

PEKING REVIEW

41

October 12, 1962

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS



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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

October 12, 1962 Vol. V No. 41

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ROUND THE WEEK

"Three Autumn Tasks"

Peasants all over the country are in the midst of the busiest farming season of the year: the time known to Chinese farmers as the season for the "three autumn tasks"—autumn harvesting, autumn ploughing and autumn sowing.

The Yangtse valley farmers are harvesting their rice crop. The early and semi-late rice crops have been gathered on more than half a million hectares of farmland around Tungting Lake, one of the major rice and cotton producing areas in central China. And the harvest is reported to be better than last year's.

South of the Yangtse River, all the early rice has been reaped. People's communes in most of the coastal regions of Fukien Province have gathered a fairly good harvest. The peasants of the Kiulung River valley were troubled by bad weather for several years running. This year they got their biggest early rice crop since 1958.

In the north, the Yellow River valley, farmers are bringing in sorghum, maize, millet and other early autumn crops. In many parts of Honan Province sorghum, which there ranks second only to wheat in importance, is growing well, thanks to the meticulous field work of the commune members.

Cotton-picking has begun too in central and southwest China and the Tarim Basin in Sinkiang in the northwest. In the cotton belt on the plains and in the loess highlands of north China members of the people's communes are putting in an extra effort in the fields as they see the crop through its final stage of growth.

Up in the northeast, the crops are mostly ready for reaping. The peasants of the Liao River valley, Liaoning Province, are pretty well satisfied with their crops this year. The Liao winds through 13 of Liaoning's counties; the farmlands on its banks account for more than 40 per cent of the province's cultivated land, and usually more than 50 per cent of the province's total grain output. With the help of the government, the people's communes fought and overcame the damage inflicted on the crops by waterlogging, windstorms

and insect pests and sorghum, rice, soya beans and maize are doing well. As we go to press harvesting has already begun. According to preliminary estimates, with the exception of low-lying areas which suffered a certain amount of waterlogging, the valley is expected to have a slightly better harvest than last year.

Where the harvest is in, the peasants are losing no time going ahead with the ploughing and sowing for next year's crops. Where the harvesting is still in progress, the commune members are doing the thousand and one things needed to prepare for the sowing—collecting fertilizers, selecting seeds, repairing farm tools and servicing tractors.

On the Tibetan Plateau, four thousand metres above sea level, the Tibetan peasants are harvesting their barley, wheat and peas. Up to last week reaping had been completed on one-third of Tibet's 200,000 hectares of farmland sown to these crops.

Tibet's autumn crops are good this year. The abundant rainfall on the plateau in the past two months was much appreciated. It particularly helped the crops in the mountain regions.

Co-operation is one of the main factors responsible for the fair harvests the peasants are reaping in many places. In Tibet both in cultivating the soil and in combating bad weather the 22,000 mutual-aid teams set up since the democratic reform began in 1959 have proved to be far more efficient than individual farmers working alone. In the rest of the country, the people's communes—now in their fourth year of existence—are demonstrating their worth more than ever. Collective economy in the countryside has become still more firmly consolidated as a result of the implementation of the Communist Party's policies regarding the people's communes.

Nationwide, mass aid to agriculture is another important factor in bringing about this steadily improving farm situation. Of special importance is the support from industry which is sending an increasing amount of chemical fertilizers, insecticides,



On the Threshing Floor

Woodcut in colour by Chou Wu

farm machinery and implements to the countryside.

Steel Products: New Types

In the first eight months of this year China's steel industry has produced 119 new types of steel products. Over half of these are to make farm machinery and implements and consumer goods. Some are being produced in large quantities.

Farm machinery and equipment plants have received more than 40 types of rolled steel specially made for them during the past few months by steel works in various parts of the country. These include special steel plates for five-plough shares, disc harrows, high-pressure containers for nitrogenous fertilizers, steel tubes for making high-pressure fuel ducts for tractors and sheet steel for river boats.

Textile and other light industrial plants received more than 20 new types of rolled steel. Special kinds of rolled steel were also made and delivered to coalmining, railway and forestry enterprises and geological survey undertakings.

Besides helping to raise the quality of a number of industrial goods these new steel products effect economies in the use of other raw materials.

Manufacture of the new rolled steels involves technical skills of a high level. Each of these new products represents a fresh victory broadening the range of rolled steel of China's young steel industry.

The production of new types of steel products is part of the programme of readjustment in the steel industry.

Yis of the Liangshan Mountains

September 30 was a day of rejoicing for the people of the Liangshan Yi Autonomous Chou, Szechuan. They celebrated the 10th anniversary

of the founding of their autonomous chou and no one celebrated it with greater gusto than the former slaves of the Liangshan Mountains.

The Yis of Liangshan have achieved the remarkable feat of jumping from slave society to socialism within a space of ten years. Following the liberation of the area from the Kuomintang and with the institution of democratic reforms, the brutal rule of the Yi slave-owners was overthrown and several hundred thousand slaves were emancipated. Continuing to implement the Communist Party's policy for the national minorities, regional autonomy was established and the people's democratic power set up at all levels within the chou. Large numbers of cadres of Yi nationality have been trained to handle local government affairs and today the Yi people enjoy full national equality and local autonomy.

Big progress has also been made in the economic field. The socialist transformation of agriculture has been practically completed. More than 90 per cent of the peasant households are in agricultural producers' co-operatives. Socialist transformation of private commerce and handicrafts, too, has been completed in most parts of the chou. Socialist collective ownership and ownership by the whole people now predominate in the area's economy.

In the wake of these changes in the political and economic system, production has developed and there has been a steady rise in standards of living. Grain output of the autonomous chou in 1961 was more than double that in 1952. This year, it is expected to be even larger. The number of pigs, sheep, cattle and horses is now 25 per cent greater than in 1957. There was no industry in pre-liberation days; today the region has a certain foundation of modern industry.

There was neither schools nor hospitals in those days. Today the Yi people speak with pride of their 700 elementary schools and seven middle schools. Hospitals have been set up in the counties of the area and there are quite a number of clinics in the villages. In ten years the Yis have transformed their chou out of all recognition.

Overseas Chinese in Peking

Overseas Chinese from Asia, Africa, Latin and North America and compatriots from Hongkong and Macao, who came to Peking to participate in the National Day celebrations, were made welcome at a reception given on October 3 by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. This followed the banquet given in their honour on September 28 by Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission.

Addressing the reception, Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C., spoke of the achievements of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The Chinese people are a great people, he said, a determined people who will never bow before difficulties. They have stood the test of difficulties both at home and abroad during the past few years, and now the situation is improving steadily.

Kuo Mo-jo expressed the hope that compatriots abroad would unite still more closely and make still greater contributions to the motherland's socialist construction. He also hoped that they would constantly strengthen their friendly relations with the peoples of the countries where they live and join them in their struggle to oppose the U.S. imperialists' policies of aggression and war.

Joint Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE Chinese people have forged yet another solid and fraternal link with the 14 million people of south Viet Nam who are fighting for their liberation. Through the hearty welcome extended to the delegation which the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has sent to tell them about the situation in south Viet Nam, the Chinese people have demonstrated with crystal clarity that they stand foursquare behind the south Vietnamese people's freedom struggle against U.S. imperialism.

During the delegation's stay in Peking, Chairman Mao Tse-tung; Chairman Liu Shao-chi; Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and Premier Chou En-lai received and talked with its members. Various Chinese organizations gave receptions or banquets in honour of the delegation. The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity presented its members with medical supplies, films and other gifts.

A joint statement issued by the delegation and its hosts in China—the China Peace Committee and the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity—summarized the results of these fraternal gatherings and discussions. Its highlights are as follows:

- The situation in south Viet Nam has become so grave that it threatens peace in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the world. The chief culprit here is U.S. imperialism, which is now conducting an aggressive war against the south Vietnamese people on an ever increasing scale. Each day the tempo of that war is being speeded up. Through their military command in Saigon, the U.S. authorities have now placed under their control the entire apparatus of terrorist repression of the puppet Ngo Dinh Diem regime, and U.S. officers and men are taking a direct hand in the slaughter of the south Vietnamese people.

- Unless U.S. imperialism stops its intervention and armed aggression, there can be no peace in south Viet Nam. Laotian experience shows that this is the basic condition for the settlement of issues through peaceful negotiations.

- The Chinese side fully supports the proposals of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation that a) the United States withdraw its troops, weapons and war materials from south Viet Nam and recognize the sovereign rights of the people there; b) in accordance with the principle that the people themselves must decide on their problems, all sides concerned in south Viet Nam put an end to the war, restore peace and security, and the U.S.-Diem regime do away with its policy of terrorist repression and herding civilians in concentration camps; c) a national, democratic coalition government including people of all political tendencies be established; d) a for-

eign policy of peace and neutrality be realized; and e) a neutral zone embracing south Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos be formed with each fully retaining its own sovereignty. The joint statement declares: "The Chinese side sincerely lauds the reasonable position taken by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation in order to solve the present situation in south Viet Nam. The Chinese people always endorse and support the struggle of the south Vietnamese people to save their country and defend their homes and consider this to be a righteous struggle waged in self-defence."

- The delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation fully supports the Chinese people's stand for the liberation of Taiwan, greets the Chinese people's achievements in socialist construction guided by the three red banners and praises China's foreign policy of peace. It supports China's proposal for the conclusion of a treaty of peace and mutual non-aggression in Asia and the Pacific region, including the United States, and for a nuclear weapon-free zone covering the area.

- U.S. interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the Far East and Southeast Asia is the root cause of tension in this area. Peace and security in this region requires that the United States dissolve the Southeast Asian military aggressive bloc, abandon its scheme to knock together a Northeast Asian military bloc, liquidate its military bases and withdraw its armed forces from this area. The joint statement specifically demands that the United States withdraw its troops from Laos, Thailand and south Korea and condemns U.S.-directed aggression against Cambodia.

- Both sides express the conviction that whatever the circumstances, the south Vietnamese people's struggle for liberation will be victorious in the end. This is because, says the statement, "the heroic fighting spirit of the people of all strata in south Viet Nam, who are rallying closely around the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, has the sympathy and support of the people of the world who cherish peace and freedom."

The significance of the joint statement is obvious. *Renmin Ribao's* editorial of October 6 expresses the sentiments of the Chinese people when it declares: "The Chinese people have always sympathized with and supported the liberation struggles of all oppressed nations. They feel a particularly close concern over the fraternal Vietnamese people's great cause of opposing U.S. imperialism and striving for the peaceful reunification of their motherland.

"The Chinese people unreservedly support the armed struggle for self-defence waged by the south Vietnamese people to achieve these demands [the proposals of the

South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation] and to compel the United States to stop its aggressive war in south Viet Nam.

"The Chinese people know very well that in launching its armed aggression against south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism has as one of its major aims the use of this region as a military base against the People's Republic of China.

Consequently, the struggle of the south Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism is itself a tremendous support to the Chinese people.

"The people of south Viet Nam and China have common aims and a common enemy. They will always remain united and will support each other till final victory."

Sino-Nepalese Boundary Treaty Anniversary

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

OCTOBER 5 was the first anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Nepalese boundary treaty. The Chinese people joyfully celebrated this significant occasion together with the people of Nepal, their close and friendly neighbour. Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, and Dr. Tulsī Giri, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister of Nepal, exchanged messages of greetings. They both stressed the significance of the boundary treaty in promoting Sino-Nepalese friendship.

