

# PEKING REVIEW

24

June 12, 1964

## China and Yemen Sign Treaty Of Friendship

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## Chinese Government Statement on Laotian Situation

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## Degeneration of the Yugoslav Economy Owned by the Whole People

A *Hongqi* article. First instalment (p. 11).

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## Peking Operas With Contemporary Themes

Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi on their revolutionary significance  
(p. 7).

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

New Paperbacks

# A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINA

1840 — 1919

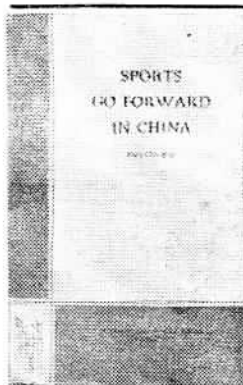
by LIN YI

This brief modern history deals with the period from the Opium War of 1840-42 to the eve of the May Fourth Movement in 1919. It describes the background and events of the Taiping Revolution, the Reform Movement, the Yi Ho Tuan Uprising and the Revolution of 1911. It gives the facts about imperialist aggression in China and traces China's transformation from an independent feudal society into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The booklet describes the Chinese people's stubborn struggle against imperialism and feudalism and the lessons they learnt in that struggle.

This is the second of three booklets for the general reader published under the title *A Short History of China*. The first booklet in the set deals with events from the earliest times to 1840; the third covers the period from 1919 to the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Both will be published shortly.

With a handy chronicle of chief events

107 pp.



## *Sports Go Forward In China*

New China has made gigantic strides in sports. Table tennis, swimming, skating, athletics, football, cycling, not to speak of the old traditional sports like archery and wrestling — all forms of sports have their fans and participants and levels of performance are rising rapidly. This booklet tells about the remarkable successes gained by Chinese sportsmen. It also explains why the Chinese people have grown so keen on sports, and how sports are organized and fostered in New China.

Illustrated

58 pp.

Published by:

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**

Peking (37), China

Available from:

**GUOZI SHUDIAN**

(China Publications Centre), P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

# PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

June 12, 1964 Vol. VII No. 24

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Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW  
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China  
Cable Address: Peking 2910

Post Office Registration No. 2-922  
Printed in the People's Republic of China

June 12, 1964

## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• A treaty of friendship between China and Yemen and a joint communique were signed in Peking by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Abdullah Al Sallal. The Yemeni President left China for home after a successful visit.

• The Chinese Government issued a statement on the Laotian situation on June 9.

• The Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries exposed the use of forged letters by the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to attack China.

• A festival of Peking opera on contemporary themes now being held in the capital is attracting nationwide interest.

• Peking gave a tremendous welcome to the Chinese mountaineers who conquered Mt. Shisha Pangma (8,012 metres).

• The Chinese press published:

— a speech by Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, at a banquet on May 24 commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Permit Congress. It points out that the revolution is surging forward, the imperialists are trembling and that the doom of the modern revisionists is imminent.

— the May 25 editorial of *Akahata*, organ of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, calling on Japanese Communists to smash the vicious schemes of Yoshio Shiga and Ichizo Suzuki who are collaborating with certain foreign forces to carry on anti-Party activities.

— an article by Pham Hung, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Vice-Premier of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, refuting revisionist slanders against the policy of self-reliance.

— a speech by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, made at a meeting in Djakarta celebrating International Labour Day, calling for greater efforts to crush revisionism and saying that Indonesian Communists will never forgive the revisionists.

— speeches by Comrade Aidit and Comrade Wilcox at a meeting in Djakarta on June 3, stressing unity in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

— excerpts of a pamphlet published in Albania, exposing the revisionists' views and policy on art and literature.

## Peking Opera Festival

A festival devoted exclusively to Peking opera productions on contemporary themes opened in the capital on June 5. Scheduled to close on July 9, this one-month review will present 37 full-length and other pieces, mostly created this year and all freshly rehearsed, by 28 Peking opera troupes from 19

provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. This is the largest festival of its kind ever held. The press has hailed it as "opening a new, revolutionary page in the history of Peking opera."

Peking's Great Hall of the People was the scene of the opening cere-

mony at which, Lu Ting-yi, Vice-Premier, spoke. (See full text on p.7). Party and government leaders were there amidst an unexampled assemblage of stage talents from all parts of the country including Kai Chiao-tien, Chou Hsin-fang, Shang Hsiao-yun and Ma Lien-liang, and leading figures in other cultural field. In the evening of the same day, five troupes staged five different full-length plays to packed houses at five of the capital's largest theatres.

### Festival's Function

The idea of holding such a festival was first put forward in August last year when artists of the various traditional style operas gathered in Peking to discuss an important common problem, a problem which has a key bearing on the future of their art, namely, how to introduce new themes and innovations while carrying on and further developing their fine traditions, so as to make their art better able to answer the demands of the new era and suit the changing tastes of audiences in socialist China.

Peking opera is one of the most important, if not the most important, of China's hundreds of traditional operatic styles. More troupes (over 200) as well as more actors and other people work in this style than in any other. It is deeply loved by the broad masses. Furthermore, in its 200 years of history, it has evolved a fixed body of strict conventions of acting and staging, costume and music. These conventions are designed to portray men and women of olden times (and chiefly people of the ruling circles at that) and it is therefore all the more difficult, compared with other operatic styles, to mirror present-day life and depict the people of our socialist era in terms of Peking opera. When this point was raised at the discussion, it was the consensus of opinion among Peking opera circles that since the times have changed, and society and also audiences have changed, Peking opera must do something to adapt itself to this changing situation. That is to say, it must make itself capable

of portraying not only the people of old, but also the people of today; it should not limit itself to the old conventions, but also create conventions suited to depicting the workers, peasants and soldiers of the present day. This means an epoch-making innovation. It was clear that a breakthrough made in the old conventions of Peking opera, and the creation of conventions for the new times would be of tremendous importance to the work of reform in all operatic forms, not to mention the immediate, direct benefits to Peking opera.

It was originally intended that the festival would be a small affair including a dozen or so troupes. But the response both from the Peking opera artists and the public was immediate and the matter snowballed. Enthusiasm ran so high that the festival had to be broadened to twice the size originally envisaged.

### Unheard of in History

At the opening ceremony last Friday, Shen Yen-ping, speaking on behalf of the Ministry of Culture, sponsor of the festival, greeted and thanked all those who helped make it possible. He said: "The gathering of so many Peking opera troupes and the fact that the centre of the stage is held not by emperors, kings, generals, prime ministers, talented scholars and graceful ladies, but by characters who are workers, peasants or soldiers of our new times, is something unheard of in the history of Peking opera and traditional Chinese operas."

Referring to the current festival as "a new stage in the reform of China's traditional operas," he recalled that in this reform two fundamental tasks are involved, one is reform after a critical study of our operatic heritage; the other entails innovations to enable the traditional operas to portray workers, peasants and soldiers and reflect our new era. He congratulated operatic circles on the good work done in regard to the first task and noted that in regard to the second, a great deal of experimental work had been done in 1958 and 1959, and that recently, there had been rapid progress.

Reviewing what has been achieved in the reform of traditional operas, he said that note must be taken of the fact that only the first step forward had been made and there was still a long way to go.

The press is giving very full coverage to the festival. Most leading national papers have commented on it editorially. In its editorial entitled "New Stage in the Development of Peking Opera," *Renmin Ribao* wrote: "The reform of the art of Peking opera is a demand of the times and of the masses. At the same time, it also reflects a need in the growth of the art itself. Any art that fails to fit in with the demands of the advancing times inevitably loses its vitality and is headed for extinction. There is no lack of such examples in history... For this reason, only by constant renovation can Peking opera art fit itself to portray our present-day life, only so can it open up a broad avenue of advance for itself."

The festival itself shows the enthusiasm with which our Peking opera artists are grappling with the tasks set them by history. The 37 festival operas cover a wide range of subjects. Fourteen deal with themes taken from revolutionary history and 23, with themes from China's socialist construction and revolution. Six are on the life and struggles of minority nationalities. The staging of these productions is providing a unique opportunity to compare notes and learn from each other, not among Peking opera artists alone but by all lovers of the stage who seek the advance of the art.

### Chinese Ambassador to France Presents Credentials

Huang Chen, the first Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to France, arrived in Paris on June 2. He was greeted at the airport by Jacques Suel, Deputy Director of the French Foreign Ministry's Protocol Department. The Chinese Ambassador called on French Foreign

(Continued on p. 25)

Peking Review, No. 24

# China and Yemen Sign Friendship Treaty

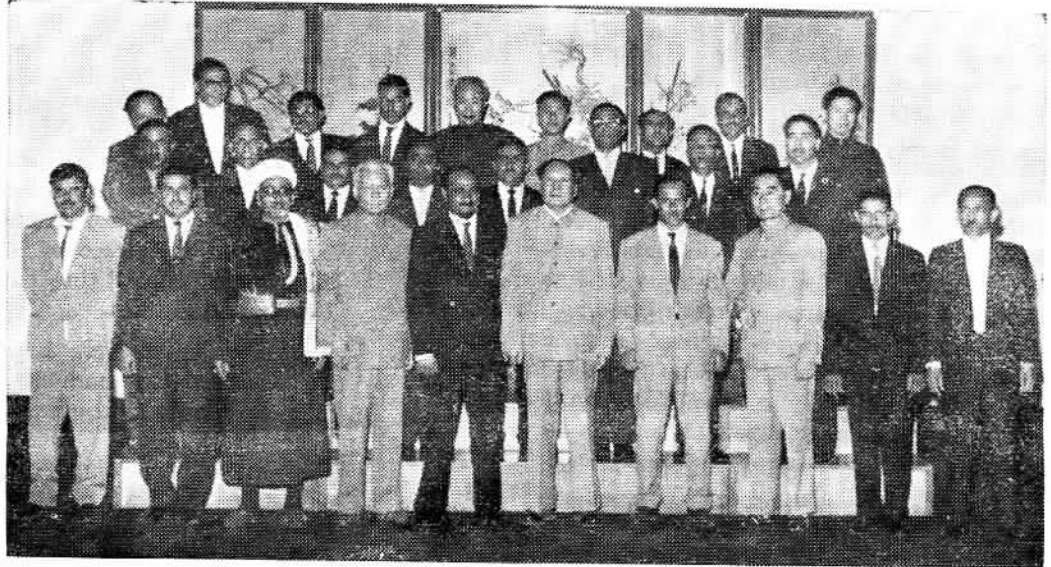
by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**J**UNE 9 will go down as a red-letter day in the annals of friendly relations between China and Yemen. A treaty of friendship and a joint communique were signed that day in Peking by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Abdullah Al Sallal. Two other documents — a cultural co-operation agreement and an economic and technical co-operation agreement — were also signed by leading officials of the two sides. There were warm handshakes afterwards and glasses were clinked to the toast of the growing friendship and co-operation between the Chinese and Yemeni peoples.

President Sallal, who arrived in Peking on June 1, has left China for home with members of the government delegation he led, carrying with him the deep friendship of the Chinese people. During his stay in China, he visited factories and rural people's communes where he received a warm welcome from the workers and peasants, and saw scenic spots and places of historical interest in the capital and at Hangchow and Shanghai. He attended a 10,000-strong rally held in Peking in his honour. On June 9 he met Chairman Mao Tse-tung and they had a friendly conversation. On June 4 Ambassador Zakaria El-Adly Imam of the United Arab Republic gave a dinner in his honour. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi were among the guests.

Before his departure, President Sallal gave a banquet in Peking's Great Hall of the People for the Chinese leaders. Liu Shao-chi and Tung Pi-wu, Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and Premier Chou En-lai were among those who attended.

In his banquet speech, President Sallal said that the signing of the friendship treaty and the other documents between Yemen and China demonstrated once again the sincere desire of the two Governments and peoples to carry out effective co-operation. Refer-



Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese leaders with President Abdullah Al Sallal and members of his delegation

ring to his visit, he said that its memories would always remain vivid in the depth of his heart. Said the President: "The tremendous task of regeneration now going on in China has not hindered her from making her contribution, together with the people of other countries in the world, towards the promotion of human well-being and the stabilization of peace based upon the right of all peoples to freedom."

The President spoke of the surging liberation movement in Asia and Africa and China's support for it. He said: "We shall remember with admiration and respect the position taken by the Government of People's China and the Chinese people in supporting all just causes and, first of all, our Arab cause." President Sallal pledged firm support for the restoration of China's legitimate rights. "There is only one China and the so-called 'two Chinas' simply do not exist," he declared.

Premier Chou En-lai paid tribute to the Yemeni people for opposing imperialist interference, defending their national independence and sovereignty and promoting the solidarity of the Arab people. The Premier said: "The Chinese people will under all circumstances stand together with the Yemeni and other Arab people and fight to the end against imperialism and to safeguard national independence, strengthen Asian-African solidarity and defend world peace." Premier Chou also took the opportunity to reiterate China's stand on the Laotian situation.

