcomings of formalism or writing according to abstract subjective ideas; modern revisionist views and various types of bourgeois ideas are still able to find a market among our intellectuals, writers and artists; our heritage of literature and art still needs further revaluation and editing; our experience in contemporary literature and art still needs to be further summarized, and our literary and art theory and criticism still need to be greatly strengthened. The Party and the people have the right to demand that literary and art workers make greater and more glorious contributions to the new age.

Comrades, our aim is to create a great socialist and communist literature and art. Our task is an arduous one.

We must make greater efforts to implement in a better way the line in literature and art laid down by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. In literature and art we must uphold the principle of putting politics in command, and further strengthen Party leadership. This is the fundamental guarantee that we shall achieve constant victories in our literature and art. We must continue to struggle against all trends hostile to the Party line in literature and art, continue to struggle against revisionist and all reactionary bourgeois views on literature and art. To dispense with or relax this struggle, to take an accommodating and conciliatory attitude towards bourgeois views is absolutely impermissible.

OUR path is correct. The most central, most basic task at present confronting all literary and art workers is that of producing more and better works. Good works are strength. Writers and artists! Let us further temper and sharpen the weapons in our hands and use them with greater accuracy and skill, let us use all our energy and talent to create works of a high ideological and artistic level to arouse the revolutionary zeal and labour enthusiasm of the masses, to raise the people's socialist consciousness, to train new men with communist moral qualities. We must strive to raise our own ideological and artistic level, on the one hand making a conscientious study of Marxism-Leninism and the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, continuing to go deep among the masses of workers and peasants, taking part in labour, and continuing to remould ourselves and raise our ideological level unceasingly; at the same time, we should, on the other hand, increase our artistic practice and raise our artistic skill unceasingly. Writers should pay special attention to mastering the art of language. Artistic technique is a means with which the writer or the artist, based on his world outlook, his general culture and profound observation of life, gives an artistic representation of reality. It is a product of highly skilled and meticulous labour. Contempt for technique means contempt for human labour and wisdom, and is utterly wrong. Only

by means of a highly developed technique can correct political ideas be integrated with fine artistic forms to the greatest perfection, can the moving power of art be produced. We must take active steps to develop the spare-time art activities among the worker and peasant masses, encourage the masses to create, and bring about close integration between professional writers and artists and the spare-time art activities of the broad masses. In this way our literature and art will have the broadest possible mass basis, and on this basis we shall foster outstanding talents in every field of literature and art. Professional literary and art workers should not cease to make higher and higher demands on themselves, to raise the ideological and artistic level of their works tenfold and a hundredfold, making the utmost efforts to produce works of literature and art which will stir the hearts of millions. Our literature and art should, on the one hand, cultivate communist moral qualities among the people and, on the other, enrich their spiritual life, to increase their wisdom and their appreciation of beauty. Our literature and art should make people become nobler, wiser and finer. Aesthetic education is an important aspect of communist education.

**I**N order to raise the level of our literary and art creations, we must at the same time raise the level of literary and art theory and criticism. More effectively to promote the healthy development of creative activities, raise the level of the works produced, and help the people to improve their standard of artistic appreciation and judgment, it is imperative that we should have correct and effective literary and art criticism. Our literary and art criticism is based on the standpoint of Marxism and takes the political standard as its first criterion; but at the same time we must make an accurate artistic analysis of the work, and establish a scientific artistic standard of our new age on the basis of experiences summed up from our contemporary creative activities. Our literary and art criticism should carry on serious struggles against all hostile and wrong ideological tendencies, at the same time it should boldly and enthusiastically foster new works which have vitality, encourage originality in art and the different artistic styles. We are against a harsh attitude in literary criticism, at the same time we should overcome such pedantic tendencies as ignoring the general trend of a work but finding fault in an over-critical manner with certain details, or the vulgar fashion of acclaiming the work blindly. We must continue to edit and study all the fine heritage of literature and art, including the theoretical heritage. Many outstanding literary and art theorists and critics have appeared in our history. They have summed up rich experience in creative writing of a certain age or in certain fields and have put forward many penetrating views on the creation of art. We should critically inherit this legacy, taking it as material which we must study and make use of to build up the Marxist literary and art theory of our country. We should develop criticism by the masses, to integrate the criticism of professionals with that of the masses; the professional critics should be adept at summarizing the masses' opinions, synthesizing them and raising them to a higher level so that they become truly the people's literary and art critics. We should pay attention to fostering new forces in literary and art theory and criticism, striving to build up a strong force of Marxist literary and art theorists.

Our ranks of writers and artists are united. We must unite still closer with all the writers and artists willing to take the socialist road in order to strive together. All the writers' and artists' unions and all literary and art organizations should become a powerful nucleus of this unity. We should closely unite with the socialist writers and artists of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, develop to a high degree the internationalist spirit of the proletariat and learn from their advanced experience. We should also closely unite with all the progressive, revolutionary writers and artists of the world, especially with those in Asia, Africa and Latin America, forming a broad united front of revolutionary literature and art against imperialism and its reactionary allies in the various countries, to strive hard in our common task of opposing imperialism and winning lasting world peace.