China Stands by Nepal

Vice-Premier Chen Yi speaking on two occasions gave a firm pledge to Nepal on behalf of the Chinese Government: The Nepalese people can rest assured that should any foreign power dare to attack Nepal, the Chinese Government and people, together with all other countries and people who uphold justice, will stand by Nepal. The Chinese people, he emphasized, regarded the Nepalese people's struggle against foreign interference and subversion and for equality and friendship with all neighbouring countries as a struggle about principles.

At an anniversary reception given by the Nepalese Ambassador Kaisher Bahadur on October 6, Vice-Premier Chen Yi declared that the settlement of the boundary question by China and Nepal was a good thing not only for the friendship between the two peoples for generations to come but also for promoting unity and co-operation among the Asian countries as well as for safeguarding world peace. "We have always held that any question between nations," said the Vice-Premier, "however big and complicated, can be settled equitably and reasonably through friendly consultations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, provided the two parties concerned are sincere. The Sino-Burmese boundary treaty is a good example and the Sino-Nepalese boundary treaty is another."

The Nepalese people, the Vice-Premier said, are a brave and unbending people who had defeated imperialist invasions on three occasions and safeguarded their independence. The Chinese Government and people sincerely admired and energetically supported the unremitting struggles waged by King Mahendra and His Majesty's

government in adhering to the policy of independence, peace, and neutrality and in leading the Nepalese people in their successful efforts to safeguard their state sovereignty and independence and develop their national economy.

"The Chinese Government and people," Vice-Premier Chen Yi went on, "have always held that all countries, big and small, should treat each other as equals and respect each other. China is firmly opposed to great-nation chauvinism and to interference in other countries' internal affairs. We are now in the 60s of the 20th century, an era in which the national-independence movement is surging forward; all manifestations of great-nation chauvinism and all activities of interference and subversion against other countries go against the current of the times and will surely end in failure."

Protest Against British Slander

Referring to the Sino-Indian boundary question, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that China had tried its best to get a peaceful settlement of this question through negotiations in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Responsibility for the fact that the question had remained unsettled did not lie with China, he added. The Sino-Indian boundary question was originally created by the British imperialists who, taking advantage of the powerlessness of the Indian people and using India as a base, attempted aggression against China's Tibet and Sinkiang. The Indian reactionaries were trying by armed force to compel China to submit to plans involving the occupation of Chinese territory by the aggressors which even the British imperialists did not succeed in carrying out. But, Vice-Premier Chen Yi pointed out, the British Foreign Secretary, in a recent speech at the United Nations General Assembly, slanderously accused China of "invading" India. "This," said the Vice-Premier, "exactly proves that the Indian reactionaries and the British imperialists are jackals from the same lair."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi has lodged a protest against this British slander, and has expressed confidence that all those Asian countries which have been subjected to British imperialist oppression will see more clearly from

this on which side justice lies in the Sino-Indian boundary question.

A Blow to Imperialism

Marking the first anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Nepalese boundary treaty, *Renmin Ribao's* editorial of October 5 pointed out that the swift and smooth settlement of the Sino-Nepalese boundary question left over by history was a heavy blow to the imperialists and their agents who had always sought to sow discord between the Asian countries. It reviewed the encouraging development of good-neighbourly relations between the two countries over the past few years. In 1960, the editorial recalled, Premier Chou En-lai paid a visit to Nepal and a treaty of peace and friendship was signed. The visit to China of King Mahendra and the Queen of Nepal in 1961 enhanced the mutual understanding and trust between the Governments and peoples of both countries. The agreement between the two countries on the building

of highway would have an ever increasing influence upon the growth of their economic intercourse and their peaceful construction.

In international affairs, the Nepalese Government had always adopted a friendly attitude towards China, said the editorial. China felt especially grateful for Nepal's positive stand in favour of restoring to China its legitimate rights in the United Nations and against the plot of creating "two Chinas." On the so-called question of Tibet, Nepal had correctly maintained the position of non-interference in China's internal affairs. The Chinese Government and people for their part had consistently supported the Nepalese Government's policy of independence, peace and neutrality. This relationship of mutual concern and close co-operation between the Governments and peoples of China and Nepal was a shining example of peaceful coexistence and good neighbourliness between Asian countries with different social systems.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Some Questions to the Indian Authorities

The following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial of October 10, 1962. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

IN a note to the Indian Government dated October 3 (see p. 9), the Chinese Government once again proposed immediate, unconditional negotiations on the Sino-Indian boundary question. It made clear its readiness to receive in Peking on October 15 representatives of the Indian side to the negotiations. But on October 6, that is, only three days later, the Indian Government hastily replied to the Chinese Government insisting on pre-conditions for negotiations, thereby once more rejecting the Chinese proposal.

Chinese and Indian Stands: A Glaring Contrast

Since the outbreak of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, the Chinese Government, as is well known, has always stood for a peaceful settlement through negotiations. It has more than once proposed prompt negotiations. In the past two months alone, not to mention its earlier proposals, the Chinese Government repeatedly proposed negotiations to the Indian Government in its notes dated August 4 [*Peking Review*, No. 32, Aug. 10] and September 13 [*Peking Review*, No. 39, Sept. 28] respectively without laying down any pre-condition. Between September 20 and 30, Indian troops, which had crossed the so-called "McMahon Line," continually attacked the Chinese frontier guards in the Che Dong area, killing five of them and wounding nine.

In spite of this, however, the Chinese Government, acting in the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples, continued to exercise the utmost self-restraint. In its note to the Indian Government dated October 3, the Chinese Government once more urged that negotiations be held unconditionally for a peaceful settle-

ment of the Sino-Indian boundary question. This fully demonstrates the Chinese Government's sincere desire for peaceful negotiations.

But the Indian side, having encroached upon Chinese territory and killed and wounded Chinese guards, has persisted in laying down pre-conditions for negotiations; in other words, it has insisted that China must offer tracts of its own territory on a silver platter to the Indian authorities before the proposed negotiations can take place.

Who Has Intruded?

The latest pretext advanced by the Indian Government for its refusal to enter into negotiations at once, is its allegation that China has intruded into Che Dong in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary. This is obviously a vain attempt to hoodwink those who do not know the true situation. However, let the Indian authorities answer these questions: Who in fact has intruded into Che Dong? Is Che Dong not located at 27°46.5' N., 91°42' E.? And is this location not to the north of the "McMahon Line" which Britain treacherously concocted in 1914? And even to the north of the "McMahon Line" which had been pushed north by the Indian side on the map *India and Adjacent Countries* published by the Survey of India in 1959? Is this location not to the north of the "McMahon Line" as described by the Indian officials at their meeting with Chinese officials on June 27, 1960? If the Indian authorities cannot deny these established facts, then we may ask, who after all has crossed the so-called "McMahon Line" and thereby made new incursions? And who has deliberately created confusion with their maps as a pretext for aggression?

Who Is Responsible for Border Tension?

The Indian Government speaks glibly of the need to "eliminate the tension" before it can consider enter-

ing into any talks and discussions on the boundary. Now we would like to ask the Indian authorities: Who, in fact, is it that is creating and aggravating border tensions? For the past ten years and more, the Indian side has all along used armed force to alter the situation on the Sino-Indian boundary. In this year in particular, it has intensified its efforts to push through its aggressive policy of nibbling away Chinese territory, and extended this policy of aggression from the western and middle sectors to the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary. Indian troops which crossed the so-called "McMahon Line" and intruded into the Che Dong area in the Tibet region of China have since September 20 launched one attack after another on Chinese frontier guards, and these attacks are still continuing on an ever larger scale.

The facts are all there for everybody to see. So who is deliberately using armed force to alter the boundary situation? And who is continually committing fresh aggressions with a view to extending the border conflicts and aggravating tension along the entire Sino-Indian boundary?

Who Is Attempting Blackmail?

The Indian authorities have persistently demanded that China concede tens of thousands of square kilometres of its territory as a pre-condition for opening negotiations. Let us now ask the Indian authorities: If this is not an at-

tempt—which will be vain—to blackmail China through their so-called "peaceful settlement" then what else is it? It may be recalled that after their incursion into Chinese territory on the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, the Indian authorities asked China to withdraw from vast tracts of its own territory on the western sector as a pre-condition for the start of negotiations. Lately, following their repeated large-scale incursions into Chinese territory on the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, they asked China to withdraw from its own territory on the eastern sector as a pre-condition for negotiations. In a word, they are following this "logic": China must withdraw from every part of its territory into which Indian troops have intruded, and only when China agrees to such an absurd demand, will India consider entering into negotiations. Now, is it not crystal clear that by insisting on these pre-conditions for negotiations, the Indian authorities are trying to make China surrender completely to India's threat of force? Should China yield to these Indian pre-conditions and if India should realize its claim to Chinese territory, what would there be to negotiate about?

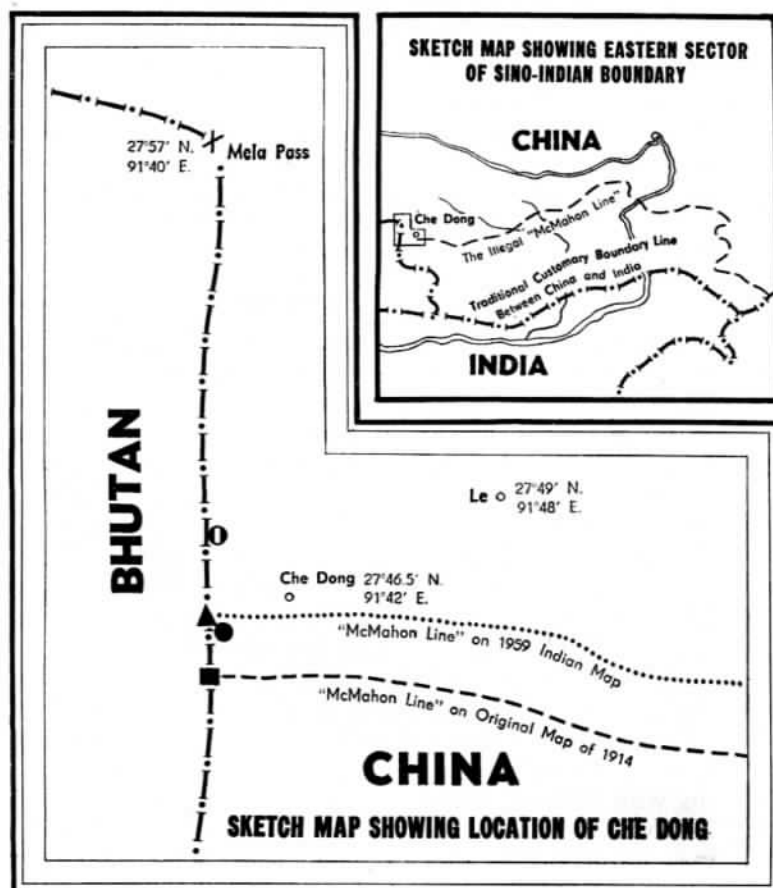
Who Is Using Threats of Force?

Not only that: the Indian Government even had the effrontery to say that it "will not enter into any talks and discussions under duress or continuing threat of force."