# Only a 14-Nation Conference Can Peacefully Settle the Laotian Question

## Chinese Government Statement on the Laotian Situation

*Following is a translation of the statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Laotian situation issued on June 9, 1964.—Ed.*

THE situation in Laos is deteriorating more and more. Vientiane is still under the military control of the Rightist coup d'état clique of Laos. The United States has used this clique to hold Prince Souvanna Phouma under duress and thus created the extremely serious situation in Laos. Prince Phouma has not only unilaterally dismissed or replaced neutralist ministers but arbitrarily appointed persons to perform the functions of the ministers of the Neo Lao Haksat; thus he has turned the government in Vientiane into one under the virtual control of the Rightist group and placed himself against all the patriotic forces in Laos. It was natural that the Rightist coup d'état clique's scheme to annex the neutralist group should have aroused the resistance of the patriotic neutralist troops. But the United States has been using the uprising of the neutralist troops to extend its direct intervention in Laos. U.S. aircraft are making unscrupulous reconnoitring and bombing flights over Laos. The U.S. Seventh Fleet has moved up to Indo-China. Thailand has amassed a great deal of forces along the Thailand-Laos border. The United States and its vassals are deploying for a new attack in co-ordination with the Rightist coup d'état clique. All this shows that, owing to the intervention and aggression by the United States and its followers, the government in Vientiane is no longer the original Laotian Government of National Union, Prince Souvanna Phouma has descended from the position of the Premier of the Government of National Union to that of a government controlled by the Rightist group, the Geneva agreements are in danger of being completely wrecked, and Laos has been pushed to the brink of a total split and a general civil war.

China is a signatory to the Geneva agreements. Laos is a close neighbour of China. The Chinese Government cannot but be gravely concerned over the present situation in Laos. The Chinese Government must point out that the situation is most dangerous. The United States must not think that by holding Prince Phouma under duress it can kick aside the Government of National Union which was formed by unanimous agreement of the three Laotian groups and do whatever it pleases in Laos. This will never do. Prince Phouma was supported by the people at home and respected internationally as the Premier of the Laotian Government of National Union, but now the personal orders issued by Prince Phouma, who is being held under duress by the Rightist coup d'état clique,

can in no way represent a Laotian government of national union composed of all the three forces. The United States' doings in Laos through the instrumentality of the Rightist coup d'état clique are in utter violation of the Geneva agreements. The Chinese Government considers it to be the duty of all countries which are interested in the Geneva agreements and the peace of Southeast Asia to make joint efforts to check the further deterioration of the Laotian situation.

In order to save Laos from the grave situation, the Chinese Government is ready to give consideration to positive proposals from any quarters. However, the Chinese Government cannot but point out that the consultations in Vientiane among the representatives of part of the Geneva Conference nations are illegal and useless. Neither Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference has any right under the Geneva agreements to call such a meeting. Yet the Vientiane consultations are exactly called by Britain alone and chiefly attended by those Geneva Conference nations which are partial to the Rightist group in Laos. Moreover, the purpose of the Vientiane consultations is to bring about so-called ceasefire, withdrawal of troops, restoration of the position to what it was before May 16, 1964, etc., which is actually an attempt to impose the will of one side in Laos on another. Far from serving to ease the Laotian situation, such consultations will only aggravate the Laotian tension and facilitate the extension of the U.S. interventionist schemes in Laos.

THE Chinese Government further deems it necessary to point out that all consultations among part of the Geneva Conference nations are inconsistent with the Geneva agreements, no matter which are the nations, even though both the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference are included, and no matter where such consultations take place. It is explicitly stipulated in the Geneva agreements that the 14 nations must consult among themselves, and there is no stipulation that a meeting of part of the nations may be called. There are also explicit and unequivocal stipulations in the Geneva agreements about the terms of reference of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and the International Commission. It is clearly impermissible to overstep these terms of reference.

In the circumstances in which the Geneva agreements are in danger of being completely wrecked, the Chinese Government holds that the only way to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question is to hold a 14-nation conference, and that there is no other

way out. The Chinese Government put forward on May 26 this year its concrete suggestion for calling such a conference. Now, an increasing number of countries either are in favour of a 14-nation conference or have no objection to it. The Chinese Government hopes that, in order to promote the convening of a 14-nation conference, the Co-Chairmen will consult all the Geneva Conference nations, and particularly persuade those countries which are still reluctant to hold such a conference to agree to this step, while the site can be fixed through consultations among the countries concerned, either in Phnom Penh or in Geneva. At the same time it hopes that the Co-Chairmen will take measures to promote a meeting of all the three

groups in Laos in order to form as soon as possible a delegation representing the three forces. In view of the fact that Vientiane is now under the military control of the Rightist coup d'etat clique, it cannot be made the site of the meeting of the three groups, and it is necessary for the International Commission to help the Co-Chairmen make the suitable arrangements for the meeting of the three groups. A peaceful settlement of the Laotian question can be achieved only through negotiation among all the parties concerned, that is to say, internationally among all the 14 nations and internally among all the three groups. Any attempt to bypass any nation or group or to impose the will of one party on another is doomed to failure.

## For More and Finer Peking Operas On Contemporary Themes

by LU TING-YI

*Following is a translation of the speech made by Lu Ting-yi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council, on June 5 at the opening ceremony of the 1964 Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes.—Ed.*

**T**HE 1964 Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes opens today. **This is the first time so large a festival of Peking opera on contemporary themes has been held. This is an event of revolutionary significance for both Peking opera and the rest of China's traditional operas.** I wish to express my warm congratulations on the opening of the festival. I greet the theatrical workers from the various parts of the country who are taking part in it and all the comrades who have helped to organize it. **I hope that, by watching the performances, learning from each other and exchanging and summing up our experience, we will make the revolutionary flower of Peking opera on contemporary themes bloom still more abundantly.**

Socialist art and literature must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. Our theatrical art should follow the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to let the new emerge." This policy is well known to all. Since liberation, great progress has also been made in Peking opera circles. The content of Peking opera has become healthier, and the technique and skill of its performers have greatly improved. Most Peking opera artists and workers have raised their level of political understanding, are conscientiously and industriously serving the masses and the country, and thus enjoy high prestige both at home and abroad. Under the guidance and teaching of the older generation of Peking opera artists, a new generation has emerged.

A socialist society is a society in which there is class struggle. This is reflected in Peking opera as in other cultural fields. The past 15 years have witnessed ups and downs in Peking opera. All of us can remember that when the bourgeoisie launched a frenzied attack in 1957, there were some people who dug out and staged a number of harmful operas. This was, in fact, part of the wild attack launched by the bourgeoisie and the feudal forces against socialism. Recently, when our country suffered three consecutive years of natural calamities, when the modern revisionists headed by Khrushchov withdrew experts and tore up contracts, when the Indian reactionaries launched armed provocations on our southwest border, when the Chiang Kai-shek bandits under the wing of U.S. imperialism clamoured about "attacking the mainland," when the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bourgeois Rightists seized the opportunity to carry on their activities in a big way, there again appeared a host of ghost operas and other harmful operas on the Peking opera stage. This happened in Peking and also in other cities. With ghost operas appearing in the cities, the villages, too, had them. Ghost operas helped feudal superstitions to raise their ugly heads. This was again an unbridled attack against socialism by the bourgeoisie and the feudal forces. At that time there were some people in theatrical circles who could not see the situation very clearly. They were fooled by the talk of "no harm in having ghosts." Now, they should learn the lesson from this and become more politically aware.

**C**OMRADES and friends, you all know that today our country's economy has made an all-round turn for the better. How could we overcome our difficulties so quickly? It is because we realized very early that in a socialist society class struggle still exists; and by

firmly relying on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, and by uniting with all those forces which supported and were for socialism, we waged a resolute struggle on all fronts. The book *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, written by Chairman Mao Tse-tung in 1957, provides the theoretical basis to guide us in understanding the situation in our country and in waging struggles correctly. We have overcome our difficulties by heeding the words of Chairman Mao in our work.

**C**HAIRMAN Mao teaches us that a socialist society is not "a state of the whole people," not a society without classes, without class struggles. In a socialist society there are still contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production, and between the superstructure and the economic base, there is still class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. These contradictions are of two different types: contradictions among the people, and contradictions between the enemy and us, but mostly they are of the former type. One must distinguish between the natures of these two types of contradictions and they must be resolved in different ways. Class struggle in a socialist society rises and falls, and sometimes becomes very sharp. The development from socialism to communism takes up a very long historical period. And throughout this period there exists the danger of reverting back to capitalism.

The modern revisionists are paving the way for the restoration of capitalism, which is the "peaceful evolution" the U.S. imperialists have pinned their hopes on. The emergence of the modern revisionists has made the imperialists beside themselves with joy. They even hope that some day in China too a "peaceful evolution" will take place. The bourgeois Rightists in our country, echoing the imperialists and the modern revisionists, have said that "poverty causes change, change opens the way, the way leads to wealth, and wealth leads to revisionism." They use this incantation to try and make the people believe that the restoration of capitalism in our country will certainly take place. In view of this we should take a firm stand and work hard to guarantee that revisionism shall not appear in succeeding generations, and that capitalism shall never be reinstated in China.

Theatrical art is part of the superstructure. And the superstructure must conform to the economic base. Socialist theatrical art must serve the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The greatest and most glorious task of revolutionary theatrical artists and workers is to educate the present generation and the coming generations, too, to be revolutionaries for ever, who will never change their revolutionary outlook, and who will struggle to the end against the imperialists and their lackeys, against the bourgeoisie and the feudal forces, against modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, and for the realization of the lofty ideal of communism.

Clearly, if Peking opera themes are restricted to stories about emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties, Peking opera will not be able to conform to the socialist economic base. In that case, serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, and letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to let the new emerge would then become just empty talk.

We are never against Peking opera staging good traditional plays such as those adapted from *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, *Water Margin*, *Generals of the Yang Family*, and others. Nor do we oppose the staging of good mythological plays such as *Uproar in Heaven*, or *Monkey Sun Wu-kung Defeats the White-Bone Ghost*. We also advocate new historical plays which are written from a historical materialist point of view and have educational significance, particularly those with themes from modern history since the Opium War. But these alone are not enough. **Peking opera needs a new revolutionary flower, that is, plays on such contemporary themes as the revolutionary struggles since the May Fourth Movement, class struggle and production and construction since the liberation.** And this is why the current festival is a very good beginning, and something to rejoice over. Peking opera artists and workers learning from the People's Liberation Army, the exemplary soldier Lei Feng, the spirit of the Taching oil workers and Tachai farmers, have made great efforts, have both made use of and developed the conventions of Peking opera, and broken through them, and have thus accomplished what many considered impossible—they have introduced living people of today to the Peking opera stage. Comrades and friends, I wish again to thank you for your diligent efforts.

Will anyone oppose such a good thing? Will there again be ups and downs in Peking opera after this? There will certainly be people who will oppose this. And there will certainly be ups and downs, because in the last analysis this is a matter of class struggle.

**N**OW the imperialists and modern revisionists have begun to put their curses on Peking operas with modern themes. They do this because of their class instinct even without having seen a single Peking opera of this type. We are glad of their curses because it shows that we are on the right track. The fact that we follow this path hurts the imperialists and modern revisionists. If not, why should they want to curse it and swear at us? The crux of the matter is that they hope our art will degenerate just like theirs. But it turns out that our art is developing along a healthy, revolutionary path. China is a country of 650 million people, and contains one-fourth of the world's population. So it can be imagined how dreadful it is to the imperialist and revisionist gentlemen to see socialist, revolutionary art and literature flourish in such a populous country. I suggest that the Ministry of Culture compile and publish a collection of those articles in which the imperialists and modern revisionists lay their curses upon modern theme Peking operas, and distribute it to everyone



taking part in this festival. Let everyone have a chance to see them. Then we will know that our work is not only significant to our own country, but is also of international significance.

The imperialists and modern revisionists say that Peking operas with modern themes are "terrible." We say just the opposite: "they are fine." Such operas inspire their audiences with revolutionary spirit; that is their first good point. By presenting such plays, Peking opera artists have taken another step forward in remoulding their outlook. They are learning from and identifying themselves with the workers, peasants, and soldiers. That is the second good point. The new plays have won great popularity and received a warm welcome among the people when staged in various parts of the country. That is the third good point. In short, they are very good.

Peking opera actors who have taken part in these modern theme operas have learnt from their own experience that it is necessary for them to go out among the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and learn from them their noble qualities, and know what they like and what they are against. This is a great revolutionary transformation in the Peking opera world. Peking opera artists and workers, whether of the older or the younger generation, ought, in full self-conscious-

ness, to make themselves revolutionaries, and always be revolutionary. They should temper themselves in the tide of class struggle, stand firm, never surrender to the enemy, never be revisionists, and never desert the revolution. I hope that all Peking opera workers, from the playwrights and directors to the rank-and-file personnel, from those who play main roles to those who take supporting roles, will respond warmly to the call of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and go out among the workers, peasants, and soldiers, plunge themselves in the class struggle and the struggle for production to remould themselves and do their work in the socialist theatre well and so make their contribution to the great cause of socialism.