**I** AM reaching the end of this report. We look towards the future with infinite confidence in our socialist literature and art. At the time of the founding of our People's Republic, Comrade Mao Tse-tung told us: China will appear in the world as a country with a high level of culture. Our people have three red banners shining on them: the general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes; we have rich experience of revolutionary struggle accumulated over a long period and a splendid cultural tradition; we have the guidance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung which integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. We have all the prerequisites for the creation of a magnificent culture. We have already resolutely taken the correct path for the development of socialist literature and art; we already have a powerful revolutionary literary and art force with a nucleus of working-class writers and artists. We have beloved and respected comrades like Kuo Mo-jo, Mao Tun and many other outstanding veteran revolutionary writers and artists, as well as large numbers of talented and promising young literary and art workers who are emerging constantly from the masses. Our ranks are powerful. Provided we are united and remain loyal for ever to the Party and the cause of the people, always retain our youthful revolutionary fervour, remain close to the masses of workers and peasants, and make a constant effort to study and to raise our level, we shall certainly accomplish the task given us by history and create works worthy of our age.

Comrades! We are living in the age of the victory of socialism and communism; we are living in a country with an ancient cultural tradition. The nation that has produced Chu Yuan, Ssuma Chien, Tu Fu, Kuan Han-ching, Tsao Hsueh-chin and Lu Hsun, will certainly continue to produce thousands of brilliant writers and artists of genius. If our ancestors created great heights of literature and art in different periods thanks to their genius and determined efforts, today under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, provided we combine our individual wisdom with the collective wisdom of the masses, provided we make great efforts to work hard and persevere unremittingly in our struggle, we shall certainly storm still greater new heights of literature and art surpassing all earlier ages. Let us unite closely and strive to attain our great goal!



## LITERATURE

### "The Builders"

Liu Ching's new novel *The Builders*, published in June this year by the People's Literature Publishing House in Peking, was one of a dozen novels highly appraised at the recent third congress of writers and artists. It is a powerful novel of the rural co-operative movement. Written with penetrating insight, the novel creates within a broad canvas the image of Liang Sheng-pao, a revolutionary peasant, and throws revealing light on the truth that the road for China's 500 million peasants can only be the road of co-operation.

There is nothing unusual in its plot, no strange incidents or episodes, nor surprising twists or turns. It is simply a story of how life goes on in a small village tucked away in the Chungnan Mountains in China's northwestern province of Shensi, and revolves around the mutual-aid team led by Communist Party member Liang Sheng-pao, hero of the novel. Nevertheless, as the story unfolds, we see the new life that is coming into being across China's vast countryside, and in the mutual-aid team, we find the microcosm of China's rural co-operative movement.

What Liang Sheng-pao experienced in old China — the back-breaking toil, the endless hardships and humiliation, and the constant fear of being press-ganged, etc. — was the experience of millions upon millions of peasants who shared the same fate. In swift moving and incisive scenes, the novel introduces us to Sheng-pao as a child. Famine forces 4-year-old Sheng-pao to flee his own village. Liang San, a good-hearted poor peasant of Hsiapao Village at the foot of the Chungnan Mountains, takes the boy's widowed mother for wife and provides them with a new home. Sheng-pao starts as a hired farm hand early in life, becomes a tenant peasant, rapidly sharing in all his youthful earnestness his step-father's lifelong dream of building a family fortune; he was bursting "with push and go." But despite his ardent spirit and inexhaustible energy, he fares no better than his step-father. He is forced to sell his all important ox and to return the land he has rented. Finally to avoid being

press-ganged again, he seeks an existence deep in the mountain wilderness of Chungnan. All these things his step-father knows as he knows his own hands. But unlike his step-father, Sheng-pao is led onto a new road while still young. Liberation comes to the village and Sheng-pao returns home. He works as hard as ever, or even harder. But in the eyes of old Liang San, his energetic step-son is a changed man — he still strives to build, not a personal or family fortune but one for the happiness of the collective.

In the old society, there were a great multitude of poor peasants like Liang San, for ever pursuing the tantalizing but elusive goal of establishing a family fortune, however modest, and always ending up in disillusion. There might be one or two success stories, but these were invariably steeped in the blood and tears of numerous others. As the old saying had it: "One family becomes rich while a thousand others go bankrupt." After liberation, land reform settled scores with feudal exploitation and oppression. But although land reform succeeded for the moment in slaking the thirst of the poor peasants for land, it did not entirely block the road of the development of spontaneous capitalist tendencies in the countryside. Thus we see in *The Builders* poor peasant Jen Lao-shih once more burdened down by debt since he has a large family to support but few working hands to till the land he received through land reform, thus "all his new found enthusiasm to start life anew run out like the air from a pricked balloon."

On the other hand, we also see Kuo Shih-fu and Yao Shih-chieh, well-to-do middle peasant and rich peasant before land reform, once more embarking on their old path. Kuo's new brick house is just having beams put up; and Yao, "standing on his doorstep of solid brick, with hands clasped behind his sturdy back," gives the unmistakable impression that he is all set "to go up again." Then there is Kuo Chen-shan, "a Party member since 1949 who has great prestige among the villagers." In the land reform he received good land and his family's labour power was strong. Gradually in the course of the years, he rose to become a new well-to-do middle peasant and now "even a laugh



Liang Sheng-pao

or a word reveals that he is rich." "He no longer shares the feelings of the needy villagers." Greed has obscured his former good qualities and sent him plummeting down the same path as Kuo Shih-fu and Yao Shih-chieh. Fierce class struggle and class polarization not always perceptible to the naked eye had begun again.