We want to ask the Indian authorities: Who is it indeed that is imposing duress and continuing to use the threat of force? The whole world sees that although India has occupied vast tracts of Chinese territory and is continuing to nibble away Chinese territory, the Chinese side still proposes that both sides withdraw 20 kilometres from the entire frontier line, that speedy and unconditional negotiations be held and that in the negotiations neither side should refuse to discuss any questions, whatever they may be, concerning the Sino-Indian boundary which may be raised by the other side. Could this be called "duress or threat of force"? However, the Indian side, while using armed force to nibble away Chinese border territory, is now massing its forces to prepare for large-scale attacks. In the past few days, Indian Prime Minister Nehru has taken the lead in openly calling for the use of armed force against China. The Indian paper *Tribune* reported on October 5 that after the cabinet meeting on October 4, the Indian Government "has decided" to use armed force to deal with China. In addition, it has set up a new army corps under the "eastern command." According to a DPA report of October 8, Nehru has authorized India's new commander-in-chief of the eastern border area to "fight a 'limited offensive operation.'" If this is not duress and threat of force what else is it?

Negotiations and Easing Tension in Words, Incursions and Provocations in Deeds

All these facts show that "peaceful negotiations" on the lips of the Indian ruling group headed by Nehru is nothing but a smokescreen to hoodwink the Indian people and to hoodwink world public opinion. This total lack of any sincere desire on the part of the



- Location of western extremity of "McMahon Line" on original 1914 map (27°44.6' N., 91°39.7' E. approx.)
- ▲ Location of western extremity of "McMahon Line" on 1959 Indian map (27°46' N., 91°39.6' E. approx.)
- Location of western extremity of "McMahon Line" provided by Indian side on June 27, 1960, at meeting of Chinese and Indian officials (this is about 13 miles south of the Mela Pass)
- Location of western extremity of "McMahon Line" provided by Indian side on July 13, 1960, at meeting of officials of the two countries (27°48' N., 91°40' E. approx.)

Indian Government to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question by peaceful means has laid bare the Nehru government's intention to pay lip-service to talks while actually launching invasions, to pretend to want relaxation of tension while actually carrying out provocations. What particularly warrants attention is the fact that by deliberately extending tension in the Sino-Indian border areas in contravention of the fundamental interests and desires of the Indian people, the Indian Government harbours an extremely malicious design, namely, to provoke serious clashes in the border areas and stir up a new anti-Chinese campaign in conformity with the needs of the imperialists and their lackeys. However, the Indian Government has gone too far and is too barefaced in its scheming, so much so that not only has public opinion in many Asian countries voiced condemnation, but even the London *Times* which has always sided with India also found it difficult,

in a Delhi dispatch of October 8, to help the Indian Government cloak its designs. The paper expressed the fear that if fighting broke out in the Sino-Indian border areas, "onlookers will have to note that it was Delhi . . . that declined to embark upon them [talks]. . . ."

India's aggression and provocations against China and its truculent, preposterous attitude on the Sino-Indian boundary question cannot but arouse the boundless indignation of the Chinese people. The Chinese people would like to repeat to the Indian authorities in all seriousness: only through negotiations can a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question be sought. China has always kept the door to negotiations wide open. If the Indian adventurers insist on going ahead with their dangerous gamble on the Sino-Indian border, they will achieve absolutely nothing except the thorough exposure of their own reactionary features.

Documents

Chinese Foreign Ministry's Note to Indian Embassy in China Dated October 3, 1962

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with reference to the Indian Government's note of September 19, 1962, has the honour to state as follows:

1. The Chinese Government regrets that the Indian Government has once again refused its proposal for speedily and unconditionally holding discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question on the basis of the report of the officials of the two countries.

2. The Indian Government has also refused the Chinese Government's reiterated proposal that the armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres along the entire border. The aim of the Indian Government in doing so is quite clear. Taking advantage of the cessation of border patrols by the Chinese frontier guards, the Indian side again crossed the so-called McMahon Line last June and intruded into the Che Dong area to its north in China's Tibet region and has since then set up four aggressive strongpoints at Che Dong, Jungputiu, Chekuopu and Kalung. The proposal for each side to withdraw 20 kilometres would obviously hinder the Indian side from carrying out its aggressive activities in the eastern as well as the western and middle sectors. While sending China a note on September 19 refusing the Chinese proposal for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question through negotiations, the Indian Government has since September 20 launched continuous attacks on the Chinese frontier guards in the Che Dong area and, as of September 30, killed 5 and wounded 9 Chinese frontier guards. Such unbridled provocation and attacks have not stopped up to now. It is clear that the Indian Government is determined to answer the Chinese Government's peace proposal with rifles and guns. The Chinese Government cannot but express deep indignation at this.

3. The Indian Government pretentiously repeated in its note that discussions on the boundary question can only be held after the border tension has been eased. This is downright hypocrisy. Can it be that the Indian troops' crossing

the so-called McMahon Line and firing at Chinese frontier guards are an Indian effort to ease the border tension? Whenever India attacks, China is sure to strike back. The Indian Government must bear responsibility for all the serious consequences arising from this. The Indian side on the one hand says that discussions on the boundary question can be held only after the border tension has been eased, on the other hand ceaselessly creates tension on the border, thus increasingly complicating the boundary question. Hollow words can deceive no one and calculated deeds of continuously altering the status quo of the boundary unilaterally and by force will certainly bring India no good.

4. It was out of the sincere desire to ease the border tension that the Chinese Government reiterated the proposal for each side to withdraw 20 kilometres. Yet the Indian Government asserted in its note that this proposal "suffers from the serious defect that it leaves the aggressor, who altered the status quo by unilateral action over the last few years, in possession of the fruits of his aggression." As a matter of fact, it is India itself that altered the status quo of the boundary unilaterally and by force, not only over the last few years, but for more than ten years. Regarding the western and middle sectors, the Chinese Government has already given detailed accounts in its previous notes. Now, for the eastern sector, China once again points out emphatically that the so-called McMahon Line is utterly illegal and is what the Chinese Government absolutely does not recognize. Actually, before the peaceful liberation of Tibet by China in 1950, it was merely a line which a Briton drew on a map at will and without any basis, a line without any legal or practical value. It was only after China had liberated Tibet that the Indian side unilaterally altered by force the traditional customary line in the eastern sector and pushed its frontier forces up to the so-called McMahon Line. Not satisfied with this, the Indian Government in 1959 occupied Khinzemane which is north of the so-called McMahon Line, and has now further occupied the Che Dong area. All these are iron-clad facts of unilateral and forcible alteration of the status quo of the boundary by the Indian side.

5. While repeatedly protesting against the Indian actions of altering unilaterally and by force the status quo of the boundary in the western, middle and eastern sectors, the Chinese Government, proceeding from the fundamental interests of the peoples of China and India, has never made restoration of the original state of the boundary a pre-condition for the holding of boundary negotiations between China and India. The Chinese Government holds that no pre-condition should be set for the negotiations on the boundary question. This has been, and still remains, the attitude of the Chinese Government. It is not difficult for the Asian countries and all peace-loving countries to see from this that the Chinese Government is sincerely working for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Indian Government, however, insists in its note on a pre-condition for the discussions on the boundary question, namely, the so-called status quo of the Sino-Indian boundary in the western sector as conceived by India must first be restored, which means that China must withdraw from vast tracts of its own territory before discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question can start. This is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese Government. It is clear that the Indian Government has raised the question in such a way because it wants to make the two sides bog down in endless procedural debates in a continuous exchange of notes, thus making it utterly impossible to start discussions on the boundary question.

6. The Chinese Government is against setting any pre-conditions for the discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question. But it does not object to discussing any question

the Indian side may raise during the discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Indian note says that only certain questions concerning the western sector of the boundary will be discussed. Why only discuss the western sector? The eastern sector being the most pressing question at present, what reason is there for not discussing it? The Chinese Government now once again proposes that discussions on the Sino-Indian boundary question be started at once between the two Governments on the basis of the report of the officials of the two sides; that during the discussions questions concerning the middle and eastern sectors of the boundary must be discussed as well as those concerning the western sector, in a word, that neither side should refuse to discuss any question concerning the Sino-Indian boundary that may be raised by the other side.

7. As regards the concrete arrangement, the Chinese Government has noted that the Indian Government has agreed to the proposal for holding discussions from October 15 first in Peking and then in Delhi, alternately. The Chinese Government is prepared to receive on October 15 the representative to be sent by the Indian side. It suggests that other relevant details be promptly discussed and decided upon through diplomatic channels.

The Chinese Government awaits the reply of the Indian Government.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Chinese Foreign Ministry's Note to Indian Embassy in China Dated October 6, 1962

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of India in China and, with reference to the notes of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Indian Government dated September 17, 21 and 25, 1962, has the honour to state the following:

In its notes to the Indian Government dated September 16, 20, 21 and 25, 1962, the Chinese Government has given clear and detailed accounts of how Indian troops intruded into Che Dong, north of the so-called McMahon Line, established an aggressive stronghold, attacked Chinese frontier guards and created incidents of bloodshed there. In the past few days, the Indian troops have again expanded the scope of their encroachment and set up three more aggressive strongpoints in the Che Dong area, one at Chekuopu, east of Che Dong and west of the Che-jao bridge, another at Jungputiu, southwest of Che Dong, and the third at Kalung, west by north of Che Dong. What is even more serious, the Indian troops have become increasingly unbridled in their armed provocations. Against this, the Chinese Government has repeatedly lodged the most serious protests with the Indian Government. The Chinese Government now demands once again that the Indian side immediately stop its armed attacks on the Chinese frontier guards and withdraw from China's Che Dong area.

The Indian Government in its notes not only tried hard to deny having engaged in aggressive activities, but went so far as to misrepresent the armed attack launched by the Indian troops at midnight on September 20, in which they killed an officer of the Chinese Frontier Guards and wounded

a Chinese soldier, as an incident in which two Chinese soldiers came "up to an Indian patrol post" and "threw two hand-grenades injuring three Indian soldiers," so that the Indian side was "compelled to return the fire in self-defence." In concocting this lie in its notes, the Indian Government had probably forgotten another version of this incident given by a spokesman of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs on September 21. He then pretentiously said that the Chinese opened fire at an Indian post from some hundreds of yards away, injuring three Indian soldiers. This evident inconsistency in itself suffices to explode the Indian side's clumsy lies. It must also be pointed out that, in reply to correspondents on September 22, 1962, Prime Minister Nehru described the bloody clash created by Indian troops as "minor incidents." This irresponsible statement shows that the Indian side is going to continue to "play with fire" on the border. But he who plays with fire will burn himself, and the Indian side is advised to consider carefully the consequences.

The Indian Government asserts that Che Dong is to the south of the illegal McMahon Line and is Indian territory. This is wholly incompatible with the actual situation. The so-called McMahon Line was treacherously concocted in 1914 by Britain for the purpose of aggression against China's Tibet. It is illegal and null and void and has never been recognized by any Chinese government. But according to the original 1914 map of the "McMahon Line," this Line extends eastward from approximately 27°44.6'N, 91°39.7'E, while Che Dong is situated at 27°46.5'N, 91°42'E, and so obviously north of the Line. In the map *India and Adjacent Countries* published by the Survey of India in 1959, the so-called

McMahon Line has already been shifted further north, yet the Che Dong area is still north of the Line as delineated in this map. During the meeting of the officials of the two countries, the Indian side said in describing its claim line on June 27, 1960 that the western extremity of the so-called McMahon Line was about 13 miles south of the Mela Pass (27°57'N, 91°40'E). Calculated by this distance, the Che Dong area is still north of the Line. All this shows that whether according to the 1914 original map, the 1959 Indian official map or the Indian officials' own account, the Che Dong area is undoubtedly to the north of the so-called McMahon Line. The Indian Government states in its September 17 note that the Indian side said in the officials' meeting that the so-called McMahon Line starts eastward from 27°48'N, 91°40'E. It is true that the Indian official said to that effect on July 13, 1960 in reply to a question put by the Chinese side. But his statement was not only at variance with the fact, but also inconsistent with the Indian official's own statement of June 27, 1960. It is utterly untenable for the Indian side now to use that statement as a ground for encroaching on the

Che Dong area. The Indian side, after occupying large tracts of Chinese territory south of the so-called McMahon Line, has again and again changed its delineation of this illegal Line and encroached on Chinese territory north of the Line. According to such practice of the Indian side, what boundary could there be between China and India?