There is a very bright future for Peking operas with modern themes. The repertoire at the moment may not be so large. Some of the plays are fairly mature, others may need polishing. From now on festivals like this may be held once every few years. By a process of gradual accumulation and improvement, we hope that there will, in time, be hundreds of excellent plays on the repertoire of Peking opera with modern themes in various parts of the country. Since we understand the significance of our work and know the method of approach, we are sure to succeed, and achieve greater successes in the future.

### Breaching the Imperialist Front

## Storm Over South Korea

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**S**OUTH Korea is one more place in Asia where the struggle against Yankee imperialism is mounting. The people south of the 38th Parallel are now challenging the military dictatorship of the Pak Jung Heui clique, the American stooges who have plunged south Korea into the abyss of despair. The present outburst is a sequel to the March demonstrations which sparked off massive opposition to the "south Korea-Japan talks" then going on in Tokyo. As in March, the struggle now unfolding stems from the strike action of university students. But there is this difference. Whereas two months ago the demand was for an end to the "talks" designed to "normalize relations" and so reintroduce Japanese militarism—and all that it implies—into south Korea, what the students demand today is the ousting of the detested Pak regime itself.

This second round of the patriotic struggle against Yankee imperialism and its stooges began in the capital city on May 20. Five thousand students from ten universities went on to the streets to demonstrate after holding a meeting on the campus of Seoul University at which they denounced the fascist regime and demanded an immediate end to the "south Korea-Japan talks," punishment of corrupt officials and the release

of all political prisoners. Pak's police cordoned off the university grounds and made arrests. In an attempt to stop the demonstration the police fired scores of tear-gas shells and the students replied with stones. Displaying great bravery the demonstrators broke through the police cordons to reach the streets.

### "National Democracy" in a Coffin

Carrying a coffin in the van of the procession to symbolize the death of "national democracy," which is Pak's catch phrase to hide the repressive nature of his regime, the students streamed along Seoul's thoroughfares, attracting roadside sympathizers to join their ranks as they made for the government centre. They ran into lines of more police hurried to the scene to turn back the onrush. More people were arrested, including ordinary citizens. Middle school students going home after school threw themselves into the fray, too. By now the tussle had become a battle between the people on one side and Pak's police and sleuths on the other. In the fight the intrepid demonstrators destroyed one police jeep.

There was no mistaking that the students were in a highly militant mood. The scope of the demonstra-

tion, fast turning into a mass struggle, scared the Pak Jung Heui clique. A "state security meeting" was called to discuss how it could be prevented from assuming still greater proportions. But the struggle went on without let-up, the students, new police terror notwithstanding, holding meetings to protest against continuing arrests of students and other citizens.

What happened in Seoul produced repercussions in other parts of south Korea. On May 25 nine thousand students from 13 universities in Pusan, the second largest city, Choongchun, and Taegu, in addition to Seoul, took to the streets, now patrolled by fully armed soldiers as well as police. Despite arrests more rallies and demonstrations were held. Then in Kwangjoo the students of Chunnam University who ignored police threats to hold demonstrations demanded the overthrow of the Pak Jung Heui regime. The struggle took on a still more serious complexion, and one ominous for the Seoul government. What is more, the new police measures failed completely to make any impression on the students who knocked down the city police chief and destroyed a police car in the clash at Kwangjoo. The Pak regime warned that martial law would be proclaimed should the demonstrations continue. The students ignored the threat. They continued with their anti-government demonstrations, demanding the immediate resignation of Pak Jung Heui and the execution by firing squad of Kim Jong Pil, the government party chairman. In the evening of June 3, after U.S. Ambassador Berger and U.S. 8th Army Commander General Howze had flown by helicopter to the encircled "President's mansion" to confer with Pak Jung Heui, martial law was proclaimed in Seoul.

### Martial Law Ignored

The students' answer to martial law was a heightening of their fighting spirit and still bolder action. In Seoul, defying the curfew, they carried on the struggle into the night after a mighty daytime demonstration. Although all the street lamps were out and there were police barricades everywhere, the demonstrators kept coming into the darkened streets, chanting "Down With Pak Jung Heui!" slogans. In the clashes that followed the students seized ten police cars, wrecked 28 more, set fire to one police station and smashed eight more and stormed into the mobile police headquarters.

Events moved fast. In the next 24 hours the storm was sweeping through south Korea to engulf nearly twenty cities. Now it was not only college students but middle school students and large numbers of ordinary citizens who were taking an active part in the struggle to throw out the Pak regime. In one city the demonstrators wanted nothing less than the skin of the top American stooge. They shouted "Let's butcher the bad bull!" ("Bull" is Pak Jung Heui's nickname).

In the face of this hourly growing opposition which threatened the very survival of his regime, Pak Jung Heui threw a sop to the students by making a scapegoat of Kim Jong Pil and dismissing him from the

post of chairman of his ruling party. At the same time he ordered the closing of all colleges and schools, the primary schools not excepted, for the summer holidays, which in south Korea usually start in the middle of July. In the meantime, arrests were made right and left. According to an AFP dispatch dated June 5 from Seoul, three hundred politicians, professors and journalists, not to mention thousands of students, have been arrested since the proclamation of martial law. The press has been muzzled, forbidden to make any comment on the situation. As a result the newspapers in Seoul contain many blank spaces representing news ordered not to be published by Pak's censors.

All this reminds one of a similar situation in 1960 when student demonstrations, later developing into a widespread struggle embracing all sections of the population, finally led to the overthrow on April 19 of Syngman Rhee, the stooge the United States carefully groomed over the years to rule in south Korea. Political unrest coupled with economic chaos then marked the months immediately preceding the *coup de grace*. The students in those days were the first to rise and defy the Syngman Rhee regime. Brute force supported by American bayonets was alternated with political chicanery, but the many attempts by hook or crook to subdue the people's struggle failed miserably.

### Sharply Drawn Battle Lines

Much the same is happening again. The "national democracy" preached by the Pak Jung Heui clique since it came to power three years ago has been exposed as nothing but a fraud and farce. Fascist repression is worse than ever. Economically, prices have soared, those of food being more than 120 per cent higher compared with February last year. After the 50 per cent devaluation of the won on May 3, food prices rose sharply again, as much as 40 per cent in a matter of days. Even Radio Seoul, controlled by the Pak regime, began to fear the dire effects of devaluation. It was all too clear that popular resentment was rising.

Pak Jung Heui, to mollify the growing hostility, reorganized his government in the second week of May, replacing Choi Doo Sun with Chung Il Kwun as "Prime Minister." But political manoeuvring did not succeed where earlier violence had failed. The contradictions between his regime and the people were sharpening, not diminishing. Within a fortnight the student demonstrations against him and his U.S. imperialist masters crashed around his head.

The battle lines are sharply drawn between the Pak regime, supported by an American occupation army of over 60,000, and the people of south Korea, with the students standing in the forefront of the patriotic struggle. Wider and wider sections of the people are now being drawn into this struggle. They see it as one that will overthrow the Pak Jung Heui clique and in the end drive U.S. imperialism out of south Korea, a struggle that will ensure them democracy and the right to live their own lives and lead them to the peaceful unification of north and south Korea.

# The Degeneration of the Yugoslav Economy Owned by the Whole People

by SHIH TUNG-HSIANG

*Following is a translation of the first instalment of an article published in the May 23 (No. 10) issue of "Hongqi." — Ed.*

**W**HAT sort of country is Yugoslavia under the control of the Tito clique? Is it a socialist country or a country in which capitalism has been restored? This is a sharp issue debated between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists in the present international communist movement.

Some time ago, in order to defend their assertion that Yugoslavia is a socialist country, Khrushchov and his followers claimed that private enterprises and capitalists do not exist in Yugoslavia. Lately, although there are those who sometimes repeat this shop-worn theme, they are not as cocksure as they used to be.

Acting like poor magicians, Khrushchov and his followers, when one incantation fails them, try another and repeat it again and again. Now they say that Yugoslavia's industry and commerce belong to the socialist sector. They also assert that "the Yugoslav economy is developing as a socialist economy." In his anti-China report delivered at the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Suslov said sententiously: "Anyone who proceeds not from a subjective standpoint, but from objective laws, from the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, must admit that Yugoslavia is a socialist country and that, moreover, the positions of socialism are going from strength to strength in Yugoslavia."

Is the Yugoslav economy a socialist economy after all? Are Yugoslav industry and commerce a socialist economy owned by the whole people?

In face of the stark reality that the Yugoslav socialist economy has degenerated into a capitalist economy, why are Khrushchov and his followers arbitrarily insisting that it is a socialist economy? And what are they up to?

These questions have been answered by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* in their article "Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?" (See *Peking Review*, No. 39, 1963). This article is intended

to present an even larger body of material to elaborate these questions in greater detail.

## I. Are "The Positions of Socialism Going From Strength To Strength" or Has Capitalism Been Restored?

It is well known that before the Tito clique betrayed Marxism-Leninism, a socialist economy owned by the whole people was indeed established in Yugoslavia. But since the Tito clique betrayed Marxism-Leninism, things have changed drastically.

Subservient to U.S. imperialism externally and serving the bourgeoisie internally, the Tito clique has caused the state power built in their revolutionary war by the Yugoslav people to degenerate into a state power of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It has used it to carry out a series of revisionist policies. Among other things, it has introduced "workers' self-government" in enterprises, thus completely undermining the socialist economy owned by the whole people in production, circulation, and distribution.

What exactly is this "workers' self-government" of the Tito clique? And how has that clique used "workers' self-government" to make the Yugoslav socialist economy owned by the whole people degenerate step by step into a capitalist economy?

In June 1950, the Yugoslav Federal National Assembly adopted the "Basic Law Concerning Management by Working Collectives of State Economic Enterprises and Leading Joint Economic Concerns." This law places factories, mines, transport and communications, trade, agriculture, forestry, public utilities and other state enterprises under "workers' self-government." Such enterprises are handed over to "working collectives" for independent management. It also provides that they have the power to decide on management policy, distribute a portion of their accumulation independently and to employ and dismiss workers and staff members.

The implementation of "workers' self-government" in these enterprises dealt a body blow to the unified system of planned economy. At the end of 1951, the Tito clique promulgated the "Law on the Planned

Management of the National Economy," and announced the abolition of unified planning for the national economy.

Since incomes of enterprises are decided by the amount of profit gained from market competition, wages of workers and staffs necessarily vary with the incomes which their enterprises earn. At the end of 1951, the Tito regime abolished the original system whereby the state laid down wage scales and, beginning from 1952, the regime introduced a so-called new wage system. According to the provisions of this new system, wage scales are decided by enterprises (actually by managers). A so-called "bonus" system has been put into effect, linking the wages of workers of an enterprise with the amount of profit it has gained in competition on the market. When losses are incurred, wages are reduced.

In December 1953, the Tito clique promulgated "Regulations Governing the Opening of Enterprises and Shops" and "Regulations Governing the Closing of Enterprises and Shops." According to these regulations, economic and social organizations and "citizens' groups" have the right, with the approval of the state, to found enterprises which may then be merged or split up as they decide. With the exception of those which are "sponsored" by state bodies or other organizations, enterprises are forced to go into liquidation, close down and sell their property, if they fail to submit profits to the state or to repay their debts.

At the same time, the Tito clique promulgated "Regulations on the Administration of Fixed Assets of Economic Organizations." These provide that enterprises have the right to effect the "free interflow" of fixed assets by buying, selling or renting provided that the original value of these fixed assets are maintained and the payment of interest on them is assured. They also provide that they can be sold to private individuals with the approval of the Federal State Secretary for the national economy.

Changes in the system of foreign trade are an important aspect of the degeneration of Yugoslav economy owned by the whole people into a capitalist economy.

Beginning in 1950, the Tito clique abolished the state monopoly of foreign trade. In 1953, it promulgated the "Decree on Management of Foreign Trade," which permits enterprises to go in for foreign trade independently, and allows them to carry on trade directly with foreign monopoly capitalist enterprises. This has kept the door wide open for Yugoslav enterprises to fall into direct subservience to international monopoly capital and for the infiltration of imperialist capital and commodities.

The process of degeneration of the Yugoslav economy owned by the whole people is a process of conversion of a centralized and unified socialist economy into a capitalist economy controlled by the Tito clique. That is why since 1950 the Tito clique has put "workers' self-government" into practice, given special stimulus

to "liberalization of enterprises," encouraged competition on the market and given enterprises a free hand to hunt for profits.

Such capitalist "liberalization" of enterprises has produced serious consequences for the Yugoslav national economy.