Did this mean that even after liberation there was no way out for the poor peasant? This, of course, was the vain hope of rich peasant Yao Shih-chieh. Mutual aid and co-operation, the road charted by the Party, had in reality opened a broad way for all poor peasants. Liang Sheng-pao's mutual-aid team, though still beset by small peasant economy and subject to assaults by capitalist elements hostile to socialism, had already demonstrated tremendous vitality. Young Sheng-pao is persistent. Backed by the Party and relying firmly on his fellow poor villagers, he emerges victorious as his team develops into the first agricultural co-operative in Hsiapao Village and creates a base for the socialist transformation of agriculture.

The particular merit of *The Builders* is its more penetrating and comprehensive portrayal of the extremely complex and intricate struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads in the countryside — new struggle against old class enemies, struggles against the beginnings of class polarization as well as the struggle between new and old ideas.

As a novel, *The Builders'* artistic and ideological strength resides in the lifelike images it creates. The sharp class struggles, the customs and



manners of rural life are all projected on a broad canvas through rich characterization and in a highly artistic reflection of the contradictions in day-to-day life. We find Kuo the well-to-do middle peasant and Yao the rich peasant similarly greedy in their hot pursuit of wealth. Yet they are totally different characters. The former, selfish to the core, is seemingly honest; while the latter is downright vicious and infinitely intriguing. Liang San is as conservative as his close neighbour Wang Erh, but still they are two entirely different personalities.

Liang San, whose back-breaking labour had turned him into a gnarled, old hunchback, had long since stopped dreaming of a personal fortune. As he recovers from his initial bewilderment at land reform, his old unfulfilled desire revives but now in more concrete form. How unbelievable that he should now have in his possession ten *mu* of land! But how disappointing that his step-son is no longer the vigorous young man who shared his dreams. News that Sheng-pao has joined the Party is such a blow to the old man that he takes to his bed for three days on end. The good-natured Liang San becomes quarrelsome and the congenial family life gives way to endless feuds. But the old peasant remains a good-hearted toiler. And he still remembers the bitterness of the exploitation and oppression he suffered. At heart he is close to the Party. Influenced by his step-son and taught by reality, he gradually figures things out in his own way and eventually is proud of Sheng-pao.

The contrast between Sheng-pao and the degenerating Kuo Chen-shan is



Kuo Chen-shan  
Drawings by Yu Hsueh-hsing

equally typical and significant. "When the tide of land reform first swept across restless Hsiapao Village, Kuo Chen-shan was the number one important man in the whole of Toad Bank." "His warm words and daring deeds express what is in the hearts of those poor tenant peasants—land and better production conditions." He becomes a giant in the eyes of the village and its leader. But he fails to stand the test of life and history. He soon succumbs to the ideas of the well-to-do middle peasant, and instead of going the way pointed by the Party, works heart and soul for his own private "five-year plan"—to overtake rich peasant Yao! Conflict between him and Sheng-pao becomes inevitable as the co-operative movement gathers momentum. Individuals like the backsliding Kuo have been encountered before in other novels with similar themes, but the author of *The Builders* Liu Ching has probed so deeply into his character that it emerges at once unique and profoundly realistic as well as typical.

But it is still the poor peasant activists who are the masters of the times. And our author has his greatest success in the characterization of Sheng-pao. Even at this initial stage of the co-operative movement, the communist spirit has already struck root in this revolutionary peasant. Scenes of his sleeping at a railway station while on a trip to buy seeds for his mutual-aid team and of how he leads the poor villagers to cut bamboo in the Chungnan Mountains to tide them over difficulties are written movingly and with conviction.

The book closes with Sheng-pao setting up the first co-operative farm in Hsiapao Village. However, this 511-page book is only the first in a major project, and it is good to know that the author is now working on the second volume. This keen concern on the part of the reader is testimony to the success of the author who has spent the past eight years living and working in a village in Shensi. We know the characters were conceived and have been taking form even previous to that for Liu Ching, the author of the well-known *Wall of Bronze*, a novel on the War of Liberation, has always lived close to the people and to life. That is why in the warm reception of *The Builders* by the critics, Liu Ching's success is hailed as a victory of Chairman Mao Tse-

tung's literary and artistic thought which advises writers and artists to go to the source of creation—the people.

#### SHORT NOTES

**Art Exhibition Honours Three World Cultural Giants.** An art exhibition honouring three world cultural giants was held in Peking from September 21 to 25. They are the Russian painter Andrei Rublyov (1360-1427 approximately), the Spanish painter Diego de Silva y Velazquez (1599-1660) and the Japanese painter Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849). Sponsored jointly by the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and three other people's organizations, the exhibition was held in response to the call of the World Peace Council to commemorate the 600th anniversary of the birth of Rublyov, the 300th anniversary of the death of Velazquez and the 200th anniversary of the birth of Katsushika Hokusai.

The commemorative exhibition showed more than a hundred paintings (reproductions) by the three artists. It also introduced to the viewers aspects of their lives as well as special characteristics of their works.

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**Artists Return from Tibet Tour.** After touring Tibet for half a year, the artistic and cultural troupe sponsored by the Ministry of Culture has returned to the capital. During its Tibetan tour the troupe of which a modern theatre group was a part travelled far to perform in remote villages and distant forest areas in addition to its performances in Lhasa and other cities. It also took part in the work of democratic reform in Tibet and collected a great number of folk songs. The 40 modern plays and librettos it created on the basis of the new life in Tibet will receive their finishing touches in Peking.