The fact is very clear. It is precisely the Indian side that has intruded to the north of the illegal McMahon Line and created incidents of bloodshed in the Che Dong area. The Chinese Government expresses its extreme regret and indignation over the Indian Government's practice of wilfully distorting facts and calling black white in its notes. It is absolutely futile for the Indian Government to try in this way to absolve itself of the guilt of expanding its aggression and killing and wounding Chinese frontier guards.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Modern Revisionism Analysed

THE TITO GROUP

A Detachment of U.S. Imperialism in Its "Grand Strategy" of Counter-Revolution*

by JEN KU-PING

THE interview which Tito gave to the American correspondent Drew Pearson on August 7 has thrown a great deal of light on the viewpoints of the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia concerning major current international issues. [For *Renmin Ribao's* comments on this interview, see *Peking Review*, No. 38, September 21, 1962.] This article will analyse that interview, so that readers can see how surprisingly far the Yugoslav revisionist group has gone in betraying Marxism-Leninism, and how the Tito group is serving as a detachment of U.S. imperialism in carrying out its counter-revolutionary "grand strategy."

The Tito Group's Approach to International Issues

What is the basic starting point of the Tito group in its approach to international issues? Tito answered this question in the interview, saying:

"I recently expressed the thought: Why is it necessary today for people to wage war and for what reasons? Why should people in the future kill each other and bring about a new and certainly the greatest catastrophe, the catastrophe of mankind? In his time, Hitler had the mad idea of conquering the whole of the world. But for sensible people, for people who feel the desire of mankind, I see no excuse whatsoever for such an idea—to wage war. The world has passed through the period when wars were fought because of economic problems.

History has known a whole series of wars, from knightly duels on the highways to the conquest of colonies. Today, however, the countries of Asia and Africa are no longer colonies, are no longer territories about whose division the great powers can argue, since the former colonies are now independent countries. The development of productive forces has reached a high level in the developed countries and for them, there is no need to conquer other countries in order to obtain products since they can produce for themselves in sufficient measure. In every respect war between states today is absurd. What then remains? There exist differences between social systems—but can we really prevent a people by force from creating an internal social system such as it desires? It is not worthwhile fighting for this and such an attempt could never succeed. . . .

"Moreover, wars remove us further from world integration. Economic integration is our future prospect, but not integration which smells of cartels and which discriminates. I do not agree with such integration. Integration should develop co-operation between all the peoples of the world and after economic integration comes political integration. War is therefore absurd as there is no need for it. But it is now on the horizon because people have armed themselves to the teeth and do not know what to do with these armaments. . . . It is equally absurd to leave it to military circles to arrange and suggest to governments and people what should be done."

Look, what a beautiful picture Tito has painted of the present-day world! In his eyes, to begin with, there is no longer any need for imperialism to plunder other

* The U.S. imperialists' "grand strategy" was the subject of an article by the same author published in our magazine No. 32 (August 10).—Ed.

countries, and the world has passed through the period when wars were fought because of economic problems. Secondly, the imperialist powers have ceased to quarrel among themselves over colonial interests. Thirdly, it is not worthwhile fighting for the elimination of the differences between social systems. Fourthly, after "economic integration" in the world will come "political integration"! To sum up, as the modern revisionists see it, imperialism has changed its nature. The contradictions between imperialism and the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, between imperialism and the oppressed peoples, among the imperialist powers themselves, between imperialism and socialism, and all class contradictions, are non-existent, or are reconcilable.

Flying in the Face of Reality

Is the present-day world really as Tito has described? Of course not. The peoples of the world, standing always for peace and against war, naturally wish to see the early attainment of lasting peace. **Marxism-Leninism, however, teaches us that wars are fought, not because there exist in the world people who are not wise, not sensible, but because there is class struggle, there exists the system of exploitation and oppression of man by man. The source of war in modern times is the system of imperialism-capitalism. The Statement of the 1960 Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties points out: "War is a constant companion of capitalism. The system of exploitation of man by man and the system of extermination of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system."** The Tito group can never succeed in their attempt to negate this Marxist-Leninist conclusion. Only shameless renegades to communism could think that the system of oppression and exploitation of man by man has ceased to exist and that imperialism has changed its nature and ceased to be the source of war.

Let us examine some of the arguments advanced by Tito.

Firstly, Tito holds that the world has passed through the period when wars were fought because of economic problems. The reason he gives is that the development of productive forces has achieved a high level in the developed countries, and for them there is no need to conquer other countries in order to gain products since they can produce for themselves in sufficient measure.

But everybody knows that imperialism is imperialism precisely because it is highly developed capitalism. Contrary to Tito's logic, the higher the level of development of the productive forces of the imperialist countries, the more they need to grab still more raw materials from abroad, to seek foreign markets, to export their capital to underdeveloped countries to extract huge profits—in short, to plunder and invade other countries just because of these "economic problems."

Lenin pointed out long ago: "The more capitalism is developed, the more strongly the shortage of raw materials is felt, the more intense the competition and the hunt for sources of raw materials throughout the whole world, the more desperate is the struggle for the acquisition of colonies." Lenin said that in the imperialist era there are incessant colonial wars of aggression. The rule over millions of inhabitants in the colonies by imperialism is "realized only by constant, continuous, never interrupted wars. . . ."

These theses of Lenin's remain to this day incontestable truth.

Imperialism's Predatory and Aggressive Nature Remains Unchanged

Tremendous changes have taken place in postwar Asia and Africa; many countries have shaken off the colonial yoke and won independence. The situation is, however, different from Tito's assertion that there are no colonies in Asia and Africa. On the contrary, imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, still imposes its colonial rule in one form or another on many parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and has, by hook or by crook, encroached upon newly independent countries and promoted neo-colonialism. The present situation has not made, nor can it possibly make, imperialism change its predatory and aggressive nature. With the upsurge of the national-liberation movement, the contradictions between imperialism on the one hand, and the peoples of the nationally independent countries and of colonies and semi-colonies on the other, are growing in intensity.

Although the imperialist colonial system is collapsing, all colonial powers are still struggling desperately, trying their utmost to maintain their colonial interests. This is particularly true of the U.S. neo-colonialists who use military, political, economic and cultural means to expand their influence in every field. The United States has several tens of thousands of million dollars invested in the economically backward regions of the world and the profits it has grabbed each year run to several thousand million dollars. Most of its strategic raw materials are grabbed from the economically backward regions. When such policies of aggression and plunder run into obstacles, or when the people rise to shatter the fetters of colonialism, U.S. imperialism frequently resorts to armed intervention or unleashes aggressive wars. Armed intervention and the wars of aggression which U.S. imperialism has conducted or is conducting in China, Korea, Viet Nam, Laos, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America are designed, in the last analysis, to maintain or seize colonial interests. Are these not wars fought by imperialism because of "economic problems"?

Secondly, Tito believes that the imperialist countries today no longer scramble for colonial interests. This is another justification he has advanced for his allegation that "the world has passed through the period when wars were fought because of economic problems."

Sharpening Contradictions Between Imperialist Countries

However, the strong devouring the weak is a law of capitalist society and whoever wants to grow himself must knock down his rivals. Lenin pointed out that "capital gains by the bankruptcy of a competing capitalist or of a competing nation, because in this way capital becomes more concentrated. . . ." The predatory nature of imperialism is unchangeable and consequently rivalry between imperialist countries is irreconcilable. Moreover, with the shrinking of the capitalist world market and because of the uneven economic development of the various imperialist countries, the contradictions between them will inevitably become more acute.

Is it not a fact that acute struggles, both overt and covert, for markets and colonial interests are going on among the imperialists, particularly between old and new

colonialism? Economic development in Western Europe has been described by Kennedy as the "greatest challenge" to the United States. He stressed the urgent need for the U.S. to enhance its "competitive power." A sharp struggle for sales markets, sources of raw materials, and places for investment is in progress throughout the capitalist world among the West European Common Market bloc (headed by West German and French monopoly capital), the Free Trade Area bloc (headed by British monopoly capital), and U.S. monopoly capital. In Africa, more than a half of the Congo has fallen into the hands of U.S. imperialism, but the British, French, and Belgian colonialists are not reconciled to this situation. On two occasions in the Congo clashes have broken out among them over the seizure of the rich resources of Katanga. Were these not disputes and even wars fought because of "economic problems" and "division of territories"?

Thirdly, Tito says that the only problem now remains is one of differences in social systems and that it is not worthwhile to fight on this account. We have more than once heard such remarks from the Tito group. The attacks of the Titoites are not directed against imperialism and its stooges who are waging aggressive wars or are actively preparing to fight in defence of reactionary and decadent systems, but against the oppressed nations and peoples who are striving to achieve freedom, independence and liberation.

This attack of Tito's is obviously humbug: it puts the cart before the horse.

Upside-Down Logic

As everybody knows, the reality today is that the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, seeing their coming doom, are trying by every means, including the use of force, to block the advance of the wheel of history. They have done everything they could, even resorting to armed attack, in an attempt to wipe out the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world. Since the close of World War II, U.S. imperialism has pursued a so-called "policy of liberation," a policy of infiltration combined with subversion, against the Soviet Union and the East European socialist countries, and has carried out despicable acts of sabotage and armed intervention against the revolutionary cause of the Asian peoples, particularly of the peoples of China, Viet Nam and Korea. Soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China, U.S. imperialism occupied the Chinese territory of Taiwan; it repeatedly engaged in armed provocations and made military threats against China. It then started a large-scale aggressive war in an attempt to wipe out the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at one stroke. U.S. imperialism was defeated in this shameful war of aggression but it is still occupying south Korea by force. Step by step, it has controlled and occupied south Viet Nam in violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements. Taking south Korea and south Viet Nam as bases for aggression, it vainly attempts to go a step further to wipe out Korea and Viet Nam, two socialist countries.

It has also slandered the national-liberation movements throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America, describing them as "communist aggression," and has done everything in its power to undermine these movements or suppress them by force.

To maintain the decayed systems of exploitation and enslavement, imperialism does not scruple to go to war. U.S. imperialism, in particular, has constantly raised the cry that "the free world" cannot exist side by side with "communism" and that it is bent on eliminating the socialist camp. Kennedy himself has stated that he would "never recognize" the existence of the socialist camp as "permanent" and proclaimed that he wanted to change the social system of the East European socialist countries. U.S. Vice-President Johnson said that the United States was reinforcing its military strength in order to build what it regarded as a "rational" "world society."

To sum up, the entire strategy of U.S. imperialism, in the final analysis, is to destroy the socialist camp. Its frenzied arms drive and preparations for war are aimed at realizing its wild ambition for world domination and stamping out the just struggles of all oppressed nations and peoples for freedom, independence and liberation.

Although the facts are as plain as can be, Tito has deliberately tried to be evasive. According to his logic, since the nature of imperialism has changed, since imperialism no longer plunders others, nor scrambles for spoils, nor fights for "economic problems," it is only natural that imperialism is no longer the root cause of war and the enemy of peace. The Tito group even has the gall to declare openly that the root cause of war does not lie in the imperialist countries but in the socialist countries. This was exactly how Kardelj put it in his book *Socialism and War*. In that book he made a particularly vicious and slanderous attack on socialist China. Tito also did this in his interview.