In face of this situation, what the Tito clique is concerned about is not to check this capitalist "liberalization" or to improve the people's standards of living but to take certain measures to tighten its grip, on the basis of market competition, over enterprises under "workers' self-government."

Since 1954, it has set up economic associations in various trades in order to strengthen the Tito regime's intervention in the economic activities of the localities, departments and enterprises. It has clamped controls on commodity prices and wages, reducing the workers' income to increase the profits of enterprises. The basic aim of all these measures is to get, in the form of taxes and interest, the lion's share of the profits of enterprises into the hands of the state controlled by the Tito clique.

Having adopted a series of policies and measures designed to disintegrate the socialist system in the political, economic and ideological fields, and having servilely thrown itself into the arms of the U.S.-led imperialism, the Tito clique has found it necessary to systematize these modern revisionist policies at home and abroad. Thus the notorious Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was adopted at its Seventh Congress in April 1958.

It is true that in drawing up this programme, the Tito clique has interspersed it with certain Marxist-Leninist terms and larded it with ambiguous and unintelligible phrases. But, stripped of these trappings, it becomes quite clear that this is an out-and-out modern revisionist programme.

The programme lays it down that:

First, "workers' self-government" "creates favourable conditions for an independent and freer movement of the economic and social forces." Enterprises under "workers' self-government" are those under "public ownership" which is different from socialist ownership by the whole people.

Secondly, "within the scope of their own plans," enterprises under "workers' self-government" "make basic decisions independently" as regards production, circulation, funds, investment, the utilization, regular renovation and replacement of productive capacity, incomes of workers and other fairly important questions concerning their own businesses or those business activities undertaken with others.

Thirdly, "working collectives" such as enterprises under "workers' self-government" "enjoy the greatest degree of independence" in work and in management.

Fourthly, "socialism" in Yugoslavia "cannot subject personal happiness to any other 'higher aims,' be-

cause the personal happiness of man is the highest aim of socialism"; and material incentives for workers "are a fundamental motive force in their activities."

Fifthly, "spontaneity is understood as a free movement of socialist economic factors"; free competition among enterprises should be encouraged; "the greatest possible freedom in man's creation and utilization of wealth" should be guaranteed, and nothing should be done to hamstring "the initiative of individuals and enterprises."

Sixthly, Yugoslav "planned economy (and socialism as well) should not imply turning the whole of society into a machine." This is not "the transformation of the whole of the state economic mechanism into a single huge machine, into an economic organism that will work in such a way as to enable hundreds of millions of people to be guided by a single plan,"<sup>1</sup> as Lenin said.

Moreover, leadership over and administration of the national economy by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is vilified by the programme as "bureaucracy," "a great danger to socialism" during the period of transition, and as leading to "state capitalism" when pressed to extremes.

This programme is a comprehensive embodiment of the policy of the Tito clique to restore capitalism since the introduction of "workers' self-government" in 1950. The Tito clique declared that the content of the programme was a "general law of the socialist movement" in Yugoslavia.

All the stipulations of the programme are diametrically opposed to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration. The "general law of the socialist movement" in Yugoslavia which is bragged about in the programme also runs entirely counter to the nine universal laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction summed up in the 1957 Declaration.

The adoption and promulgation of this programme show that the Tito clique's modern revisionist line has been moulded into definite form; that that clique has completely betrayed Marxism-Leninism and is stubbornly determined to wreck the socialist economy and to restore capitalism in Yugoslavia; and that not only does it refuse to return to the socialist camp but has made up its mind to become a special detachment of U.S. imperialism, vainly hoping that its policy will triumph in the socialist camp and will succeed in disintegrating that camp.

"A new programme is after all a banner publicly raised, and the outside world judges the Party by it,"<sup>2</sup> wrote Engels. One can see from the facts mentioned above that the programme of the Tito clique is precisely

<sup>1</sup> V.I. Lenin, "Report on War and Peace," a speech delivered to the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. II, Part 1, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, p.420.

a banner publicly raised, a banner for the restoration of capitalism, of subservience to U.S. imperialism, opposition to the socialist camp and the international communist movement, opposition to the revolutions of the world's people, and opposition to Marxism-Leninism. In short it is a banner of out-and-out modern revisionism.

With the unfurling of this banner of modern revisionism, the Tito clique has intensified its efforts to press ahead with its policy to restore capitalism at home and to be still more subservient to U.S. imperialism.

In 1961 the Tito clique introduced more "reforms" in Yugoslav industry and commerce. The main contents of these "reforms" are:

Workshops and even producers' teams within enterprises are treated as "economic units" with independent accountability. The different "economic units" are "doing business" "entirely in accordance with relationships formed on the market" and "according to market prices."<sup>3</sup> At the same time, taxes have been increased, local financial independence has been pushed still further and local government have been encouraged to "live on what they earn."<sup>4</sup>

In foreign trade, exchange rates have been unified. Export and import restrictions have been further relaxed. "Free imports" of many important materials for re-processing and certain consumer goods have been permitted. Restrictions on the import of certain other commodities have also been eased in varying degrees.

As a result of these "reforms," the Yugoslav economy has gone further and further down the road of capitalism. Dependence on imperialism and particularly on U.S. imperialism has increased. The Yugoslav economy has been further incorporated into the world capitalist system and become its appendage.

In 1963, the Tito clique promulgated a new constitution. In his report on it, Kardelj said that it was the "legal-political and organizational embodiment" of the concept of the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Actually this means protecting the restoration of capitalism by means of the state constitution. The state constitution is used to promote the modern revisionist programme, to declare as illegal all forces and activities opposed to the modern revisionist programme and opposed to the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia so as to help the Tito clique use its state machinery for repression.

<sup>2</sup> Engels to A. Bebel, March 18-28, 1875, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.358.

<sup>3</sup> S. Vukmanovic: "The Core of New Relationship Lies in Economic Units." *Borba*, April 30, May 1 and May 2, 1961.

<sup>4</sup> M. Todorovic: Speech delivered at the Administrative Committee of the Yugoslav Federal Industrial Association, December 13, 1960.

Such are the "facts" and "actual developments" concerning the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia since 1950 and particularly since publication of the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1953.

It is precisely proceeding from these "facts" and "actual developments" and especially from the "facts" and "actual developments" since publication of the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1953, that all Marxist-Leninists including the Chinese Communists have made a correct assessment of the nature of the Yugoslav economy and consider that capitalism has been restored in Yugoslavia. This assessment completely accords with that made by the meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the various countries in 1960 on the nature of the party and state controlled by the Tito clique.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. are well aware of these "facts" and "actual developments." But Suslov, in his report to the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., shut his eyes to this and produced the nonsense that since 1957 "there are no such facts or developments, and there haven't been any."

Here we would like to put a question to them in his own words: "What has this subjectivist and arbitrary approach to do with Marxism-Leninism?"

## II. Free Competition and Anarchy in Production Replaces Planned and Proportionate Socialist Development

Radical changes have taken place in the direction of the economic activities of Yugoslav enterprises since "workers' self-government" was introduced into them. Implementation of the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the "reforms" of 1961 have further stimulated these changes.

First, production in enterprises is aimed at making profits instead of satisfying the needs of all members of society.

Secondly, the variety and amount of goods produced are determined by the enterprises themselves in accordance with market conditions; they are no longer determined on the basis of the unified state plan of production.

Thirdly, the means of production needed by enterprises and the goods produced by them are freely bought and sold on the market; they are no longer allocated in accordance with a unified plan of distribution of materials drawn up by the state.

Fourthly, the prices of products are freely shaped on the market; basically they are no longer set by the state in a unified way.

Fifthly, the labour force needed by enterprises is freely recruited on the market and can be freely dismissed; it is no longer allocated in accordance with unified arrangements made by the state.

Sixthly, credit funds needed by enterprises are no longer issued in accordance with a unified plan; instead the banks invite tenders, and whoever offers the highest rate of interest and repay the loan in the shortest possible time gets the funds.

All these changes, in a nutshell, imply that the co-ordination made possible by a unified state plan is replaced by competition among different enterprises.

The Tito clique itself has never concealed this point. Kardelj has said explicitly that in Yugoslavia, "enterprises are free within the sphere of their own activities, no organizations of control lay down policy for them and they engage in free competition in the market."<sup>5</sup> Yugoslav laws also clearly stipulate that enterprises "should follow the principle of healthy competition in their business operations," that "business secrets" must be kept among enterprises and that no organizations "are allowed to restrict or prevent freedom of competition."<sup>6</sup>

What the Tito clique has tried hard to conceal is the capitalist character of these changes. They allege that these changes indicate that they "perceived in time the historic necessity for further changes and took action to eliminate the obstacle standing in the way of further socialist development." The Tito clique also asserts that these "changes" open the way for "the further socialist advancement of society."<sup>7</sup>

To expose this fraud, we had better, first of all, take a look at the facts in Yugoslav economic life since these "changes" were introduced.

In Yugoslavia, the sharpest competition is developing among different enterprises in their quest for profits.

When a sellers' market develops in certain products and there is a promise of high profits, enterprises dealing in these lines of goods leave no stone unturned to expand production and new enterprises in the same line appear one after another. In 1959 when a need for farm machines was keenly felt, an exceptionally large number of new farm machine-making factories suddenly appeared.<sup>8</sup> Between the end of 1960 and the beginning of 1961, "the brick-making industry overnight became a gold mine. In some areas, prices trebled," as a result, many brick-making enterprises vied with each other in expanding or modernizing existing factories. This led to "large stockpiles which could not find customers and circulation funds were frozen." "The whole trade thus found itself in a very difficult situation."<sup>9</sup> There were more than 400 foundries in 1962. This "resulted in a crowded market,

<sup>5</sup> Kardelj: "Socialist Democracy and Yugoslav Practice," *Borba*, January 1 to 3, 1955.

<sup>6</sup> "Law on Regulation of Business Transactions on the Market" of 1962. *Official Bulletin of the F.P.R.Y.*, No. 30, 1962.

<sup>7</sup> Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

<sup>8</sup> See *Privredni Pregled*, June 21, 1961.

<sup>9</sup> *Borba*, February 28, 1962.

then unscrupulous competition, non-fulfilment of contracts and finally confusion in production."<sup>10</sup> *Borba* of September 20, 1963 reported that "in the spring of this year, having refrained from placing orders for two years, the Yugoslav railways ordered 3,000 railway wagons and the wagon-makers scrambled for the order like hungry wolves."

Where there is competition there are mergers, and the vanquished are inexorably liquidated. The Yugoslav press reported that two of the five bicycle factories in Yugoslavia had closed down in the struggle on the market. The struggle for sales in 1963 was as hard as ever for the remaining three.<sup>11</sup> According to incomplete data in the *Official Bulletin of the F.P.R.Y.*, law courts in recent years have ordered 500-600 enterprises to close down every year.

Competition inevitably leads to monopoly, but this cannot stem the tide of competition. In such a branch of industry as modern transport and communications, which requires centralization, the extraordinary phenomenon of the splitting up of enterprises has taken place. Railways are administered by 29 independent enterprises.<sup>12</sup> In order to maintain its monopoly in the area under its control, one company often lets the wagons of another go empty on their return journey from its area.

It frequently happens that in order to monopolize the market, enterprises under "workers' self-government" scramble for technical personnel and keep technical know-how hidden from each other. They also attack each other in the press and on the radio. A sewing machine factory named Bagat published an advertisement attacking the machines imported by another enterprise as "third-rate goods" while bragging that its own products were "the height of technical achievement in sewing machine production." The enterprise concerned immediately counter-attacked in its own advertisements in the press.<sup>13</sup>

The commodity price situation in Yugoslavia is chaotic. Prices fluctuate with competition and supply and demand in the market. They vary greatly not only in different cities and places but also in different shops in the same area. Even the same goods of the same producer are sold at different prices. Completely ignoring the needs of production and social consumption, enterprises in their quest for exorbitant profits hoard and speculate and raise commodity prices.

The Yugoslav press reported that in the first half of 1960 a "fever (of speculative activities) seized the building materials market." Many companies procured and hoarded building materials and this has led to an acute shortage on the market. As a result prices of

timber soared two to two and a half times, and prices of reinforced steel rose by two-thirds.<sup>14</sup> The Mirna fishing enterprise in Rovinja dumped 12,000 kilogrammes of fish into the sea just to keep prices up.<sup>15</sup>

Economic conditions in Yugoslavia have recently been deteriorating day by day and commodity prices have soared even more sharply.

As the Yugoslav journal *Index* reported in its No. 1 issue of 1964, compared with 1959 retail prices of commodities in 1963 recorded an average increase of 28 per cent; prices of farm produce increased 62 per cent and the cost of living rose 39 per cent. According to official data, retail prices of commodities in December 1963 were 6 per cent higher than in the corresponding period of 1962; prices of farm products increased 16 per cent.