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**Peasant Novel To Be Filmed.** The first novel by a peasant, *Men Long for Happiness and Trees Long for Spring*, is going to be made into a film by Shanghai's Haiyen Film Studio and the Yunnan Film Studio jointly. Its author Li Mou-yung, a delegate to the third congress of writers and artists, is working on the scenario in co-operation with the writer Hsu Tao.

# CHINA AND THE WORLD

## **In Fraternal Mongolia**

To mark the 11th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Mongolian-Chinese Friendship Association is sponsoring ten days of friendship activities starting in Ulan Bator on September 21. The opening ceremony was attended by D. Molomzhams, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and First Vice-Chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers, and other Mongolian leaders. A delegation of the Chinese-Mongolian Friendship Association headed by its vice-president Tsao Ti-chiu was also present.

Speaking at the opening ceremony, D. Balzhinniam, President of the Mongolian-Chinese Friendship Association, dwelt on the historic significance of the victory of the Chinese revolution and the big leap forward achieved by the Chinese people in response to the general line for building socialism formulated by the Chinese Communist Party. He sharply denounced U.S. imperialism for its aggression against China and hailed the further development of traditional Mongolian-Chinese friendship under new historical conditions.

Noting that the ten days of friendship activities bore further testimony to the Mongolian people's profound friendship for the Chinese people, the leader of the Chinese delegation Tsao Ti-chiu declared that Sino-Mongolian solidarity is based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and the principles of proletarian internationalism. The Chinese people, he said, treasure highly the Mongolian people's internationalist support and fraternal friendship and will do their utmost to cement and nurture the friendship and solidarity between the two peoples.

Earlier, on September 20, an agreement on the dispatch of Chinese workers to assist Mongolia in its construction was signed between the government delegations of the two countries

in Ulan Bator. The head of the Chinese delegation, Hsieh Fu-sheng, said at a reception that the signing of this new agreement marked the further consolidation and growth of friendship between the Chinese and Mongolian peoples. He pointed out that mutual support and assistance among fraternal socialist countries are of great significance to the consolidation and growth of the strength of the socialist camp, as well as to the struggle to defeat imperialism and win lasting world peace.

## **Sino-Algerian Friendship**

Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi have sent warm greetings to leaders of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic on the occasion of the second anniversary of the establishment of that government.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi's message conveyed best wishes for Algeria's prosperity and its people's happiness. Paying tribute to the Algerian people's heroic and unyielding struggle for national independence and against imperialism and colonialism, Premier Chou En-lai in his message to Prime Minister Ferhat Abbas called this a great inspiration to the peoples of various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America striving to win and safeguard their own national independence, and expressed the wish that the Algerian people will score even greater victories in their struggle. The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the Algerian people's just struggle and are convinced that it will certainly end in final victory. Premier Chou also noted that the militant friendship and co-operation between the peoples of China and Algeria are being continuously developed and consolidated in the common cause of opposing imperialism and colonialism and in defence of world peace.

Meanwhile, it has been announced that Algerian Prime Minister Ferhat Abbas, at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai, will visit China and attend its 11th National Day celebrations.

## **Prince Sihanouk To Visit China**

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai have invited Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk to visit China in November of

this year. Prince Sihanouk has accepted.

The invitation of the Chinese Government leaders said: The peoples of China and Cambodia have a traditional friendship as of kinsmen. This friendship has had a gratifying development in recent years through the exchange of visits between leaders of our two countries. We are deeply convinced that the coming visit of Your Royal Highness will make closer and stimulate the further growth of friendly relations between our two countries based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. It will thereby make greater contributions to enhancing and defending peace in the Indo-China region and in Asia.

Prince Sihanouk's reply expressed deep appreciation for the invitation. He said: "This new visit will certainly be favourable to the strengthening and development of the existing relations between our two countries. These relations have already been strengthened by the two great, outstanding friends of our people, His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai and His Excellency Marshal Chen Yi, during their recent visit to Cambodia. When I visit the friendly People's China again, I shall have the opportunity to acquaint myself with the shining successes scored by the Chinese people in all fields under your brilliant leadership. These successes will also inspire us to the great benefit of our country.

"Cambodia is proud of this unswerving friendship which has been developed between our two nations with respect for the Bandung principles and peaceful coexistence and for the sake of safeguarding world peace and freedom."

## **Solidarity Between Chinese And Japanese Peoples**

In the struggle against their common enemy — U.S. imperialism, the Chinese and Japanese peoples are strengthening their friendly ties.

A joint statement on expansion of friendly relations and cultural exchanges between the Chinese and Japanese peoples was issued in Peking on September 18 by the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and



the Japan-China Friendship Association whose representatives, Hosei Yoshida and Toshizo Hasegawa, recently visited China.

The statement declares that the two parties, in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the spirit of the Bandung Conference, are determined to carry on a firm struggle against the policy of hostility to China, the creation of "two Chinas" and obstruction of normalization of Sino-Japanese relations, pursued by U.S. imperialism and its henchmen, the Japanese reactionary forces.

The two parties note with satisfaction that the just, patriotic struggles launched by the Japanese people against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" have dealt heavy blows to the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, greatly contributing to the cause of safeguarding Asian and world peace. During the struggles, the Japanese people have closely linked the movement for Japan-China friendship and the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries with actions opposing the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and formed a nationwide mass movement. The Chinese people express hearty congratulations on the brilliant victory achieved by the Japanese people and will continue to extend firm support to them.