Slanders Against China Refuted by Facts

It is known to all that New China is an initiator of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Since its founding, the People's Republic of China has established relations of peaceful coexistence with many countries and has signed treaties of friendship and boundary treaties or agreements with quite a number of countries in accordance with the Five Principles. China has never encroached and will never encroach upon a single inch of foreign territory, nor has it sent a single soldier to any foreign country for aggression. These are facts no imperialists, reactionaries, or revisionists can deny.

The principal, or it may be said the only, reason why the U.S. imperialists and their echoes slander China as "war-like" is that China persists in its opposition to the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war; steadfastly supports the liberation struggles of all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples, especially those of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples; stands firmly opposed to any sabotage of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence; resolutely upholds its territorial integrity and sovereignty; and firmly safeguards the unity of the socialist camp.

Instead of denouncing the U.S. imperialists for occupying China's territory of Taiwan, Tito basely attacked China and falsely accused it of having created tension. In his interview with Pearson, he said brazenly: "The Soviet Union exerts a pacifying influence on China in connection with the problem of the Chinese off-shore islands and Chiang Kai-shek." He even said: "The Soviet Union is trying to exercise a pacifying influence, while China is taking various actions fairly independently in inter-

national politics and at home. The same situation arose in the Indian-Chinese border disputes where the Soviet Union is also trying to prevent further conflicts." Here Tito uses exactly the same language as U.S. imperialism in its propaganda designed to estrange the two countries. In making such statements, Tito was applying the yardstick of the master-servant relationship between the U.S. imperialists and the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia to the new type of international relationship of equality and brotherhood such as must exist between socialist countries. This is a great insult not only to the Chinese people but to the Soviet people and to the people of all socialist countries. This will inevitably arouse the legitimate indignation of the people of the socialist countries.

Fourthly, Tito says that the world will advance from "economic integration" to "political integration."

In the present-day world there is antagonism between socialism and imperialism, between imperialism and all oppressed nations and peoples, and there is class struggle on an international scale. How can this "economic integration" and "political integration" possibly be achieved?

The contradictions between socialism and imperialism, the contradictions between imperialism on the one hand and the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and the nationally independent countries on the other, even the contradictions between the imperialist powers, and those between imperialist monopoly groups can never be covered up or brushed aside in the present-day world. Even the U.S. imperialists themselves are quite outspoken on this subject. U.S. Secretary of State Rusk, in an address on August 13, had this to say: The goal of the United States in setting up a "world community of nations" and the goal of the Communists are incompatible. "The contest between communist imperialism and freedom is for keeps." He said that in this contest the United States never has "a 'no win' purpose or policies," but "of course we intend to win."

A Straight Choice

It is well known that U.S. imperialism, aiming at world domination, is engaged in a feverish arms drive and war preparations, and is pushing ahead its policies of aggression and war. In face of this situation, the socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, and all peace-loving forces are faced with a straight choice. Either they unite together and fight resolutely for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism so as to smash the imperialist policies of aggression and war, and continually weaken and diminish the positions of imperialism until the final doom of the imperialist system. Or they abandon their struggles, abandon their revolutions, letting the imperialists succeed in their schemes to suppress the national-liberation movements and the revolutionary movements of the various peoples and destroy the socialist countries, allowing U.S. imperialism to conquer the whole world. That is why there can be absolutely no "economic integration" and "political integration" of the socialist and imperialist countries, the newly independent states, the colonies and semi-colonies.

Tito's remarks provide fresh proof that the modern revisionist group of Yugoslavia is in fact a detachment of U.S. imperialism, intended to carry out its counter-revolutionary "grand strategy" for world domination.

For years this group has been conducting conspiratorial activities under the signboard of "positive coexistence" in a vain attempt to break up the socialist camp, the international communist movement, and the national-liberation movement.

Now, in clamouring for full co-operation between socialism and imperialism, between the oppressed nations and imperialism-colonialism, between the working class and the capitalist class, and for the realization of "economic integration" and even "political integration," this group, in fact, wants to make the socialist countries degenerate into capitalist countries, make the Communist Parties of all countries degenerate into bourgeois parties, and make all oppressed nations and peoples give up their struggles for liberation and become willing slaves of U.S. imperialism. In short, all the traitorous deeds of modern revisionism are aimed at subjecting the whole world, economically and politically, to U.S. imperialist enslavement.

Ulterior Purposes

The underlying purpose of Tito's interview is very obvious. At a time when U.S. imperialism is crazily engaged in an arms build-up, preparing to kindle a new world war and making every possible effort to wipe out the socialist camp and to destroy the revolutionary movements of the various peoples, the modern revisionists are trying to make people believe that U.S. imperialism will no longer fight any war for colonial interests, or for markets, for stamping out the national-liberation movements or for liquidating the socialist system. All such sophistries of the Titoites are designed to make people believe that U.S. imperialism is not the No. 1 enemy of world peace, and so give cover to U.S. imperialism in using a freer hand in committing aggression and preparing for a new world war.

Tito certainly cannot evade this question: If the world has passed through the period when wars were fought because of economic problems, if the world is proceeding first to "economic integration" and then to "political integration," why is there still a danger of war and the need to defend world peace? Tito has a set of "theories" of his own on this matter. According to him the reason is that people (here Tito makes no distinction between the imperialist and the socialist countries) have armed themselves to the teeth and military circles are exerting pressure on the governments of various countries. In Tito's opinion, it is arms and military circles that threaten peace.

These "theories" of the modern revisionists are utterly preposterous. **Arms are only tools of war, not the source of war. In circulating the fallacy that arms engender war, the aim of the modern revisionists is simply to divert the main thrust of the world's popular struggles away from U.S. imperialism and the Kennedy Administration at which the peoples now point their accusing fingers, and to make them oppose indiscriminately the arms of any country, of any people. In other words, one need not distinguish between arms in the hands of U.S. imperialism for its policy of aggression and its preparations for a new world war, and arms in the hands of the socialist countries to defend their motherlands and world peace; nor between arms used by imperialism to stamp out the national and democratic revolutions, and arms used by the**

oppressed nations and peoples to fight for freedom, independence and liberation.

Confusing Right and Wrong

This tactic to confuse right and wrong, to which the Tito group always resorts, is likewise apparent on the question of banning nuclear weapons. They equate the nuclear tests of the United States and the Soviet Union. On September 26, 1961, at the United Nations General Assembly, the Yugoslav Foreign Secretary, Koca Popovic, attacked the Soviet Union, saying that it "has broken the existing moratorium in nuclear tests." At the recent World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Prevention of Nuclear War held in Tokyo, a representative of Yugoslavia demanded anew that the Soviet Union be condemned for conducting nuclear tests. It is preposterous for the Tитоites to view U.S. imperialism and the socialist Soviet Union in the same light. In attacking the Soviet Union for its nuclear tests, they not only wanted to attribute the crime of opposing a ban on nuclear weapons to the Soviet Union; they wanted the U.S. to have nuclear supremacy, so that it will be in a better position to press ahead with its policy of nuclear blackmail and to expand its arms and prepare for war even more freely, until one day it can provoke a nuclear war.

It is very clear that nuclear weapons in the hands of the socialist countries are important guarantees to defeat the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail, to prevent imperialism from launching a nuclear war and to safeguard world peace. They are entirely different in nature from nuclear weapons in the possession of the imperialists. The 1960 Moscow Statement says: "Further consolidation of the world socialist system will be of prime importance in preserving durable peace. So long as there is no disarmament, the socialist countries must maintain their defence potential at an adequate level."

On the basis of this just stand, our view on the question of banning nuclear weapons is that no country in the world should possess nuclear weapons; and that first of all, countries now possessing nuclear weapons should undertake the obligation to prohibit the testing, manufacture, storing, and use of nuclear weapons, and completely destroy all their existing nuclear weapons. But so long as imperialism does not accept the overall banning of nuclear weapons, the socialist countries must have nuclear weapons and nuclear supremacy. This stand of ours conforms to the interests of the socialist camp, of the people the world over, and of world peace.

Tito's contention that military circles exert pressure on governments is so clumsy a statement that it needs no refutation. Anyone with any common sense knows that military affairs and politics are inseparable and that military methods are only a means of fulfilling political tasks. Whether in the United States or the Soviet Union, the military men are at one with the government. Tito's absurd statement, on the one hand, serves to apologize for the Kennedy Administration and to present Kennedy as a "peace lover" different from the Pentagon generals; on the other hand it is slandering and insulting all the military men of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Openly Giving Advice to Imperialism

The following passage in Tito's interview deserves particular attention.

"If the West is afraid of certain infiltration or aggression in a broad sense (not an armed aggression) on the part of communism, then it will be much better to resist it by economic and democratic methods than to resort to armed resistance."

These words completely reveal the true colours of the Tito group! Is it not clear that only renegades to Marxism-Leninism and renegades to communism would utter such words? Here Tito, in order to cover up U.S. imperialist crimes of aggression, describes the sabotage and subversive activities carried out by imperialism under the smokescreen of "resisting communist aggression" against the socialist countries and its interference in and suppression of the revolutionary movement of the peoples, as proper, defensive moves of U.S. imperialism. Furthermore, Tito suggests to imperialism that subversion, economic and ideological infiltration be used to undermine the socialist camp and the revolutionary movement of the peoples. The Tito group cites its own experience in shamelessly betraying the socialist cause of the Yugoslav people, to prove that it is "much better" to use "economic and democratic methods" than open military aggression. Thus, the Tito group, after turning its back on the revolution, has gone even further and has shamelessly sold out the revolution and openly given advice to imperialism, thereby completely exposing itself as the enemy of communism. This fully shows to what depths the modern revisionist group of Yugoslavia has sunk in the last few years!

Background to the Tito-Pearson Talk

Tito's talk with Pearson took place against the following background: internally, the revisionist line of the Tito group has led to the restoration of the capitalist system in Yugoslavia causing serious dislocation and grave difficulties in the economic life of the country. The monopoly capitalist class of the West is closely watching the moves of the Tito group in its grave difficulties, and is following with close attention the evolution of its domestic and foreign policies. Internationally, the situation is developing completely independently of the will of the imperialists, the reactionaries and modern revisionists. The mass struggle of the peoples throughout the world for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism is surging ahead vigorously. The socialist camp has become more powerful. The Kennedy Administration's unparalleled arms drive and preparations for war and its intensified suppression of and intervention in the national-liberation movement have met with strong opposition from the world's people. U.S. imperialist policies towards West Berlin, the German peace treaty, disarmament and the complete banning of nuclear weapons have been sharply condemned by the peoples of the world. It is noteworthy that in order to carry out its "grand strategy" for world hegemony, the Kennedy Administration, in addition to stepping up aggressive and war activities in various forms, is pushing further ahead with its "peaceful evolution" policy towards the socialist countries. This is designed to infiltrate into the socialist camp from various spheres so as to disintegrate and then destroy the socialist camp when it thinks the time is "ripe."

In short, Tito's interview appears at a time when the struggle between the socialist camp and the people of the

world on the one hand and imperialism on the other has become sharper and more involved. It is by no means accidental that at this precise juncture Tito joins with Pearson in a duet trumpeting the whole set of his modern revisionist absurdities serving U.S. imperialism.

People can see from Tito's interview what is the urgent need of U.S. imperialism at the present moment. The interview is also enlightening by negative example as to what the peace-loving people of the world need to watch out for and what they should oppose. The people have learnt from Tito, who teaches by negative example, that whatever he extols and praises is exactly what all Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people should resolutely reject and oppose, and what he smears and attacks is exactly what all Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people should resolutely uphold and carry out.