*Politika* of February 15, 1964, reported that recent price increases covered too long a list of goods: food, clothes, knitwear, furniture, building materials and many other materials for making various types of products. These price increases spread from raw materials to products, and from the factories to the shops; they "are developing in a chain reaction."

Of the chaos in the Yugoslav market, *Privredni Pregled* wrote: "The market set-up, madness, gambling and speculation and so on — these are the concepts that characterize all commercial departments."<sup>16</sup>

M. Todorovic in charge of the Tito clique's economic affairs also said: "Gold fever affects every individual, collective, enterprise, budget organ, small private proprietors in urban and rural areas and hidden speculators, etc."<sup>17</sup>

Yugoslav enterprises are engaged in sharp competition not only on the domestic market but also in the sphere of foreign trade. "For selfish reasons," foreign trade enterprises "are out to earn money" "indiscriminately" and "at all costs." They are competing for business, for customers; each trying to squeeze the other out and win over its trading partners. They behave just as if they came "from two different countries." It is no rare occurrence for "20 to 30 representatives of Yugoslav foreign trade companies to flock to the same foreign market." "Representatives of six Yugoslav enterprises appeared to meet a foreign merchant, all trying to sell goods produced by the same Yugoslav plant."<sup>18</sup>

In a report under the heading "500 Tons of Mushrooms and 20 Exporters," *Borba* of September 23, 1963, wrote of the mushroom exporters who have appeared suddenly in large numbers, all wanting to "obtain foreign exchange; they are even willing to incur losses through low mushroom prices, which they can make

<sup>10</sup> *Borba*, September 25, 1962.

<sup>11</sup> *Politika*, January 18, 1963.

<sup>12</sup> *Ekonomska Politika* (weekly), May 19, 1962.

<sup>13</sup> *Vecernje Novosti*, August 31, 1960 and *Oslobodjenje*, November 23, 1960.

<sup>14</sup> *Vecernje Novosti*, June 5, 1960.

<sup>15</sup> *Borba*, November 25, 1963.

<sup>16</sup> *Privredni Pregled*, Nos. 8-9, 1956.

<sup>17</sup> M. Todorovic, "The Struggle on Two Fronts," 1954.

<sup>18</sup> *Vjesnik u Sredu*, January 17, 1962 and *Svjet*, January 19, 1962.

good by charging high prices for other products sold to domestic consumers." "By their frenzied speculations they have upset traditional relations with foreign traders, and have created veritable chaos in purchases and exports."

Is there anything in the above-mentioned facts which resembles a socialist economy? And is there anything which is not an inherent phenomenon of capitalist economy?

Engels said that in capitalist society, "the contradiction between socialized production and capitalistic appropriation now presents itself as an **antagonism between the organization of production in the individual workshop and the anarchy of production in society generally.**" He also said: after the abolition of capitalist means of production, "the social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of production upon a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and of each individual."<sup>19</sup>

For a few years after the conclusion of World War II, the Yugoslav economy was developing along a socialist path in the manner described by Engels: "social regulation of production upon a definite plan" began to replace "the social anarchy of production."

Since 1950, the Tito clique, violating the law of historical development in Yugoslavia, has caused the

<sup>19</sup> Engels: "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in two volumes, Vol. II, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, p.143, p.150.

Yugoslav socialist economy owned by the whole people to degenerate into a capitalist economy. In complete contrast with the changes in the previous period, competition and the anarchy of production have again replaced the planned and proportionate development of the national economy. It is clear that this does not mean eliminating the "obstacle standing in the way of further socialist development" and opening the road for "the further socialist advancement of society" as the Tito clique has claimed. On the contrary, this precisely removes the obstacles to the "further development" of capitalism and opens the way for "the further development" of capitalism.

Lenin rightly said: "Socialism . . . is inconceivable without planned state organization which subjects tens of millions of people to the strictest observance of a single standard in production and distribution."<sup>20</sup> He also said: ". . . without all-sided state accounting and control of production and distribution of goods, the power of the toilers, the freedom of the toilers, cannot be maintained, and a return to the yoke of capitalism is inevitable."<sup>21</sup>

Has not "a return to the yoke of capitalism" taken place in the Yugoslav economy?

(To be continued.)

<sup>20</sup> V.I. Lenin, "Left-Wing Childishness and Petty-Bourgeois Mentality," *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, International Publishers, New York, p.365.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, p.327.

## Exposing Forgery in Czechoslovakia

*Following is a translation of the statement issued on June 8 by the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, exposing the discreditable behaviour of the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in using forged letters to attack China. — Ed.*

ON May 24 this year, *Rude Pravo*, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, published an article entitled "Dishonourable Interference." Making use of a forged letter of greetings allegedly sent this year by what is said to be the "Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries" on the occasion of the 19th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia, the article wildly attacked and vilified the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government. In addition, it scurrilously accused this association of having addressed a similar "letter of greetings" last year to a number of Czechoslovak representatives in capitalist countries on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the February event in Czechoslovakia. Thereupon, it slandered China as having "distributed

slandorous and provocative letters to incite opposition to the leadership of other Communist Parties and, in this dishonourable way, violated the principles governing relations between Communist Parties and socialist countries" and "interfered in the affairs of other Parties." Speaking on May 28 at the national conference of chairmen of Communist Party committees in factories, Comrade Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, also made use of the same forged letters to abuse the Chinese Communist Party, alleging that China had incited Czechoslovak cadres "in a shameful manner" to "do away with" the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

The two letters referred to by *Rude Pravo* and Antonin Novotny in their charges against the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government are forgeries, pure and simple. They are so crudely forged and the loopholes in them are so glaring that the forgery can be detected at a glance. One simple fact will suffice to show the truth. The letter which *Rude Pravo* alleged was sent by this association in February last year is reputedly sent by "the General Office of



the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries" and the letter-head gives the cable address number of this association as 41073. But it is unfortunate for the forger that this association has never had any "general office," and its cable address number is not 41073. The letter which *Rude Pravo* alleged was sent by this association in May this year gives the address of this association as "No. 14, Tung Sze San Tiao, Peking." Anyone who is in the least familiar with this association will know that while this association is in Peking, it is not located at No. 14, Tung Sze San Tiao. If the two letters were actually sent by this association as was alleged by the writer of the *Rude Pravo* article and Novotny, then the question arises: how could we make such a blunder about our own organization, our address and our cable address number? Can anything be as ludicrous as that? The sheer absurdity of the contents and phraseology of the two letters serves as still more eloquent proof of the fact that they are simply forgeries fabricated by the enemy.

It is widely known that the Chinese Government always opposes and condemns acts of interference in the internal affairs of other countries and subversive activities. The approach of the Chinese Communist Party to the differences among fraternal Parties and fraternal countries has throughout been above-board. In its debate with certain fraternal Parties, including the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the Chinese Communist Party has always stated its views publicly in the name of the Central Committee of the Party or its organ. It has never spoken and has no need to speak through a mass organization like this association. Still less does it use or need to use such stupid and disgraceful tactics as distributing provocative letters.

If *Rude Pravo* and the leader of the Czechoslovak Communist Party were in the slightest degree serious politically, the matter could easily have been clarified. It must be pointed out, and the *Rude Pravo* article itself already disclosed, that on March 13, 1963, when the Czechoslovak Ambassador to China made a groundless charge and lodged a protest against China in connection with the first forged letter, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs proved to the Czechoslovak side by incontrovertible facts that the letter was a forgery. It is no surprise that the enemy should resort to forged letters to sow discord among socialist countries. But it is surprising that *Rude Pravo* and even Antonin Novotny, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and President of the Republic, should have such faith in these obviously forged letters, while turning a deaf ear to the exposure and clarification made by a fraternal country, as to have used them despite everything to raise a hue and cry. This only serves to show that *Rude Pravo* and the leader of the Czechoslovak Communist Party were deliberately using the forged letters to stir up anti-China sentiments, poison relations between the Chinese and Czechoslovak peoples and harm the international prestige of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government. From this it is not difficult to see that *Rude Pravo* and the leader of the Czechoslovak Communist Party have stopped at nothing to pursue their anti-China ends, and have placed themselves in the position of collaborators of those who forged the letters.

We would like to tell *Rude Pravo* and the leader of the Czechoslovak Communist Party: What you have done will do you no good. On the contrary it will only bring you disgrace.

## Some Comments on the Chinese People's Communes

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

*Following is an article reprinted from the No. 16 (April 25, 1964) issue of "Letter From China" published by Anna Louise Strong, the noted American writer now residing in China.—Ed.*

IT seems time for some comments on the communes. They form the base of China's rural life today but are badly understood abroad. A Latin American friend just back from Cuba tells me that people everywhere asked about the communes, and many thought they had failed and been abandoned. When U.S. press and Khrushchov both sneer at communes, what are Cubans to believe?

So it must be said flatly:

**First, the communes exist; they arose in 1958 and are now in their sixth year; with every year they have grown stronger and more adapted to their tasks.**

**Second, they exist in basically the same form in which they appeared which was hailed by the Communist Party's resolution in Wuhan in December 1958 as "a new social organization fresh as the morning sun above the broad horizon of East Asia". They survived three years of the worst natural disasters of the century which struck when the communes had just been organized and were still hardly stabilized and hence most vulnerable. Foreign critics try to blame the bad crops on the communes, but the Chinese know that, while some mistakes of some communes in some areas**

added to the difficulties, the communes basically were the force that saved the country, preventing disasters from becoming widespread famine.

Changes of course have occurred in the communes; all living forms change. What is surprising and what I only realized recently is that none of the changes make it necessary to retract a single paragraph of the first Party resolutions that described the communes in 1958. I have just been asked to prepare a second edition of my book on "The Rise of the Chinese People's Communes" written in early 1959. To my surprise the only change I had to make was to put a footnote to the 1958 grain statistics, which were long ago admitted to be wrong. The basic form and basic aims remain.

Even more, the communes not only still fulfill the description and purposes outlined in 1958 by the two historic resolutions of the Chinese Communist Party — in Peitaiho on August 29th, 1958 and in Wuhan in December of the same year — but they still embody all the aspirations which the peasants at that time expressed in their wildest dreams.

The view that men by community organization can prevail over heaven was expressed in the ringing peasant slogan, "Man's will, not heaven, decides." This is still the profound faith, but is sought more clearly in terms of years of steady mechanization, more fertilizer and increased water-control. The women still seek freedom from the ancient household drudgery and find it in the fact that the commune's processing of grain relieves the farmwife from substituting for the donkey at the old dizzy task of dragging the heavy grinding stones around and around. Other household drudgery is lessened by the increasing electrification and the better handling of water which no longer has to be carried so far on shoulder-poles. Nurseries and kindergartens maintained by the communes are also a liberation for the women. Only the public dining-rooms which in 1958 swept the rural areas have been greatly diminished, for the family kitchens were found to be needed, especially in the north where the same heat cooks and warms the home, but public meals for nurseries, kindergartens, schools, workshops and seasonally for field gangs still lighten the household burden and collective kitchens are organized on a small scale by neighbors, a tendency likely to increase.

Even the shout for "free grain" which in late 1958 swept the rural areas, expressing the faith that famine was conquered, and that now in the communes nobody would ever starve — a demand which most peasants at the time felt more essential than even their own personal wages — was never really given up. For while the actual free distribution of grain led to much waste and was soon stopped, usually within a few months, it is replaced today by a careful handling of a "welfare fund" to ensure that nobody in the "team" shall lack food.

Since each change in the commune, made by its members for improvement, has been greeted abroad as

a "liquidation", I must briefly define what the Chinese People's Commune was, and is, how it differs from all other forms of farm collectivization and what the changes were in the past six years.

Some attacks first describe the commune incorrectly and then attack the form they have described. Khrushchov's attacks are of this type; probably the first open criticism of China he ever expressed was his remark to Senator Humphrey in late 1958 which sneered at the commune as a form which had been tried in the Soviet Union and failed. The communes that existed in the USSR in early days were, as I myself saw them and as everyone knew them, a type of collective that held property in common with equal distribution to all; they were highly thought of theoretically but had to be dropped as "premature". Attributing this equalitarian form to China, Khrushchov then attacks it as a departure from Marxism-Leninism, etc., etc. But the Chinese Communists never advocated that equalitarian form.

**People's Communes in China arose, not as an experiment in equalitarianism, but as a merger of agricultural cooperatives to create a larger unit for better control of the rural environment, and especially, but not exclusively, for water-control and irrigation.** In early 1958 most of China's more than half billion peasants were in 740,000 agricultural cooperatives with an average membership of 160 families. When the year ended, they had merged into 26,000 communes, usually on the scale of a township, with an average of several thousand families. (The number of communes was later increased threefold by subdivision in some provinces to fit local conditions, but the commune throughout remains the form which merges all the cooperative farming in the country, and to which practically all peasants belong.)