Exchanges between the two peoples, as agreed upon in the joint statement, will include visits by goodwill delegations and delegations of women, fishermen and others; the holding of various Chinese exhibitions in Japan and the exchange of films, cultural information, etc.

**Support Japanese Workers' Struggle.** Over 1,500 representatives of Peking workers held a rally on September 23 welcoming Akira Iwai, Secretary-General of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO), now visiting China, and paying tribute to the Japanese workers and people standing in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Li Chieh-po, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, and Akira Iwai spoke at the rally. Li Chieh-po noted that a short time ago, SOHYO had decided to launch a strong, united action demanding

abrogation of the new Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and the restoration of diplomatic relations between China and Japan; opposing military bases, government suppression, unemployment and poverty; and demanding the improvement of living conditions. It resolved to stage large-scale demonstrations in all parts of Japan, with the heroic Japanese workers as the nucleus. The Chinese trade unions express their respect for SOHYO's determination to continue to hold aloft the patriotic banner of opposition to U.S. imperialism, and its persistent efforts to maintain unity and solidarity and carry forward the mass struggle. They will, said Li Chieh-po, continue to give full support to the just struggles of the Japanese workers.

Akira Iwai said at the rally that the struggle of the Japanese workers and people against U.S. imperialism had won the whole-hearted backing of the Chinese workers and people. He expressed gratitude for this. Although the struggle of the Japanese people is a protracted one, he said, it will certainly end in final victory.

**Japanese Theatre in China.** The visiting 70-member Japanese Modern Drama Company headed by Tomoyoshi Murayama, noted playwright, has received a warm welcome in China. On their arrival in Peking on September 16, over three thousand literary and art workers and Peking citizens were on hand to greet them.

The Japanese theatre workers carrying banners against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," paraded from Peking railway station to their hotel. They sang *Tokyo-Peking*, a popular song in praise of the friendship between the Japanese and Chinese peoples.

At a welcoming ceremony held at the station, Ting Hsi-lin, Vice-President of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, expressed confidence that the visit of the Japanese artists would play a big role in strengthening the friendship and cultural exchanges between the Chinese and Japanese peoples. At a banquet given in their honour, Chu Tu-nan, President of the same organization, praised Japan's modern drama circles for standing with the mass of the Japanese people in the patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism. Tomoyoshi Mura-

yama, head of the visiting troupe, in his reply denounced the Japanese Government for signing the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" in disregard of the opposition of the majority of the Japanese people, and declared that the Japanese people would continue to struggle for its abrogation.

**Chinese and Japanese Youth Meet.** The delegation of the Democratic Youth League of Japan, now visiting China, was welcomed at a rally of 1,500 young citizens of Peking on September 20.

Li Meng-hua, Vice-Chairman of the host organization, the All-China Youth Federation, and Minoru Maeda, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Democratic Youth League of Japan and head of the delegation, spoke at the rally.

Li Meng-hua declared that firm opposition to the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression and the revival of Japanese militarism is the common task of the peoples of the two countries including their youth. The guest speaker also stressed that in opposing their common enemy — U.S. imperialism, the people and youth of the two countries are close comrades-in-arms.

Minoru Maeda presented to the Chinese youth a banner inscribed: "Youth of Japan and China, Unite and Drive U.S. imperialism out of Asia!"

#### **Visit of African Educators**

A delegation of the Federation of Educationists of Black Africa, headed by Amadou N'dene N'daw, Vice-General Secretary of the Secular Educational United Trade Union of Senegal, has visited China.

On September 21, Chairman Mao Tse-tung received members of the delegation and had a cordial talk with them.

At a banquet in honour of the African guests, Chu Wu, Vice-President of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association who had just returned from a visit to Africa, reiterated China's firm support for the African people's just struggle against imperialism and colonialism; expressed the belief that their struggle will be crowned with complete victory; and declared that visits between the African and Chinese peoples would promote their mutual understanding and friendship.



# CHINESE PRESS OPINION

Amadou N'dene N'daw declared that the friendship between the African and Chinese peoples is rooted in their common struggle against imperialism and is therefore strong and consolidated. China's victory has reinforced the African people's struggle and weakened the imperialist forces, he said.

## **Indonesia-China Friendship Association**

The Third National Conference of the Indonesia-China Friendship Association held recently in Djakarta decided to strengthen cultural exchange and co-operation between Indonesia and China. Its new working programme provided for an interchange between the two countries of artists, literary and sports delegations, scientists and university students, scientific books and scientific and technical data. The association also undertook to compile a history of the relations between the two countries since ancient times.

The working programme also recommended that efforts be made to construct a friendship building to become symbol and centre for Indonesia-China friendship activities.

President Sukarno sent a written message of greetings to the conference. He wished it success in strengthening friendly relations between Indonesia and China.

## **Chinese and British Workers Forge Friendly Ties**

The National Committee of the Chinese Machinery Workers Trade Union and the United Society of Boilermakers, Shipbuilders and Structural Workers of the United Kingdom issued a joint statement in Peking on September 21. The document was signed by Ho Jui-lin and Yu Huan representing the former organization and John Hepplewhite and Albert Chalkley representing the latter.

The statement declares that the Chinese machinery workers and British boilermakers, based on the mutual support in their common struggle, will further develop the friendship between them and make contributions to lasting world peace. It expresses resolute support for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggles to obtain and safeguard national independence, and declares that the

growing national independence movement in these continents is an important part in the safeguarding of world peace.