Tito's interview with Pearson is a sure indication that having betrayed the cause of socialism and the international communist movement and willingly become a faithful lackey of U.S. imperialism, the modern revisionist group of Yugoslavia will go farther and farther along the counter-revolutionary road and sink deeper and deeper into the counter-revolutionary quagmire. The Tito group has become an appendage to imperialism, both politically and economically. After his lengthy talk with Tito on August 7, Pearson wrote an article in the *New York Mirror* on August 22, and another in the *Washington Post* on September 5, on the basis of his "better understanding" of the Tito group. Answering the question as to whether the Tito group would return to the socialist orbit, Pearson said unequivocally: "Such a thing will not happen." This imperialist had such confidence in the Tito group that he praised their "mixing communism with free enterprise" as "one of Yugoslavia's most interesting achievements." He revealed "one secret" of Yugoslavia's economy, that is, the "technique of borrowing money" from the imperialists. As a matter of fact, for more than ten years, the Tito group has been living on handouts from the imperialist countries. Without this aid, it just cannot carry on.

"The Bellwether"

Furthermore, Pearson made no secret of the fact that the Tito group was being regarded as "the bellwether" which might "lead" the socialist countries out of the socialist camp into U.S. imperialism's "world community of free nations"; which might "lead" the Communist Parties away from the ranks of the international communist movement and turn them against the movement. Now, isn't it all very clear just what kind of people the Tito group are in the eyes of the imperialists and what kind of a country Yugoslavia, under the rule of the Tito group, has become?

However hard they may try, all the efforts of the Tito group to cover up their true features as renegades and their shameful role in the counter-revolutionary "grand strategy" of U.S. imperialism, will be futile and doomed to total failure. The sacred task of Marxist-Leninists and of the revolutionary people throughout the world is to unite ever more closely and persistently strip the Tito group of all its masks and carry to the end the struggle to smash modern revisionism completely in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Pen Probes

Paradise Found and Lost

"YOU can drink at the Texas Bar here now, and if you don't like the Texas you can always try the California, the Miami or the Hollywood Bars. . . . In most of the innumerable tailor shops, the advertising is in English and the goods displayed are things like American style button-down sports shirts, American loafers. . . . English is now the leading foreign language. . . . At some ministries, the phone is answered in English. . . . Jukeboxes abound in the restaurants and in the nightclubs. In some bars American jazz is advertised, and in others . . . rock 'n' roll music."

This American paradise, so glowingly described in the *New York Times* of September 17, is in Saigon, "capital" of the so-called Republic of Viet Nam presided over by puppet Ngo Dinh Diem and once the "Paris of the East" of the French colonials. "The Americanization of Saigon," writes the *N.Y. Times* correspondent, "that started . . . eight years ago increased as the Americans followed the French into the area. It has risen markedly within this year with the arrival of thousands of U.S. troops. . . ."

But there is another side to this paradise that the Yanks, who thought they could lord it over the Vietnamese people, have also been quick to discover. The decadent Saigon of the U.S. "way of life" is just a gaudy veneer: Saigon is still the militant city which struck fear in the hearts of the French colonialists in the early fifties.

Two days after that *N.Y. Times* article, the same paper reported that four U.S. air force officers were attacked in broad daylight by a grenade-throwing youth near Diem's palace. A grenade was thrown into U.S. officers' quarters, another at Americans on a sidewalk. . . . The U.S. army of occupation got so jittery that G.I.s "were urged not to gather in groups larger than two, to stay away from dark streets, to keep away from civil disturbances, to exercise care in choosing taxis. . . ." And this right under the nose of the U.S.-Diem military police. Handbills demanding "Yanks, get out!" were discovered in downtown Saigon, and many bars have put up special anti-grenade grilles.

This sheds light on the peculiar popularity which a special kind of lounging jacket enjoys among G.I.s in Saigon. It bears such slogans and sentiments as "When I die I'll go to heaven because I've served my time in hell — Saigon 1961-62."



A veteran of the Saigon bottle-front knocks at the Pearly Gates

The Great Anyuan Strike

Forty years ago, on September 14, 1922, the famous Anyuan colliery strike broke out in central China. This was one of the first strikes led by the young Chinese Communist Party; it gave a powerful impetus to the rising Chinese working-class movement.

The Anyuan Colliery in Pinghsiang County, Kiangsi Province, was owned by Chinese bureaucrat-capitalists but controlled by the Japanese imperialists. Hand in glove with the imperialists and the warlord government of the day, the colliery owners brutally exploited and oppressed the miners, who, in turn, fought back, rising in spontaneous struggles against their oppressors.

In the winter of 1921, Mao Tse-tung, as Party secretary of the Hunan area (including Anyuan) and head of the Hunan branch of the Chinese Trade Union Secretariat, went to Anyuan. He studied the workers' life there and did revolutionary propaganda among them. Later he sent Li Li-san to organize the workers' movement there. Li started a night school for workers, helped to educate them in revolutionary ideas, and established a Communist Party branch. In the spring of 1922, Li Li-san and others organized the Anyuan Miners' and Chuchow-Pinghsiang Railway Workers' Club. This became the organizational centre of the great strike. In the early autumn of the same year, Liu Shao-chi was sent by Mao Tse-tung to Anyuan to help organize and lead the strike.

Following is the first instalment of an abridged translation of an article written on the basis of the reminiscences of veteran Anyuan workers. — Ed.

THE Anyuan Miners' and Chuchow-Pinghsiang Railway Workers' Club was founded in the spring of 1922. It educated the workers in Marxism-Leninism, and this inspired them with new hope for the future. The club was popular among the workers and many would flock to it immediately after work, without even waiting to have their supper.

One day towards the end of July, Yang Wan-chiao, a miner, went to the club as usual. He found an excited discussion going on there. They were talking about the victorious strike of the workers at the Hanyang Iron Works, which was also owned by the Hanyehping Co., owners of the Anyuan Colliery.

"Why did they go on strike?" Yang asked with some surprise. "It's like this," Li Li-san explained, "the capitalists and the warlords closed down the Hanyang Workers' Club by force. So the club organized the workers to strike. The capitalists were forced to give in. The club was reopened a few days later. The strike had won."

This good news inspired and encouraged the Anyuan workers. They were living in the direst poverty at the time because the administrations of the colliery and the railway had withheld a part of their wages for months past.

"Can't we go and demand our back pay?" someone asked.

"Sure we can! The club will back us up." Another answered with confidence.

Yang Wan-chiao stepped forward to encourage his comrades. He said: "The club will back us up, but we

members must tighten our ranks and rally all the workers together."

"You're quite right, once we are solidly united we'll win through," Li Li-san said. He was obviously delighted with such spirit.

The question of going to the administrations and demanding their back pay was excitedly discussed by the miners and railwaymen.

The news of the victorious Hanyang strike put the Anyuan capitalists on tenterhooks. They were quite sure there would be trouble in Anyuan too. So Li Ching-cheng, the mine superintendent, called Shu Hsiu-tai, the vice-superintendent, and Wang Hung-ching, the chief overseer nicknamed Bearded Wang the Third, to his office to discuss ways of coping with the situation. Their scheme, as overheard by janitor Li Kwei-ho, was to try to bribe the club officials; should this fail, they would then resort to repressive measures.

One afternoon Shu Hsiu-tai called on the club in person and tried to buy it over. He offered the club a subsidy and new premises, but his offer was sternly turned down. This incident greatly enhanced the prestige of the club. There was a flood of new applications for membership.

Shu Hsiu-tai, of course, did not take his failure lying down. In September, when he heard that the warlord troops under the command of Hsiao An-kuo had arrived in Pinghsiang, the county seat, he immediately sent his henchman to try to intimidate the club members. Their story was that the troops would soon close the club down and its members would be killed



Comrade Liu Shao-chi and the Anyuan Miners

Oil painting by Hou I-min

if they didn't go into hiding. But the workers retorted: "We've justice on our side and we aren't afraid of death!"

Mao Tse-tung in Anyuan

One afternoon, Yang Wan-chiao was notified that there would be a Communist Party meeting that evening, and that Comrade Mao Tse-tung would be there. Yang was delighted. He had learnt from Li Li-san that it was Mao Tse-tung who directed Anyuan Party work from Changsha, the capital city of Hunan. In the previous year when Mao Tse-tung came to Anyuan, Yang missed seeing him. He was anxious to see Comrade Mao, for he knew there would be important instructions about the current struggle. So he hurried to the meeting place right after work.

Some dozen Party comrades were already seated around a small table. By the dim light of an oil lamp, Yang noticed a tall young man wearing a gray cotton gown, talking to the others. It was Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Mao Tse-tung was explaining that proper tactics were essential in struggles and that no premature slogans should be put forward lest people be scared away. He said:

"We are only beginning our work. We mustn't land ourselves in trouble. It's just like building a house. We have only laid the cornerstone and have not yet put up the walls. Only when we have built quite a bit can we give people some hint that we're Communists. And when we have put up the rafters and windowpanes and have the house painted, that is to say, when we have arms and an armed force, then we can throw the door wide open and announce ourselves. For the present, we must get the workers organized first, rally the majority of them together and form an alliance with those who support us. They would be confused if we make the announcement prematurely. Only when they realize that their interests are closely bound up with ours should we come into the open."

Every word of his made a deep impression on those present and they listened avidly. He talked for more

than an hour. To deepen the understanding of the group and enhance their confidence, he analysed the domestic and international situation and talked about the experience of the Russian October Revolution. He taught them to be both courageous and wise in the struggle.

"Am I right?" he asked modestly after finishing.

He was. Everybody felt as though suddenly enlightened and became infinitely more confident.

Mao Tse-tung added: "Judging from the situation, we may have to go on strike to bring the enemy to his knees. We Communists should stand in the forefront of the struggle and always keep the interests of the masses in mind. We must try to enlist the support of the public. For this purpose we need to put forward slogans that will move and gain the sympathy of the people. . . ."

The Party meeting lasted until 11.

Acting on Mao Tse-tung's instructions, the club continued its propaganda activities among the workers and showed them that it stood for their interests. Applications poured in. Membership shot up from 300 to 7,000.

Days of Tension

The owners of the colliery and railway became even more panicky at the growing influence of the club. They petitioned the Pinghsiang County Government to order the club to close down voluntarily. This infuriated the workers. Just at this moment, word came that the Hankow-Canton Railway workers had gone on strike. Feeling ran high and the workers wanted to down tools right away.

Li Li-san dissuaded them, saying: "We can't go on strike just now. We mustn't act rashly. The workers have not yet got themselves well organized. Furthermore, in order to win public sympathy and support we should offer to negotiate before we call the strike. We'll present our demands. If the capitalists reject them we'll then go on strike."

Li Li-san's proposals were accepted. It was decided to take advantage of the situation to petition the local

authority to protect the club, and present the administrations with the workers' demands, these included payment in full of back pay and wage increases. They gave the administrations two days to answer. In the meantime, the club stepped up its propaganda work, getting the workers prepared mentally for strike action should the administrations reject their demands. The workers were asked to follow the club's orders.

Two days later, on September 12, the administrations gave an evasive reply to the club. Pleading financial difficulties they said the workers' demands could not be accepted just then, and they would have to be referred to the head offices. At the same time, they sent armed mine guards to all key points and to patrol the streets.

Liu Shao-chi Checks Over Plan of Action

At this junction, Yang Wan-chiao was notified to attend another important Party meeting. A "school teacher" who had come from Changsha, he was told, would be there to speak to them.