This merger took place in a great drive of peasant enthusiasm based on the realization that the cooperatives were not big enough to handle irrigation projects, in which every canal was at the expense of somebody's land but that, by pooling resources and making joint plans, they could "conquer nature" and insure that nobody in the future need starve. This was a sound hope and it has proved true.

**A second feature of the communes, in addition to size, is its wider function. It assumed the handling, not only of agriculture but of local industry, commerce, education, home defense on a township scale.** One of the "excesses" that occurred was that some communes, in enthusiasm, launched too many local industries, using up resources and labor wastefully in occupations not suited to their area. One commune in Honan boasted of making synthetic rubber from sweet potatoes; there were many such inventive ideas. Hence one of the natural changes was that they eventually dropped many of the small industries but expanded occupations and enterprises correlated with agriculture, such as livestock, orchards, forestry, the grinding of grain, processing of peanuts into edible oil, sugar refining, local

truck transport and the making of farm implements and machinery.

The third aspect of the Chinese People's Commune, in which it differs most sharply from all other forms of farm collectivization anywhere, is that it combines government power with production. The commune is both the upper level of the combined farming cooperatives and also the lowest level of state power. The peasants of the township survey the total resources of their township and have the state power to use them.

This is still the basic difference of the Chinese Communes from all other forms of farm collectivization. What first recommended it locally was that improvements like local roads, reservoirs and irrigation canals could be done with authority at once by local initiative. One husky commune chairman from Manchuria told me in 1958 when I asked who paid for local roads: "Nobody pays for roads. We just make them!" He was utterly unaware of cost accounting; the peasants have learned much about it since. But basically, while roads and irrigation projects are always taken up with the county and even with the province for large constructions, the smaller projects are really "just made" by the peasants whose villages they serve. The merging of commune with "state power" also gives authority and connections with upper branches of government, in seeking priorities for electrification and pumps.

The Chinese believe that this merger at basic level will also enable an easier transition to Communism when the time comes. The form of farm collectives practised in the USSR and elsewhere creates a duality in which the collectives are separate from the state. The state power may favor the collective and control it by law, but a contradiction of interests remains which will some day have to be bridged. In China, state power is inside the organization at township level. As the commune's economic strength increases, so does the share of the state within it. This, it is believed, will make possible a future transition to "ownership by the whole people" with less contradiction. Still later, the commune itself may survive as a basic cell in a Communist Society.

These three basic characteristics of the Chinese People's Commune were given by the first resolutions of the Communist Party in 1958; they still remain. It was also specified in those resolutions that, in the distribution of income, the basic principle should be payment for work done, and any diversion of funds for other purposes, such as an accumulation fund or "free supply", should be strictly limited. In practise this at first was not always done.

For the first demand that swept the country with enthusiasm was that everyone should be fed, that the hunger of generations should be conquered at last. This took the form of "free grain" in public dining rooms, in many places "free dishes" of other kinds were added and competitions arose as to the number of "free services", from tailoring to barbering and theater tickets.

In some places—Kwangsi among others—competitions took place among husky young men as to who could eat the most grain.

Some people in China today tend to avoid mentioning these "excesses". But I myself agree with an old peasant in Kwangsi who said: "We just had to do it once, just once in order to break down the centuries in which every family concentrated on its own small plot." When foreign critics in malice express the hope that the Chinese Communists will now "let the peasants" drift back to their ancient ways of agriculture, I think of this old man in Kwangsi.

For the Big Leap in 1958 and the communes with it broke the "old ways of farming" forever. A new type of peasant awoke to life, conscious of collective power. No peasant that I meet wants to go back. He wants to go forward; he wants various adjustments and changes. He does not want the old feudal, mediaeval village, most of whose people were illiterate. Foreign comments describe China's rural areas as "80 percent illiterate with antediluvian tools"; this is no longer true. Most peasants under 30 read and write and take an interest in their country and the world. Illiteracy increases with age but the overall percentage is now very low.

While it is true that very primitive tools still remain, and the ancient shoulder-pole has not everywhere given place even to the wheel-barrow, much less to motor power, the urgent needs of irrigation and water-control are already covering much of the countryside with high-tension lines and power pumps. Mechanization of agriculture for one-fourth of earth's people is a long task, requiring much investment of cash with labor; but with the pressure of the communes behind it, this advances fast.

### Changes Over Six Years

What then are the changes in the Communes in the past six years? I must preface this by stating how changes take place. People abroad seem to think that somebody in Mao Tse-tung's office sends them out as binding decrees. Nothing of the kind. Neither the origin of the Commune nor any of its changes began as a decree by the state or even as a resolution by the Communist Party. The rise of the Communes was a mass movement which the Party summed up and promoted. The first Party resolution about it was issued on August 29th, 1958 when 30 percent of the peasants had already formed communes; the second resolution in Wuhan in December, with the modest title "Some Questions Concerning the People's Communes", was adopted after 99 percent of the peasants had joined.

Most of the changes came similarly, by local actions to meet local problems, followed at intervals by a summary or analysis from the Central Committee or perhaps merely a reference in the *People's Daily*, noting that such practises had appeared and making comments about them. Any summing-up by the Central Committee, any "suggestion" made with

approval of the *People's Daily*, at once became a strong indication to all the Party members that this was a policy to be regarded with favor. In no case were they legally binding or passed as laws. The final word in every commune lies with its members.

Roughly one may say that in the past six years the most obvious change was the tripling of communes in number with consequent reduction in size; the most spectacular change was the brief adoption of "free grain" which in some places never occurred, in others lasted from a few months to a year; the most important change politically is the decentralization of the "accounting unit" which at first tended to be the commune as a whole, but quickly became its larger subdivision, the "production brigade", and by 1962 was in most places transferred to the smaller subdivision, the "production team".

None of these changes took place suddenly or universally. In Canton I learned with surprise that even the tripling of communes by subdivision into smaller units was not at all general throughout China, but largely confined to mountainous areas with minority nationalities where difficult communications and different languages made smaller commune-townships better. Thus in Kwangtung Province the number and size of communes had hardly changed, but in Kwangsi, its neighbor province, there had been only 1,000 communes in 1958 and there are now nearly 10,000! The "tripling of communes" is not general but an average.

The chief change I saw in the communes, in visits near Canton was the increase in prosperity, confidence and especially in better accounting since my last visits in 1962. The change to the "team" as accounting unit concentrates responsibility for production and distribution in one place, the original natural village, the oldest, most stable unit in the countryside where everybody knows everybody else. This "team" averages 20 to 40 households, and seldom goes above 100. When the early cooperatives developed, they had their limits in this village; when the higher forms appeared, the village remained one of its "production teams" but the distribution of income was made at the higher level, which even then led to contradictions between production and distribution that are now resolved.

This is the change that is held abroad to have "liquidated the commune", "retreating" further back even than the higher cooperatives to "local initiative" and hence, it is assumed, towards capitalism. In China it is held to have affirmed more clearly the "socialist" principle of "to each according to his work". It gives each small village full control of and responsibility for its own produce. The small team "owns" the crop, divides it, pays the taxes; these, incidentally are much smaller now than in 1962, being only some five percent of the basic crop.

In Team No. 2 of Tungching Brigade of Hsinhua Commune, over an hour out from Canton, I heard how the change was made and what it meant. "The small

teams always handled production," said Hsu, the commune chairman, who accompanied us, "but when it came to payment, this was done by the brigade, and every labor day was equal in the area. But some teams have better land and better conditions and hence better crops; they were sharing with teams that produced less. We discussed this during winter of 1961-62; some were for the team and some thought the brigade distribution 'more advanced'. When we saw in the *People's Daily* that teams were good then everyone went for the team."

The immediate result of the change is to make a clear distinction between the "better-off" villages and the "hard-up" villages. The backward villages are "pin-pointed" by their own accounting. This enables the commune and the brigade to give immediate attention to helping the backward villages change their conditions and methods, and raise their income by their own efforts, instead of glossing it over by sharing the crops of better teams. In Hsinhua Commune, for instance, there had been 98 teams classed as "poor" in 1958, but 96 of these had advanced by 1963. Tungching Brigade, with 20 teams, had been counted a "poor area", but by 1963 it became a "thousand-catty brigade", (1,000 catties of rice per *mou*, 6,600 pounds per acre) a good crop anywhere and higher now than the Hsinhua Commune average, but achieved with commune aid.

I was surprised to learn that Team No. 2, after paying taxes and selling grain to the state, kept its entire income and did not even give a token contribution to the commune. This is certainly not universal and was probably because this entire brigade had been a poor area. But when I asked Chairman Hsu how the commune then got its income, he laughed and said that the commune had 160,000 yuan (\$64,000) gross income from its enterprises and since the county paid some of the salaries at commune level, which was also the township level, the commune costs were small and its net income had been 120,000 yuan (\$48,000).

Commune enterprises include a small transport fleet of trucks, some tractors, a farm implement works, two grain processing units, a peanut-into-oil processing unit, a sugar refinery. Commune income went partly to roads and canals and partly to helping the poorer teams. This help required some money but was mainly done by commune advice. The backward team studied the methods and conditions of better teams, determined the causes for its poor condition and was helped to remedy this by aid from the better-off teams which would be repaid on the basis of "equivalent exchange". This combination of mutual aid with self-reliance had brought 96 of the 98 "poor teams" into the ranks of good teams by 1963.

I asked: "Does the commune have the same power to deploy labor for irrigation that it had in 1958?"

"Of course," said Hsu, "but we do it differently now. Instead of calling on everyone for labor, we ask the teams that will benefit by the project to supply

labor in proportion to the benefit they will get. Each team pays its own labor by crediting it as done for the team, payable from the joint crop. If the team cannot furnish enough labor, we ask another team, and they must then be paid either by the commune office or by the benefited team, on the principle of 'equivalent exchange'."

I had already seen in Hweiyang (Letter No. 15) that labor can be mobilized for large construction on

the level of eleven counties for the taming of the whole East River by the communes in its basin. I learned in Canton that in all the tremendous increase in irrigation in the province in recent years, only 30 percent of the cost is borne by the state, and the rest is contributed by the communes in labor.

Communes, it is clear, are hardly "liquidated"; they are an ever-stronger section of the forces that remake the Chinese land.

## International Communist Movement

# Uphold the Party's Independent Position

## "Akahata" Calls for the Smashing of Shiga and Suzuki's Anti-Party Schemings in Collusion With the Forces of a Certain Foreign Country

*"Akahata," organ of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, published on May 25 an editorial entitled "The Importance of the Resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee." Following is a translation of the full text of the editorial. — Ed.*

### I

WITH regard to the activities of Yoshio Shiga and Ichizo Suzuki in trampling on the Party Constitution and undermining the Party, the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party decided, in accordance with the stipulations of the Party Constitution, to punish them by expelling them from the Party, and passed a resolution demanding that they resign their seats in the Diet.

Following the publication of the decision of the Eighth Plenum of the Party's Central Committee, Party organizations in the capital and Osaka and in other parts of the country immediately called emergency committee meetings at which animated discussions were held. They unanimously adopted resolutions in support of the decision of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee, and expressed their determination to rally closely round the Central Committee, smash the activities of Shiga and Suzuki and their ilk in undermining the Party, and further strengthen the struggle against modern revisionism. They also submitted reports to the Central Committee one after the other.

These facts furnish fresh proof that the firm and unyielding attitude taken by the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee — an attitude which befits a revolutionary Party — towards the treacherous actions of

Shiga, Suzuki and company is supported by the whole Party and accords with the interests of the Party and the revolution.

But, what actions have Shiga and Suzuki and others taken? Following the adoption of the decision on their expulsion from the Party, they hurriedly left the Party Headquarters and unscrupulously started their disruptive activities against the Party by holding a press conference and appearing on television. They said that they had not engaged in factional activities and that there were no connections between them. But while their words were still ringing in the air, they led some of their hirelings in jointly holding a press conference, at which one echoed the other in openly attacking the Party's decision and making known their intent to engage in anti-Party activities.

These facts alone are enough to demonstrate clearly that the answer duly given in the decision of the Eighth Plenum of the Party's Central Committee to the treacherous actions of Shiga, Suzuki and others is correct.

### II

Shiga, Suzuki and others are still trying to use false reasoning to defend their activities in trampling upon the Party Constitution and undermining the Party. At the press conference on May 22, Suzuki said: "I merely indicated that I wanted to vote for the partial nuclear test ban treaty at the plenary meeting of the House of Councillors, but I was punished before I had done so." "To punish one on account of differences of views is undemocratic and contravenes the Party Constitution."