The statement records the impressions of the visiting delegation of the British Boilermakers Society of the tremendous strides made by the Chinese people in developing socialist industry and agriculture, the remarkable results obtained in raising their living standards and their sincere desire to develop friendly relations with all peoples.

The Chinese machinery workers, the statement says, firmly support the British boilermakers' struggles against American military and rocket bases in Britain and West Germany, against the rearmament of West Germany, for the banning of nuclear weapons and against all flights over British territory by U.S. planes carrying nuclear bombs, etc. The British Boilermakers Society demands the immediate restoration of the rightful place of the People's Republic of China in the UNO. It recognizes that Taiwan is an integral part of Chinese territory; that all American aggressive forces must evacuate Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits; and that the liberation of Taiwan is a Chinese internal affair.

The statement concludes by declaring that the Chinese Machinery Workers Trade Union and the British Boilermakers Society will continue to develop friendly exchanges and continue to make common efforts for friendship between Chinese and British workers.

Hailing the joint statement as "a new development in the friendly co-operation between Chinese and British trade unions," *Gongren Ribao* (Workers' Daily) Commentator points out (September 22) that this is the first joint statement on mutual support for each other's just struggle and on the development of friendship ever signed between Chinese and British trade unions. The commentator expresses the conviction that based on the common aspirations demonstrated by the joint statement, the friendship and solidarity between Chinese and British workers will certainly continue to grow and cannot be thwarted by any force. And this will inevitably contribute to the cause of solidarity of the international working class and of world peace.

## **National Independence Movement Surges in Africa**

The movement against imperialism and colonialism and for national independence is sweeping the continent of Africa. The African peoples have scored one great victory after another. Greeting these African successes, *Da Gong Bao* published an article on September 23 commenting on the situation in Africa today.

Before the Bandung Conference, the article says, there were only five independent countries in the whole of Africa. Now, of the 59 countries and regions on the continent, 24 countries have gained independence. In the first eight months of this year alone, 14 countries declared their independence. Two other countries, Nigeria and Mauritania, will declare their independence this year. So by the end of the year, 26 African countries will have gained their independence. The people of these countries make up three-fourths of the total population in Africa while their areas comprise two-thirds of the land mass of the African continent.

After describing the raging anti-colonialist storms in Algeria, the Congo, Ruanda-Urundi, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar, the Union of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, the article points out that the national independence movement in Africa is taking on ever greater proportions and embracing the whole people. More and more workers, peasants, intellectuals and members of the national bourgeoisie are joining the struggle. At present, Africa has a working class of 12 million people; this constitutes the basic motive force in the African peoples' struggle for national independence. The peasants who account for 90 per cent of the population in Africa are its main force.

With many African countries now independent, the African peoples have set themselves new tasks to accomplish, and these are: complete national independence, opposition to imperialist

intervention, withdrawal of foreign troops and abolition of foreign bases. Guinea, for instance, has adopted a series of measures to safeguard the national independence it has won and to develop its national economy. The people of Guinea have set an example for the other African peoples in the struggle to wipe out the imperialist and colonialist political and economic forces within its territory.

Long years of struggle have convinced the African peoples that colonialism will not die of its own will, the article continues. The vicious imperialist countries have resorted to the most ruthless means of armed suppression in their attempt to drown the African peoples' national independence movement in a blood-bath. The African peoples, the article says, must be prepared to counter armed suppression with armed struggles in safeguarding or striving for their national independence. In carrying on their war of liberation for nearly six years now, the Algerian people have set an example for the other African peoples fighting for independence.

The article notes that the African peoples are continuously strengthening their solidarity in their struggles. The Second All-African People's Congress held last January adopted a resolution proposing that all the African countries recognize the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria and that an African volunteer army corps be organized to support the Algerian people in their war of liberation. The resolution also proposed that all the African countries give their support to the people of South Africa in their struggle against racial discrimination. The foreign ministers' conference of African countries held a short time ago adopted a resolution giving staunch support to the struggle of the Congolese people. At the present time, many African governments and peoples are expressing strong opposition to the crimes committed by the United States in manipulating the United Nations into invading and intervening in the Congo.

The imperialist colonial system in Africa is now nearing its final collapse, the article continues. While old colonialists like the British, French, Belgian and Portuguese on the one hand have no choice but to make certain concessions to the African peoples and

agree to the independence of some African countries, they are at the same time resorting to all sorts of schemes to maintain their colonial privileges. On the other hand, they are stepping up their bloody armed suppression of the African peoples. But all these schemes have met with increasingly resolute opposition from the African peoples; the colonialists in Africa are being forced to beat one retreat after another. It is precisely at this moment, the article points out, that U.S. imperialism steps on to the scene and carries out large-scale expansion in Africa. U.S. imperialism which is the most aggressive, while supporting the old British, French, Belgian and Portuguese colonialists in suppressing the national independence movement in Africa, tries to replace them, gobble up Africa and establish its colonial hegemony there. U.S. imperialism is now using the United Nations in its frenzied aggression and intervention against the Congo. This clearly exposes the U.S. schemes to devour the Congo and then go on to seize the whole of Africa.

The exposure of the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism, the article continues, provides for the African peoples a very good lesson by negative example. It shows that U.S. imperialism is their most vicious and

most deadly enemy. In order to win complete victory in their national independence movement, the African peoples must defeat the aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism, the *Da Gong Bao* article declares.