Yang knew it was about the impending strike, so he hurried to Comrade Chou's place where the meeting was to be held. On entering, he saw Li Li-san with a lanky young man in his twenties wearing a blue student suit. The young man with a friendly smile extended his hand to welcome Yang Wan-chiao. Li Li-san introduced him as Comrade Liu Shao-chi, who had come from "Mao Tse-tung's place."

Learning that the young man had been sent by Mao Tse-tung, the Party comrades were elated. They knew he had come to help organize and to lead the strike.

The discussion was heated. The majority were for going on strike immediately; a few others still had doubts and wanted to be more prudent. Seeing that the two sides could not agree, Li Li-san stood up to state his views. He said: "I think we'll have to act. But we'll act in a prudent way. Comrade Mao Tse-tung taught us we must analyse a situation and adopt the proper tactics for it. We certainly won't fight the enemy barehanded and let workers die for nothing. On the other hand, we shouldn't beg the enemy for handouts. Whether our strike will succeed depends on how well we are united and how confident we are."

When Li Li-san had finished, everyone looked at Liu Shao-chi expecting him to state his views. So Liu Shao-chi rose and said, speaking in the Changsha dialect: "Comrade Li Li-san is right. If only we proletarians unite solidly, we'll even be able to win the world, not to say force these capitalists to settle our back pay!"

Then he went on to analyse the situation in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's instructions. He thought the conditions were ripe for the strike. In the first place, the victory of the Hanyang Iron Works and Hankow-Canton Railway strikes had greatly encouraged the An-yuan workers, who were now determined to carry through the struggle; secondly, the club enjoyed such prestige among the workers that its call to down tools would be followed by the overwhelming majority of them; and thirdly, the enemy was afraid of the strike because the

imperialist bosses were demanding the delivery of more and more coal.

Liu Shao-chi's analysis helped the others to see things in a better light. Those who had hesitated were now confident and they agreed to call the strike. At this moment, little Li who kept watch outside brought in a telegram from the Chinese Trade Union Secretariat (an organization established by the Chinese Communist Party soon after its founding to guide the workers' struggle) and a letter from Mao Tse-tung. The telegram encouraged them to carry the struggle through resolutely and expressed sympathy and support. In his letter Mao Tse-tung, in addition to encouraging them to persist in the struggle until victory, cautioned them to make full preparations in rousing and organizing the workers and to be closely united, to enforce strict discipline, and to win the sympathy of the public. He once again stressed the importance of effective slogans.

The telegram and letter further strengthened the determination of the comrades. They decided to call the strike there and then. It would start at four o'clock on September 14. Slogans were put forward such as: "We are treated like animals, we want to live like human beings!"

There was feverish activity during the night of September 13. The club issued its call for the strike and by midnight it had reached all the workers. It found them already itching for action.

(To be continued)

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To the Doorsteps of the People

by YUAN SHIH-HAI

New China's theatres make it a rule to send top-notch companies on tour to the smaller cities and to the countryside as well. This is what is popularly known as the policy of "taking drama to the doorsteps of the people." Yuan Shih-hai, writer of this article, is a well-known Peking opera actor who plays heroic military roles. He has also made several tours abroad.—Ed.

Our First Troupe of the China Peking Opera Theatre recently made a 77-day tour of several small and medium-sized cities in central Hopei and northern Honan. Among the places we visited were Hantan, Hsingtai, Anyang, Hopi, Hsinhsiang and the mining centres of Chiaotso and Fengfeng. Altogether we gave 65 performances, all to full houses.

While our shows were on, a holiday atmosphere prevailed. People came driving in from all directions in all sorts of vehicles. Old people and youngsters from nearby rural people's communes were given priority for seats in the communes' horse-drawn carts. Young peasants and their wives rode in on their own bikes. Quite a few travelled as many as 30 kilometres on donkeyback to see a performance. Temporary food-stalls and fruit stands gave the place a really festive air. We were astonished by the number of opera enthusiasts—group after group approached the theatre's management asking that we prolong our run.

Responsive Audiences

Before we left Peking, some members of our troupe, recalling their pre-liberation experiences, suggested that we should put on our programmes more acrobatic and comic pieces such as *Uproar in Heaven* which depicts the uproarious adventures of the Monkey King Sun Wu-kung in heaven. The sort of plays which are noted for having "exquisitely fine lines," they thought, would be more readily appreciated by sophisticated city audiences, but might not be so suitable for this occasion.

We soon found that such misgivings were groundless. We found most responsive audiences everywhere we

went. It was heart-warming to see how they were with us at every moment of our performance. Take for instance the scene which is a notable example of "fine writing" in *At the Port of Kiuchiang*, where the venerable General Chang is summoned to a banquet by Prince Peihan to meet the latter's future son-in-law, actually a spy from the enemy camp. When the general is at first taken in by the young man's fine appearance and eloquence, we could feel the wave of anxiety that rustled like a sigh through our audience. When the venerable general began to feel that something was wrong and started cross-questioning the plausible spy, the hall became suddenly quiet and one could feel the tense interest of the onlookers. Pleased by having got such an ideal seeming son-in-law, the Prince Peihan is foolish enough to try and shield the insidious enemy in every possible way from the general's probing questions. At that moment, our audience could not restrain its laughter, laughter that clearly expressed its censure of stupidity. We found the same understanding when we performed the *Peach Blossom Fan*, adapted from the famous classical opera of the same title treating of the pure and devoted love of a courtesan who is a patriot, for a young scholar who proves to be a traitor. It was clear that, after 13 years of liberation, the aesthetic tastes of our peasants and workers have deepened. They have attained a high level of artistic appreciation. Their demands in art are exacting.

New Human Relations

The third day after our arrival in the mining town of Chiaotso, there was a heat wave. Peking opera performers, as is commonly known, frequently wear heavy costumes, espe-

cially those in the military roles who, to present an imposing appearance, wear padded garments beneath their elaborately embroidered robes. Everybody therefore could see the great inconveniences caused by such a heat as we now encountered, but we ourselves didn't bother much about it for we have long been accustomed to accept such things as a matter of course. In the old society, people also looked on this as the natural lot of actors, and summarily dismissed the question. In the new society, however, there can be no such indifference to a fellow man's comfort. We found we were the objects of general solicitude and concern. Local leaders in the cultural field came in person to ask what they could do for us. Office workers sent more electric fans than we could find use for. The local ice plant provided us with a constant supply of ices and cold drinks. When we returned to our hotel, there were big water-melons on our tables and huge blocks of ice beneath our beds, the former sent by our peasant brothers in the rural communes and the latter by our worker brothers straight from their plant. There are no words to express what we felt about such attentions; we could only work all the harder to give of our best to our audiences.

Rewarding Visit

Despite a busy schedule, we still managed to see performances of operas in a variety of local styles. We saw the nationally known style of Honan opera, newly revived *laodiao* and *yuediao* operas, and the *siguxian* and *pingdiao* operas which are little known to outsiders.

Before I came to Hantan I didn't even know that there was such a thing as *yuediao* opera, so I was all the more interested by the two performances I saw. I was particularly impressed by a piece called *The Bridal Sedan Chair* presented by the Dongfeng (East Wind) Honan Opera Troupe. This is the city's youngest operatic troupe, its oldest actor being less than twenty and its youngest, nine. The opera deals with a conventional subject—the love of a young couple—in a rather unconventional way. The central figure, strangely enough, is the young man's elder sister, a lively young daughter of a conservative family in the old feudal society. She doesn't behave herself according to the usual proprie-

ties even when she is to be married and goes off to her husband's home in her bridal sedan chair. She is so bold as to raise the scarlet bridal veil covering her face to peep at her bridegroom. She does her best to mind her manners before her parents-in-law only to revert to her old self again and again. When the newly-weds pay a visit to the bride's parents three days after the wedding, contrary to old convention that demands she should be a quiet bashful bride, she is soon busily engaged in match-making, running to and fro three times a day between her two homes to match her younger brother to her young sister-in-law. The young actress Tung Hsiu-hsiang in this part succeeded in creating a lovely and vivacious character, so lively and true to life that when I recall it long afterwards, I still find a smile creeping over my face. Her acting is so expressive and has such marvellous precision that I could hardly believe that she is only 18 years old. I was told that she studied with the famous Honan opera actress Yao Shu-fang. But she is clearly not just a shadow of her teacher. She has developed into an artist in her own right.

While I was profited artistically from most of the local operas I saw, I found *Three Ladies Wail in the Throne Room* particularly valuable and I made a special study of it. It was on the repertoires of both Honan and *yuediao* operas. I was busy but I saw it seven times on this tour, the last time travelling 20 kilometres out to a small township together with the well-known actress Tu Chin-fang of our troupe. We have this piece in our Peking opera repertory, but we call it *Chinshui Bridge*, and this naturally invites comparisons between our version and the others. Such a comparison, I must admit, shows that both the Honan opera and *yuediao* versions are more powerful and moving than the Peking opera version; the latter somehow lacks vitality. The Peking opera has all the magnificence of a scene at the royal court and yet its conflicts are muted, there is a certain reticence, a certain withholding, in making its points. The Honan opera throbs with a more full-blooded life; it is treated as a family controversy yet without depriving the characters of their air of nobility. As a result I found the Honan style more natural and convincing. I asked myself how it was that such different artistic effects were produced out of the same subject mat-

ter? I think the crux of the matter lies in the ability to draw inspiration from life and then imbue art with this vital inspiration of life. At first I could hardly believe that these productions of *The Bridal Sedan Chair* and the *Three Ladies* were the artistic creations of small provincial cities. On second thoughts, I realized that the vitality they possessed were of necessity sprang from being products of places closer to the source of life.

It is a happy event to be able to send Peking opera to the doorsteps of the broad masses of the people. Not least because this is by no means a one-way traffic. The enthusiasm of our audiences was more than encouraging. And we felt enlightened by our contacts with other fraternal troupes. Only by learning ceaselessly will Peking opera be enabled to enjoy eternal youth.

SPORTS

Football: Viet Nam Visitors

The visiting Vietnamese People's Army Football Team played two games in Peking last week. Its first match on October 5 was against the Chinese People's Liberation Army's August First Team. This was won by the P.L.A. men 2:0.

To counter the speedy Vietnamese forwards' intrepid attacks, the August First organized a tight defence employing four backs. These four were accomplished spoilers and fended off most of the visitors' attempts at scoring by neatly intercepting passes or blocking shots to goal.

The first goal of the match came only about one and a half minutes after the kick-off. A well-placed

corner kick put the ball nicely within the penalty area for the August First inside-left to shoot. But as the ball sped towards the goal-mouth, the August First inside-right rushed up and gave it another boot, slamming it into the net past the surprised Vietnamese goalie.

From then on the game was a keen tussle with play seesawing from one end of the field to the other. Then in the last few minutes, a penalty shot for handling was awarded to August First from the 12-yard spot. There was no mistake made about that kick.

When the Peking Team met the visitors two days later, they were able to win 4:1 by skilled use of two speedy wingers. Time and again these two tore down the length of the field before centring the ball to their inside-forwards to shoot. This tactic of using the two wingers to bypass the solid Vietnamese defence, especially heavy at the centre of the field, gave the home team a winning edge over the visitors.



Before the Performance

Drawing by Tseng Ching-chu

CHINA AND THE WORLD

G.D.R. National Day

On October 6, Chinese Party and state leaders Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai sent a message to the Party and state leaders of the German Democratic Republic greeting them on the 13th anniversary of the founding of the Republic.