Precisely as Suzuki's argument has made it clear, in an attempt to cover up the essence of the question at issue they are manoeuvring to misrepresent the problem of their despicable anti-Party activities as one of differences of views on the partial nuclear test ban treaty. But sophistry is after all sophistry. They will never succeed in trying to hide the facts of their anti-Party activities by it. The fact had already become clear at the Seventh Plenum of the Party's Central Committee six months ago that Shiga and Suzuki held differing views on the partial nuclear test ban treaty. But at that time, although they held views different from the Party's Central Committee, they pledged to the Party that they would act in accordance with the policy decided by it. For this reason, although indications of factional activities in their behaviour had been discovered, the Party did not immediately take organizational, disciplinary actions against them, but waited to see if they would mend their ways.

The Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee decided to punish Yoshio Shiga by expulsion from the Party not because he holds different views but because he took serious anti-Party action in front of the reactionary forces at the plenary meeting of the House of Representatives on May 15, and because his many anti-Party activities and deeds undermining the Party in connection with this have become clearly established facts.

Ichizo Suzuki was expelled from the Party because he declared that Shiga's patently anti-Party activities "are in a way understandable," thus exposing himself as actually approving Shiga's action. Although he was criticized at the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee by the overwhelming majority of comrades, he still averred that he "would not alter the attitude [he has] always taken." He also made it clear that in the same way as Shiga did, he would vote for the partial nuclear test ban treaty at the plenary meeting of the House of Councillors in violation of the Party's decision. Thus it has become a plain fact that an anti-Party factional group trampling on the Party Constitution has been formed. These words of Suzuki's are not only meant to indicate that he holds different views on the partial nuclear test ban treaty, but are a declaration affirming his intent to trample on the Party Constitution and take actions against the Party's decision. Since the fact has been established that he refused to act in accordance with the Party Constitution and challenged the Party's organizational principle—the lifeblood of a revolutionary Party and the guarantee of the people's victory—it goes without saying that such an anti-Party element must not be allowed to remain in the Party.

Ichizo Suzuki argued that he should not be punished before he voted for the partial nuclear test ban treaty as Shiga did at the plenary meeting of the House of Councillors. This demonstrates that he himself confesses that he colludes with Shiga in forming a factional group undermining the Party, in an attempt to engage in even more open disruptive activities

against the Party in front of the reactionary forces at the plenary meeting of the House of Councillors. The fact is that early during the period of the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, evidence of their connections and conspiracy had already been discovered, and at the plenum of the Central Committee their factional activities were publicly criticized and condemned. Defying this comradesly warning, they have become audacious in colluding with each other and have taken the road of violating the Party's democratic centralism.

Shiga contends that "the partial nuclear test ban treaty is identical with the orientation of the Party Programme and therefore [his] action is justified as it has been taken in accordance with the Party Programme and Constitution." But notwithstanding Shiga's sophistry or Suzuki's, it is perfectly clear that their actions have trampled the Party Constitution underfoot, and are revisionism and liquidationism in matters of organizational principle. Shiga said: "I cannot agree with the view of the Central Committee that 'the Party is discipline.'" He takes this as an excuse for protesting against his expulsion from the Party and demands the freedom to engage in factional activities. This reveals precisely the true feature of his liquidationism. Shiga, Suzuki and others employ sophistry to deceive the people, protest against the Party's decision to punish them and declare that they will strive to get this decision revoked at the Party Congress. They have done all this in order to seek an excuse which will help them to legalize their factional activities. This lays bare their intention to carry on their actions undermining the Party. The whole Party must completely smash their vicious scheme.



They also refused to accept the decision of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee demanding that they resign from their posts as Diet members. Shiga said that this decision "ignores the constituents," while Suzuki declared that it "is unreasonable." They made clear that they would hang on to the seats as Diet members of the Communist Party.

Diet members who have been expelled from the Party as a result of trampling underfoot the Party Constitution and engaging in activities undermining the Party, still insist on continuing to work in the capacity of Diet members of the Party; can it be said that such an attitude is to any extent reasonable? It is obvious that even for parliamentary members belonging to the bourgeois parties, this attitude cannot be permitted.

Particular mention should be made of the fact that all Diet members of our Party took part in the election campaign as candidates nominated by the Party, who put forward its election promises and policies. It is by relying on the selfless material and moral efforts of the Party organizations and supporters that they were elected. Shiga and Suzuki were no exceptions to this.

The Party and the constituents voted for them because they hoped that as representatives of the Party they would carry out their work satisfactorily in the Diet according to the principles and policies of the Party.

But they have gone so far as to violate Party discipline and take actions betraying the Party. It should be pointed out that this is traitorous deception of the constituents and an act of political blackmail. Now that Shiga and Suzuki have been expelled from the Party, from the point of view of responsibility to the Party and the constituents, it goes without saying that they should resign from their seats in the Diet. If they are at all reasonable they should act accordingly. **To cling to the seats of Diet members representing the Communist Party in spite of their expulsion from the Party is nothing but an absurdity, as well as a double political blackmail.**

Yet they still adopt a shameless attitude. By taking such a barefaced attitude, they aim at nothing except to hang on to their seats in the Diet by taking advantage of the law which protects Diet members during their terms of office, thus helping them to continue their sabotaging activities against the Party inside and outside the Diet. **This is an instance to show that they have completely lost their class conscience and carry on brazen-faced traitorous activities by employing the law of the ruling class as an anti-Party weapon.**

#### IV

Shiga, Suzuki and others cannot defend in a positive manner their conspicuously disruptive activities against the Party, nor are they willing to listen conscientiously to the reasons set forth by others. Although they have been punished with expulsion from the Party and have been informed of the demand for them to resign from their posts as Diet members, yet by sophistry and turncoat's logic they pretend that they themselves alone are upholders of the Party Programme and they allege that it is the Party's Central Committee which has trampled on the Programme and the Party Constitution. They have tried hard to remain in the Party. This, in fact, has laid bare their attitude of attacking the Party's Programme and fundamental line and of continuing their activities undermining the Party. This shows that they have conspicuous characteristics of their own even when compared with such anti-Party revisionists as Shojiro Kasuga and Chishu Naito.

How then should one look at their actions? Even judging from what Shiga himself said at the meeting of the Presidium about his prolonged and planned preparations, it can be seen that such action had not been taken by Shiga, Suzuki and others out of a brainstorm which came to their mind by chance and all of a sudden. How did they work out their plan? When the Ninth World Conference for the Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs was in session, Shiga was in favour of the independent position of the Party on the partial nuclear test ban treaty. But after his

wife returned from her tour abroad, he abandoned this position and turned to the side supporting the treaty. At the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, he pretended to obey decisions, but actually hid himself inside the Party and kept in contact with the forces of a certain foreign country, in violation of the Party's decision. A few days before he took actions to betray the Party on May 15, he rejected without good reason the Party's proposed protection of his home. When his anti-Party statement entitled "My Appeal to You All" was published, the Party organ of a certain foreign country promptly carried the full text of this statement on the following day. All these facts have in the main given the true picture.

Apparently, they have discarded the Japanese people's position of waging a revolutionary struggle to achieve independence, democracy and peace, underestimated the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and uncritically followed the international trend of modern revisionism. They have challenged the Party's organizational principles and demanded freedom to carry out factional activities. This is precisely because, with their ideological weaknesses, they hold that the international revisionist trend could be victorious in the international communist movement and thus have pinned their hopes on it, aspiring to form a force which mechanically follows the revisionist trend abroad.

It goes without saying that their conspicuous modern revisionism and modern dogmatism are incompatible with the position of our Party which holds great responsibility to the people and the revolution.

There is no doubt that Shiga, Suzuki and others purposely chose the occasion of Mikoyan's visit to Japan to express their revisionist views on the partial nuclear test ban treaty, in the hope of getting one hundred per cent stage effects for their performance. But by so doing, they themselves have exposed their anti-Party activities and revisionist true colours before the Party and people. The resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee has given a proper reply to this.

As a result of expelling Shojiro Kasuga and other anti-Party revisionists, our Party has been strengthened ideologically, politically and organizationally. **The entire Party must wage a resolute struggle to crush the new revisionist schemes of Shiga, Suzuki and others who have revealed their ugly features as renegades through their collusion with the forces of a certain foreign country and by following the baton of some foreign forces.** The resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee has laid the foundation for the victory of this struggle. All Party members must correctly and profoundly understand the decisions of the Seventh and Eighth Plenums of the Central Committee, and under the guidance of the Programme and the political report uphold the independent position of the Party, closely unite around the Central Committee and march forward for the sake of the Party and the revolution.

# Austrian Marxist-Leninists Condemn Khrushchov Revisionist Group

AUSTRIAN Marxist-Leninist activists at their first meeting held last April passed a resolution condemning the treacherous and splitting activities of the modern revisionists, says a Vienna report.

The meeting was sponsored by the fortnightly *Rote Fahne* (Red Flag), a journal of the Marxist-Leninists in the Austrian Communist Party.

The resolution says: "The leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was at one time our model and guide, has been usurped by the modern revisionist group." That group, the resolution added, bespattered the history of the courageous Soviet people, called Stalin a criminal, expelled veteran Bolsheviks from the Party and "is systematically forsaking all the principles of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism."

"Khrushchov abruptly scrapped economic agreements signed with socialist China and even severed diplomatic relations with heroic, socialist Albania," the resolution says. "During the Cuban event, he promised the Americans the right to carry out inspections in Cuba and tried to impose this on the Cuban people. During the border fighting between India and China, he went so far as to provide the capitalist invaders with weapons against the country with the biggest population in the world."

Khrushchov's policy has undermined the firm unity of the revolutionary struggle of the world communist movement, it declares.

The resolution points out that the leadership of the Austrian Communist Party toed the line of Khrush-

chov's revisionism, expelled from the Party those comrades who boldly expressed their views, upheld communist principles and vigorously opposed revisionist policy, and dismissed them from their posts.

The resolution repudiates the erroneous statements and actions of Khrushchov's revisionist group and its slanders against the Chinese Communist Party on the questions of defence of peace and the proletarian revolution. The policies of Khrushchov's revisionism and its followers, it declares, "will lead neither to peace nor to socialism."

It declares that the revisionists have branded every activist or functionary who refused to submit to their anti-Marxist line unconditionally, as an "anti-Party element" and "splitter" while "in fact, it is the revisionists who are anti-Party and splitters."

It calls for "immediate initiation of Leninist, i.e., public and frank discussions on opposing standpoints and views" within the Austrian Communist Party. Material issued by those who refuse to take the stand of Khrushchov and his followers in the world communist movement should be published and no intimidation, punitive or retaliatory actions should be taken. The punitive and retaliatory measures that had been taken should be revoked, it says.

The resolution emphasizes that "the unity of the Party and its future depend on the realization of these demands."

The meeting was attended by activists and functionaries of the Party from the provinces of Vienna, Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Styria, and Burgenland.

## Pen Probes

### Pop Art for the Millions... Of Dollars

ALL that glitters is not gold. All that's framed is not art; maybe it's just framed. Take the case of "pop art," the *avantgarde* in American art today.

Modern art became Big Business in the 1940s when the art dealers found that by applying the advertising and promotional techniques used to push such things as cars, cornflakes or deodorants, they could create a big boom market for contemporary art.

In such business undertakings novelty, change, new fashions, gimmicks and planned obsolescence are

essential. And all these are used in art activities prostituted to money-making. The art, if any, is incidental.

Abstract expressionist paintings filled the art merchants' bill to a T. Then came the action-painters and now pop art — the latest of the art gimmicks. This, say the experts, originated in England in the 1950s but was really put on the map in the U.S.A. Its originator, Richard Hamilton, defines it as: 1. Popular (designed for a mass audience) 2. Gimmicky 3. Transient (short term use) 4. Expendable (easily forgotten) 5. Low cost 6. Mass produced 7. Witty 8. Sexy 9. Glamorous 10. Young (aimed at youth) 11. Big Business.

A typical pop art picture will take a piece of advertising copy, such as a highly coloured tin of baked



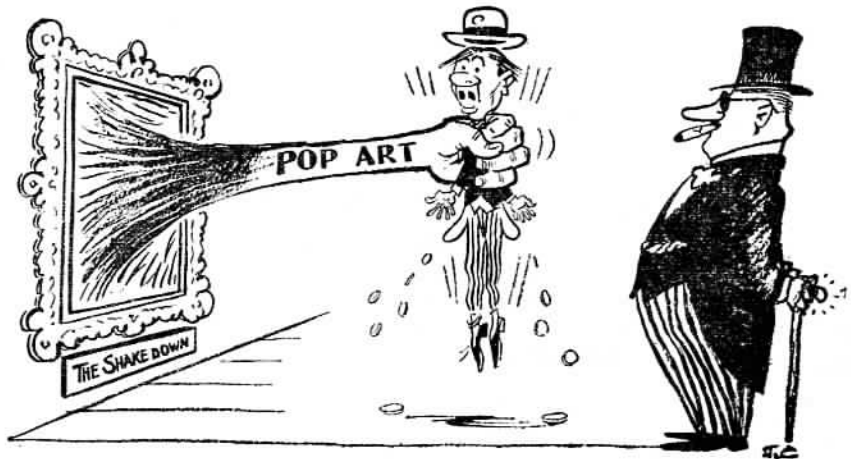
beans, and boost it to wall size, or a section of a "comic" strip and enlarge it in colour to ten times the horror of the original. One pop painter sticks posters or parts of ladies' underwear in his "paintings." Yet another has simply painted a huge American flag, in perfectly flat red, white and blue, and put it in a frame.