Commenting on the new upsurge of the national independence movement in Africa, an article published in the *Zhongguo Qingnian Bao* (China Youth News) on September 22 says that the Chinese people have consistently given their support to the oppressed peoples in their struggle for liberation. The Chinese people regard the struggle of the African peoples as their own struggle, and the victories won by the African peoples as their own. On May 7 this year, the article recalls, Chairman Mao Tse-tung received public leaders, workers for peace, trade union, youth and student delegations and delegates from 12 African countries and regions visiting China. On behalf of the 650 million Chinese people, Chairman Mao expressed full sympathy and support for the heroic struggles of the African peoples against imperialism and colonialism. The unity and friendship forged by the Chinese and African peoples in the struggles against imperialism, the article goes on to say, is being consolidated and is developing with each passing day. The friendly

## THE PASSING SHOW

### Fishy Business

#### A U.S. Customs' Ballad

Before they can be admitted to the United States, goldfish raised in Hong Kong now need a visa showing that they have not been bred in "Communist China."

— NEWS ITEM

*Red fish specked with gold*

*Are clearly products of a C.P. mould,  
And threaten the security of our land.*

*Since these intruders have a  
doubtful tint  
And it's not possible to take a  
finny-print,*

*We do demand*

*That fish who wish to enter U.S.  
Must  
Present, in duly legal form,  
certificates*

*That they are free of all intent  
To wreck the United States;  
And, free of ties with a certain  
nation,  
Are products of spontaneous gener-  
eration.*



visit to China in September by President Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea and the signing of the Treaty of Friendship between China and Guinea are vivid examples of the new development of friendly relations between the Chinese and African peoples.

Imperialism, *Zhongguo Qingnian Bao* notes, is doing everything possible to undermine the unity and friendship between the Chinese and African peoples, spreading shameless lies in its attempt to slander and calumniate China. These attempts, however, are of no avail. The African peoples

understand fully well that, by relying on their own solidarity and resolutely uniting with all the forces in the world opposing imperialism in a broad anti-imperialist united front, the national independence movement in Africa will certainly win still more brilliant victories, the article concludes.

## WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

— Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc. —

Programmes are subject to change. Where times are not listed consult theatre or daily press.

### PEKING OPERA

▲ **STORM AT CHINTIEN VILLAGE** A historical opera centring around the Taiping Revolution. Describes how the peasants in Chintien Village, Kwangsi, rise and take up arms against the corrupt Manchu rulers. Produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre.

Sept. 30, 7:30 p.m. Renmin Theatre

▲ **BATTLE OF KUANTU** An opera adapted from China's great classical novel *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, tells of Tsao Tsao's defeat of Yuan Shao at Kuantu. Produced by the Peking Opera Company of Peking.

Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. Peking Workers' Club

▲ **MU KUEI-YING TAKES COMMAND** A story of Mu Kuei-ying, the brave warrior-maid of Sung times. In middle-age, after years of retirement, inspired by her high sense of duty and her love for her country, she takes the field again. Produced by the Mei Lan-fang Peking Opera Troupe.

Sept. 27-28, 7:30 p.m. Renmin Theatre

### SHAHSING OPERA

▲ **XIAO HU LEI** Adapted from the play of the same title written by the Ching Dynasty playwright Kung Shang-jen, this production of the Peking Shaohsing Opera Troupe is about a young girl skilled in playing the *xiao hu lei*, a stringed musical instrument. The emperor sends a subordinate to snatch the precious instrument, but after a series of adventures in which the girl shows courage in her defiance of the emperor, she succeeds in winning back her beloved *xiao hu lei*.

(Watch for dates and places.)

### KWANGSI FOLK OPERA

▲ **THIRD SISTER LIU** A folk opera produced by the Folk Song and Dance Troupe of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. From the legendary story of the clever and brave peasant girl singer beloved and respected by the people for her spirited and militant songs through which she castigates and holds up to contempt the whole landlord class.

Oct. 2 & 3, 7:30 p.m. Peking Workers' Club

### PINGJU OPERA

▲ **MOLTEN STEEL** A play produced by the China Pingju Opera Theatre. The theme revolves around the campaign for technical innovations and technical revolution among the workers of the Shihchingshan Iron and Steel Works.

Sept. 29 & 30, 7:30 p.m. Da Zhong Theatre

▲ **MISSION TO THE ENEMY'S REAR** A thrilling tale of underground revolutionary activities of the Communist Party in an enemy-occupied city during the Japanese

invasion. Produced by the China Pingju Opera Company.

Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. Da Zhong Theatre

### MODERN OPERA

▲ **SPRING THUNDER** The story of a heroic uprising in Hunan during the First Revolutionary Civil War. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

Sept. 29 & 30, 7:30 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

### DANCE DRAMA

▲ **LEIFENG PAGODA** A Chinese ballet adapted from the legendary love story, *The Tale of the White Snake*. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

Tianqiao Theatre

### BALLET

▲ **THE CORSAIR** China's first production of the classical ballet by the French composer Adam. Performed by the Experimental Ballet Troupe of the Peking School of Dancing.

Sept. 29 & 30, 7:30 p.m. Cultural Palace of Nationalities

▲ **SWAN LAKE** Tchaikovsky's famous ballet produced by the Experimental Ballet Troupe of the Peking School of Dancing.