The message paid tribute to the people of the G.D.R. who under the leadership of the German Socialist Unity Party and the Government have achieved important successes in building socialism and have made unremitting efforts in opposing West German militarism fostered by U.S. imperialism, and safeguarding world peace.

The message pointed out that at present U.S. imperialism was actively supporting West German militarism, committing ever more flagrant acts of aggression and provocation against the G.D.R. and seriously menacing European and world peace. All this had been vigorously opposed by the German people and had been severely condemned by the Chinese people and other peoples of the world, the message said.

The message reaffirmed: "The Chinese people firmly support the just stand and reasonable proposal put forward by the G.D.R. and the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the normalization of the West Berlin situation on this basis." The message expressed the conviction that the just struggle of the people of the G.D.R. against U.S. imperialism and West German militarism and for a peaceful settlement of the German question will ultimately triumph."

Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other state leaders attended the National Day reception given by G.D.R. Ambassador Josef Hegen in Peking.

Sino-Ceylonese Co-operation

While the Chinese people were celebrating their National Day, China and Ceylon signed in Peking a third

five-year trade agreement, a protocol relating to the exchange of commodities in 1963, an agreement on economic and technical co-operation, and rice and rubber contracts for 1963. These agreements were signed on behalf of their governments by Yeh Chi-chuang, Chinese Minister for Foreign Trade, and T.B. Ilangaratne, Ceylonese Minister for Commerce, Trade, Food and Shipping.

In the past few days, two happy anniversaries were marked by the Chinese and Ceylonese peoples. October 1 was the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Ceylon-China Friendship Association, and on October 4, ten years ago, China and Ceylon signed their first trade agreement. In the intervening ten years, trade and economic co-operation between the two countries has continually developed and their friendship has been strengthened.

Greeting the signing of these new agreements, a *Renmin Ribao* editorial hailed them as "a new landmark in the steady growth of friendship and co-operation between the two countries." Trade and economic and technical co-operation, which were an important part of Sino-Ceylonese friendly relations, had steadily developed during the past ten years, said the editorial. They were based on equality and mutual benefit and were perfectly in accord with the interests of both peoples in developing their national economies and building their countries.

Both China and Ceylon took part in the Bandung Conference and had worked untiringly for the maintenance and enhancement of the Bandung spirit, the editorial continued. The Chinese Government and people had never spared their efforts to strengthen their relations of friendship and co-operation with other Asian countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. They were glad to see that the Ceylonese Government had persistently followed its policy of peace and neutrality and desired friendship and co-operation with all countries. Proceeding from this mutual desire, China and Ceylon quite naturally supported and helped each other.

"The Chinese Government and people are willing to do all they can to support Ceylon in developing its national economy and co-operate well with it in international affairs," the editorial declared. "Ceylon was one

of the first nations to recognize China. It resolutely broke through the 'embargo' imposed by U.S. imperialism and sold its rubber to China. The Chinese people are grateful to the Ceylonese Government and people for their just stand in demanding that its legitimate rights in the U.N. be restored to China and in opposing the 'two Chinas' plot engineered by U.S. imperialism," the editorial added.

Sino-Mongolian Agreement Anniversary

The tenth anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Mongolian Economic and Cultural Co-operation Agreement on October 4 was warmly celebrated by the Chinese and Mongolian peoples. Party and state leaders of the two countries exchanged greetings on the occasion.

A joint message signed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to the Mongolian leaders declared that the agreement had played an important role in developing relations of friendly co-operation between the two countries and in aiding the growth of their economies and cultures. It completely corresponded with the basic interests of the two peoples and at the same time helped to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and to defend world peace.

"May the Mongolian people score new achievements in building socialism. May the fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Mongolian peoples be everlasting," the message concluded.

The China-Mongolia Friendship Association gave a reception to celebrate the anniversary; its President Fan Chang-chiang wrote an article in *Renmin Ribao* reviewing the friendly co-operation between the two countries during the past ten years.

China Greets Uganda's Independence

The Chinese people heartily rejoice in the proclamation of Uganda's independence on October 9. Premier Chou En-lai in his message of greetings to Prime Minister Apollo Milton Obote of Uganda conveyed the best wishes of the 650 million Chinese people to the people of Uganda while Foreign Minister Chen Yi informed the Prime Minister of China's decision to recognize Uganda.

Renmin Ribao in an editorial pointed out that Uganda's independence was the result of the protracted struggle waged by its people and would help promote the growth of friendship between the peoples of China and Uganda.

Exposing the U.S. imperialists' ulterior motives in attempting to destroy the friendly relations between the peoples of China and Uganda, the editorial pointed out that, taking advantage of Uganda's independence celebrations, the U.S. had instigated the Chiang Kai-shek gang in Taiwan to pass its men off as the "representatives" of China at the celebrations. This was obviously an attempt by U.S. imperialism to create a "two Chinas" situation in Uganda.

"However," said the editorial, "imperialism's scheme to use the Chiang

Kai-shek gang to create 'two Chinas' will never succeed. The Chinese people will never tolerate a 'two Chinas' situation, no matter where and how it may appear. The deep friendship formed between the Chinese people and the people of Uganda and other parts of Africa in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism can never be destroyed by imperialism no matter what trickery it may resort to," the editorial declared.

China Recognizes Arab Republic Of the Yemen

Premier Chou En-lai in a message dated October 6 to Abdullah El Sallal, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Arab Republic of the Yemen, greeted the establishment of the Government of the Republic. He also congratulated El Sallal on his assumption of office.

Earlier, El Sallal in a message notified Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the founding of the Arab Republic of the Yemen.

Foreign Minister Chen Yi has informed Foreign Minister Mohsen Mohamed Ahmed El Aini of the Chinese Government's decision to recognize the Arab Republic of the Yemen.

Briefs

Malcolm Macdonald, acting head of the British delegation to the enlarged Geneva Conference for a Peaceful Settlement of the Laotian Question, is visiting China at the invitation of Vice-Premier Chen Yi.

Prince Sihanouk, Cambodian Head of State, has donated one hundred tons of rice as a personal gift to the Chinese people.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

The following programme scheduled for the coming week is subject to change.

PEKING OPERA

▲ *SHE SAI-HUA* Tsui Lung and Yang Chi-yeh, suitors of beautiful She Sai-hua, fight a duel to decide the issue. She Sai-hua loves Yang and helps him to win. But it is only after a series of exciting adventures that the two lovers are finally wed. Shan Hsiao-yun Peking Opera Troupe.

▲ *THE TRIAL OF YU TANG CHUN* Yu Tang Chun, famous Ming courtesan falsely accused of murder, is sent to Taiyuan for trial. It turns out that the judge is none other than her true love. She is finally cleared and becomes his wife.

KUNQU OPERA

▲ *THE YEN YANG TOWER* Kao Teng, son of an evil prime minister of the Sung Dynasty, takes advantage of his father's position to kidnap Hsu Fei-chu, daughter of a brave general treacherously killed by Kao's father. Fei-chu's brother, with the help of his friends, rescues his sister and avenges his family. North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

▲ *THE CHAIN SCHEME* An episode from the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. In the latter part of the Han Dynasty, Prime Minister Tung Cho tries to usurp the throne. To save the Han Dynasty, Minister of the Treasury Wang Yun devises a plan to turn the faithful retainer, Lu Pu, against his master Tung Cho. He promises that the beautiful Lady Cicada shall marry Lu Pu, but actually marries her to Tung Cho. The scheme works: Lu Pu in his jealousy kills his master. North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

DANCE-DRAMA

▲ *FIRE BY THE WUCHIANG RIVER* The Red Army preparing to force the Wuchiang during the Long March delays to help the local fishermen battle the feudal landlords and Kuomintang bandits. Produced by the Song and Dance Ensemble of the Railway Workers' Cultural Troupe.

SONG AND DANCE

The visiting Youth Song and Dance Ensemble of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam gives two performances of Vietnamese folk songs and dances, vocal solos and instrumental solos on Oct. 13 & 14 at the Cultural Palace of Nationalities Theatre.

Dance programmes by the Song and Dance Ensemble of the Cultural Troupe of

the P.L.A.'s General Political Department. They include the one-act dance drama *The Langya Mountain, The Shield Dance, The Postman Is Coming* and dances of different national minorities. Oct. 13-14, Tianqiao Theatre.

MODERN DRAMA

▲ *RED CRAG* A new play adapted from the popular novel by Lo Kuang-pin and Yang Yi-yen. It describes the bitter struggle inside the notorious SACO prison on the eve of Chungking's liberation between the political prisoners and the U.S.-Chiang agents and gaoles. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ *THE "AUGUST 1" STORM* A drama of the armed uprising in Nanchang on August 1, 1927, which marked the beginning of armed revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party and the birth of the People's Liberation Army. Produced by the Cultural Troupe of the P.L.A.'s General Political Department.

▲ *WU TSE TIEN* A historical play written by Kuo Mo-jo. A dramatic chronicle of how Empress Wu Tse Tien, China's woman ruler of the early Tang Dynasty, brings peace and progress to the country by her wise statesmanship. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ *THERE'S A BIT OF FOOLISHNESS IN EVERY WISE MAN* One of A. Ostrovsky's plays staged in Chinese. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ *TARTUFFE (THE HYPOCRITE)* A play by the great French dramatist Moliere. Produced in Chinese by the Central Drama Institute.

FILMS

▲ *THE GOOD OFFICIAL* Film version of a Shantung opera. A Ming Dynasty story. Sun An, an upright official, siding with the people, opposes a corrupt prime minister, who in revenge plots to kill him. But Sun An's righteousness wins the support of many. He is saved and the plot is exposed. Shanghai Haiyen Studio.

▲ *DAUGHTERS OF THE TAI PEOPLE* In colour. Haiyen Studio. Mother and daughter are both victims of feudal superstition, but, thanks to the new society, their stories end quite differently. Much local colour of the Tai people.

▲ *THE EVERLASTING BEAM* A P.L.A. radio operator, sent from Yenan to set up an underground radio transmission station in occupied Shanghai in order to expose the schemes of Japanese-KMT collaboration, successfully carries out his mission. "August 1" Film Studio.

▲ *REVOLUTIONARY STORIES* A Cuban film of three shorts about the struggle of the Cuban people in different periods.

▲ *FIVE CARTRIDGES* A G.D.R. feature film. A five-man detachment of the International Brigade during the Spanish civil war successfully covers the withdrawal of their battalion and then face the more difficult task of extricating themselves from a tricky situation and rejoining their unit.

SPORTS

▲ *"WEI CHI" MATCHES* between the children of five cities—Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Hefei, Chengtu. From Oct. 14-27. Peking Workers' Stadium.

▲ *1962 NATIONAL FOOTBALL CHAMPIONSHIPS* China's top football teams are contending for the national championship title. Don't miss the second round matches at Peking Stadium, Peking Workers' Stadium and Peking Gymnasium football ground.

EXHIBITIONS

▲ *"NEW BUDS"* Works by the 1962 graduates of the Central Arts Institute and Peking Arts College. Paintings in traditional Chinese style, oil paintings, water colours, graphic art, etc. Daily (except Mon.) 9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon, 2:00-5:30 p.m. At the Artists' Union Gallery.

▲ *TRADITIONAL CHINESE PAINTINGS* 200 traditional Chinese paintings by contemporary Peking artists. Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. At Beihai Park.

SIGHT-SEEING

* Red Maple Leaves *

See Hsiangshan (Fragrance Hill) in its lovely mantle of red autumn leaves. Visit Hsiangshan Temple, Yuhua Villa, Spectacles Lake, Halfway Pavilion.



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