Tianqiao Theatre

### FUKIEN GOUJIA OPERA

▲ **MAID HAI LUO** An opera produced by the visiting Fukien Goujia Opera Troupe. The story of Hai Luo, heroine on the Fukien front, who outwits the enemy and contributes much in the struggle against the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries. Also depicted is the militant spirit of the PLA men and ordinary civilians and the unity between them.

(Watch for dates and places.)

### THEATRE

▲ **PRINCESS WEN CHENG** A historical play written by the famous playwright Tien Han. The emperor Tai Tsung of the Tang Dynasty marries Princess Wen Cheng to the Tibetan King Sron-Tsan Gampo. This Tibetan-Han union strengthens the friendship between the two nationalities. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre.

Sept. 27 & 28, 7:30 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

▲ **THE RED STORM** A play about the great "February 7" railway workers' strike in 1923. Written collectively by a group of playwrights of the China Youth Art Theatre. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre.

Oct. 1 & 2, 7:30 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

▲ **LONG LIVE THE HEROES** A play produced by the Peking People's Art Theatre describing how the Chinese People's Volunteers defended Red Stone Ridge in Korea against the American aggressors.

Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. Peking Theatre

▲ **A SINGLE SPARK STARTS A PRAIRIE FIRE** A play produced by the Peking People's Art Theatre describing the rise and spread of the peasant uprising in Fukien Province in 1928.

Sept. 29 & 30, 7:30 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

▲ **DETAINED BY FLOOD** Flood has destroyed a section of a railway's roadbed and a train is marooned on high ground. The Communist Party group on it organizes its passengers and staff to overcome their difficulties. Produced by the Experimental Theatre of the Central Drama School.

Oct. 1 & 2, 7:30 p.m. Shiyun Theatre

### FILMS

▲ **SPRINGTIME BLOSSOMS** A feature film produced by the Peking Film Studio portrays the growing enthusiasm of the housewives as they take part in the urban people's commune. The story is told through the struggle between a conservative-minded mother-in-law and her progressive daughter-in-law.

▲ **NIEH ERH** A feature film on the life and work of Nieh Erh, Chinese revolutionary composer. Produced by the Shanghai Haiyen Film Studio.

▲ **TREASURES OF THE OCEAN** A documentary produced by the August First Film Studio demonstrating the abundant resources of China's seas and the tireless labour of Chinese scientists investigating their secrets.

▲ **THE STORY IN MURAL** A fine arts film portraying through murals the boundless enthusiasm and wisdom of the Chinese people during the big leap forward. Produced by the Shanghai Animation Film Studio.

▲ **ALL SUPPORT AGRICULTURE** A documentary showing how people from all walks of life give all-out support to agriculture.

(The above films will be shown at Peking's major cinemas from Sept. 27-Oct. 3.)

### EXHIBITIONS

▲ **EXHIBITION OF THE ART WORKS OF THE TUNHUANG MURALS** About 300 colour gouache copies of the Tunhuang Murals from Northern Wei (386-534) to Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368). Open daily (except Mon.) from 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.

At Palace Museum

### SPORTS

Swedish Table Tennis Team competes with Chinese teams.

Sept. 29, Oct. 2 & 4, Peking Gymnasium

### ACROBATICS

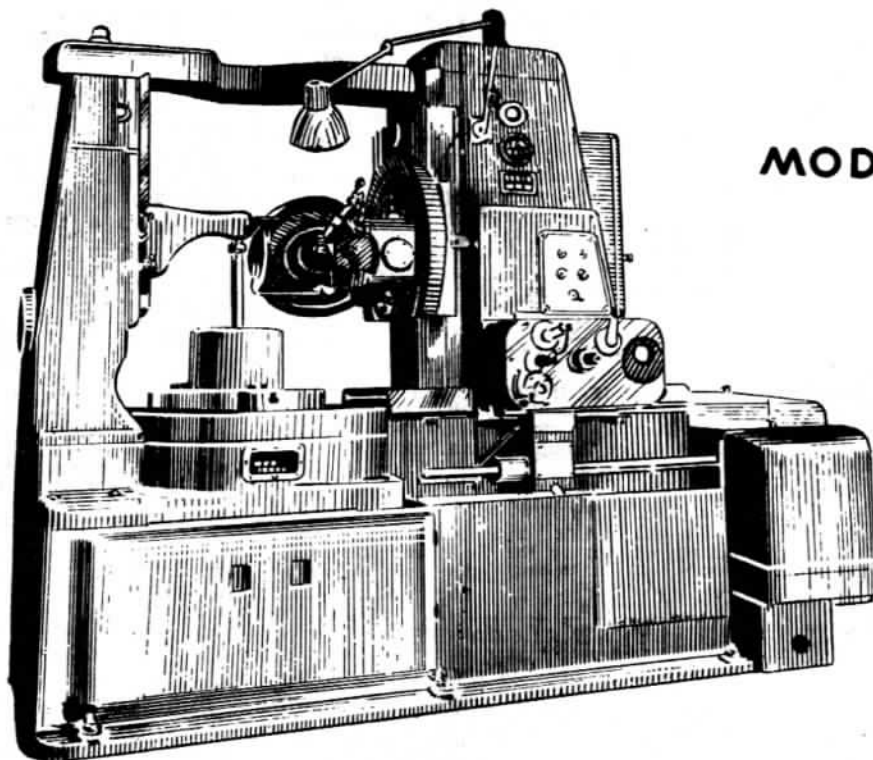
Conjuring, juggling, and acrobatics presented by the China Acrobatic Troupe.

(Watch for dates and places.)



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