In Hamilton's definition, points 2 to 6 cause no particular difficulty in understanding. Neither will 7, 8 or 9, though it should be remarked that the wittiness is usually in terms of 8. But is all this popular? Well, only in the sense that it is designed to be pushed among a mass audience. And it is 10 — young, only in that it is designed especially to attract or catch young people.

This definition, however, leaves out a crucial feature: what lies back of all this sex and glamour, wit and transient, cheap, publicity gimmickry and vulgarity? This is an art that traps the young and unsuspecting, enmeshes them in a marasmic glamour and triviality that kills the soul of youth and diverts their attention from the crying problems of the day to turn them into passive or active protagonists of the capitalist status quo. In view of that, is this art low cost? It is surely an art that people can least of all afford.

Hamilton makes no bones about the Big Business aspect of this art — of, by and for Big Business. The dealers skim the cream off the market. The rich speculators buy, boost and sell. The public pays. The "accepted" modern painting in capitalist America is a Big Business commodity. That is not surprising in a society that has long used Beethoven's symphonies to push car sales or Shakespeare's *Hamlet* to boost headache cures.

Hamilton should have added one more point to his definition of "pop art" — intellectual hooliganism.



## THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4)

Minister Couve de Murville on June 4 and discussed with him the presentation of his credentials.

Ambassador Huang Chen, accompanied by officials of the Chinese Embassy, presented his letter of credence to President Charles de Gaulle at the Elysee Palace on June 6. He made a speech on the occasion, and President de Gaulle made a speech in reply.

After the ceremony, President de Gaulle and Ambassador Huang Chen had a friendly talk.

### African Leaders to Visit China

It is announced that leaders of three African countries will pay visits to China this year. China's guests will be President Aden Abdulla Osman of the Somali Republic, President Modibo Keita of the Republic

of Mali and President Ahmed Ben Bella of the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria. They will come on friendship visits at the invitation of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai.

### Chinese Personnel Return From Mongolia

The 18th group of Chinese personnel helping Mongolia with its construction left Ulan Bator for home on June 3 as proposed by the Mongolian Government and in accordance with arrangements it made with the Chinese Government. To date, Chinese personnel from 12 of the 18 Mongolian *aimaks* (provinces) have already left, bringing the total to 3,500 people.

During their period of service, these Chinese worked together with the Mongolian people and built many factories and cultural and welfare establishments in various provincial capitals and county towns, including those in remote

areas. Those working on the grasslands helped the Mongolian herdsmen sink wells and build irrigation works; others working on state farms raised Chinese cabbages and other vegetables as well as tobacco for the first time in regions where the temperature often drops to well below zero.

Before their departure they tidied up the houses in which they had lived and whitewashed the walls. They made use of their spare time to repair the furniture of the Mongolian people; some used their Sundays to complete some important projects ahead of schedule. Many gave the tools they had brought from China as gifts to the Mongolian workers. There were many moving scenes at parting which demonstrated the deep friendship between the Chinese and Mongolian peoples. Many Mongolians invited the Chinese to their homes as guests, and not a few of them travelled hundreds of miles accompanying their Chinese friends to Ulan Bator.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## Armed Struggle in Venezuela

### The Road to Liberation

Two recent documents coming out of Venezuela shed much light on the reasons for and the nature, strategy and tactics of the armed struggle now developing in that country.

The first is the resolution of the Left-Wing Revolutionary Movement (MIR), adopted by its National Secretariat in January and published in issue No. 31 of *Izquierda*. It states why MIR has concluded that Venezuela cannot achieve national liberation by peaceful means and that the greatest stress must be put on non-peaceful forms of struggle. The main points made in the resolution are given below.

**Why the Objective Cannot Be Achieved Peacefully:** U.S. imperialism has huge investments in Venezuela and attaches great importance to the country's military-strategic value. It has repeatedly declared since the Cuban socialist revolution that it will not permit the emergence of another Cuba in Latin America. Among its ruling groups, while there may be a divergence of views as to the form by which U.S. colonial rule is preserved in Latin America, there is no disagreement on substance. They are all prepared to halt the national-liberation process by force.

**Protracted Nature of Liberation War:** The national-liberation war will be a prolonged one because while, strategically, the enemy is weak and the revolutionary movement is strong, tactically, imperialism and the Venezuelan ruling classes are relatively strong and the revolutionary movement relatively weak. Within the country, the factors favourable to the national-liberation struggle include: the formation of the National Liberation Front and the National Liberation Army; the existence of a patriotic, nationalist and revolutionary core within the armed forces; the progress made and experience gained in the mastery and application of the forms of armed struggle, in the understand-

ing of war and in the organization of people's armed forces; the steady shedding of illusions among the masses about the possibilities of reform through elections and greater consciousness of the prospects of national emancipation through non-peaceful struggle.

**Relation Between Peaceful and Non-Peaceful Forms:** While the forms of peaceful struggle should not be abandoned, they should be subordinated to those of non-peaceful struggle. Their function is to get the masses to take part in the just liberation war which takes the form of civil war at the present stage but which in content is a national-liberation war against imperialism.

**Various Forms of Non-Peaceful Struggle:** Guerrilla warfare in the countryside is the most important form of armed struggle—the method of founding the people's army and progressively developing the revolutionary forces. The other forms of armed struggle—urban guerrilla warfare, sub-urban guerrilla warfare and work in the armed forces—are helpful in founding the people's army and may be developed extensively in Venezuelan conditions. But they are auxiliary and have greater tactical than strategic value.

The second document, the March 8 statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Venezuelan Communist Party, stresses that the situation has not changed with Leoni's election as president to replace Betancourt.

It points out that "imperialism and its lackeys are trying to make use of the new government to maintain and strengthen their domination over our country,

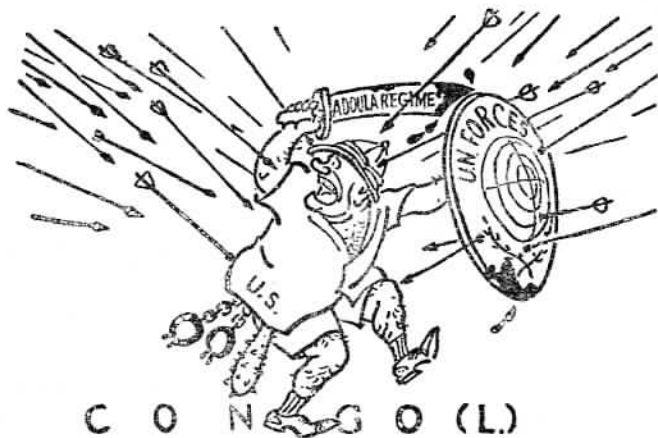
to undermine and impede the revolutionary movement, to paralyse the struggle of the people and to stabilize as best they can the system protecting their interests." It also calls on the people to "provide still greater support to the heroic fighters who are increasing their activities in the mountainous regions of Falcon, Portuguesa and Lara and in the Eastern region, to consolidate the ranks of the National Liberation Front and the National Liberation Army, which is the real hope of our people for emancipation."

## U.S.-Backed Regime

### Adoula Out of His Depth

Trained and equipped by the United States to prop up the unpopular puppet regime in Leopoldville, the Congolese National Army may be good at beating up defenceless women and children. But it is no match for patriots up in arms—even though these may for a start be only spears and arrows.

In the eastern province of Kivu, the Adoula mercenaries have already lost about 400 men along with the lakeside town of Uvira since the people rose up in revolt in mid April (see *Peking Review*, No. 22, p. 22). Two companies of commandos, sent to "punish" the guerrillas, were ambushed and badly mauled in the village of Lubarika, 20 miles south of Bukavu. With defeat following on defeat, morale has plummeted. The once-cocksure bullies now refuse to march into areas controlled by the



From All Sides

Cartoon by Wei Chi-mei

people. Reinforcements flown in by U.S. planes from Stanleyville and Katanga have not altered the situation.

While the oppressors panicked in Bukavu, calm and order have reigned in newly liberated Uvira. So efficient is the guerrillas' rule and so good their discipline that an AFP correspondent reporting from the city has had to admit that they "are warmly welcomed by the local people" who no longer suffer maltreatment and extortion from government troops.

The Leopoldville regime, trying to cope with a spreading guerrilla war in the Kwilu region, was caught off balance by the Kivu events. Only recently it had suppressed a revolt in North Katanga with great difficulty. In its very home base — the capital — it has had to impose a tight curfew following a series of bomb attacks by patriots. With the political and economic situation going from bad to worse, the Adoula underlings and their Washington mentors who once preened themselves on the cleverness of their neo-colonialist tactics are on tenterhooks.

#### Consular Convention

### L'Affaire Barghoorn and After

Hailed by the American President as "a significant step" to increase contacts and understanding with the Soviet Union, the much heralded consular treaty between the United States and the U.S.S.R. was signed in Moscow on June 1. Under this treaty the United States will open a consulate in Leningrad and the Soviet Union one in Chicago.

In making the announcement a few days before the signing, President Johnson emphasized that from now on "American citizens visiting the Soviet Union, either as tourists or for business reasons, will have available to them a greater degree of consular protection than ever before." To make sure that the "benefits" accruing from this treaty were sufficiently appreciated by his audience, the President elaborated further: "Americans detained in the Soviet Union for any reasons will be

assured of access without delay to American consular officials." The White House press secretary, when questioned whether the agreement would apply to Americans arrested on espionage charges, replied brusquely, "The statement says 'for any reasons.'"

Press reports from Washington show that the U.S. Government insisted on Soviet agreement to this stipulation as a "prerequisite" to the conclusion of the treaty following the arrest of Frederick Barghoorn, indicted for spying in the Soviet Union last year. It was no accident that the two leading bourgeois newspapers on either side of the Atlantic both referred to the Barghoorn incident when commenting on this Soviet-American consular agreement.

"From the American point of view," said the *New York Times* on May 29, "a key provision of the new treaty is the promise that United States officials will be given prompt access to American citizens arrested in the Soviet Union. Prof. Frederick Barghoorn's unpleasant experience late last year was only the most recent of a series of incidents demonstrating the need for such formal legal protection. . . ."

The *Times* of London wrote in much the same vein on May 30. "The Russians," it said, "have accepted the principle that if American citizens are detained in Russia for any reason they will have access without delay to American consular officials. This should prevent a repetition of the Barghoorn affair. The fact that the Russians have made this concession shows how far the climate has changed. . . ."

No wonder the American President was so enthusiastic. Speedy consular protection has now been guaranteed to the Barghoorns of the future.

#### Rootes Motors

### British or American?

When is a British car British and when is it American? This question is being asked by Britons today because of the announcement that the U.S. Chrysler Corporation is to buy 30 per cent of the voting and 50 per cent of the non-voting shares in Rootes Motors, one of Britain's "big five" car manufacturers.

The giant U.S. General Motors long ago took over Vauxhall, Britain's third biggest car firm. The Ford Company of Detroit has annexed British Ford, the country's second largest producer. Among the "big five," only the British Motor Corporation and Standard-Triumph now remain wholly British-owned.

The Chrysler-Rootes deal merely spotlights the big hold American capital has on the British economy. According to the *Daily Mail*, one out of every 30 workers in Britain is paid by U.S. firms, which make one shilling out of every pound's worth of British goods. In all, the Americans have, 1,600 million pounds invested in over 500 U.K. firms, with 300 million in car, 230 million in petrol, and 119 million in stores, food and domestic goods. They invest 15 shillings of every pound coming into Britain from foreign countries, and take out around 80 million pounds a year in profits.

## THE PASSING SHOW

### One Man's Salt . . .

For years Mexico's neighbour to the north has been using the Colorado River to wash its saline land. But the Colorado flows on south into Mexico and for years the American brine has been flowing into the farmlands of the Mexicali Valley. White layers of salt now cover large tracts of once flourishing Mexican land and Mexican farmers' losses run to millions of pesos. Protests are of no avail. North American Good Neighbourliness has to be taken with several thousand tons of salt.



From Uncle Sam With Love

# ACROSS THE LAND

## More Electricity for Farming

CHINA'S rural areas used a third more electricity last year than in 1962 and new projects to be completed this year will bring power to still more rural people's communes.

Irrigation, drainage, crop processing and domestic needs all make their demands on electricity, but for the countryside as a whole, the advantages irrigation brings are the most important. To ensure a reliable water supply means to increase fertility and productivity and to permit high-yield crops like rice to be grown. Electricity also releases manpower for more intensive farming.

In the three northeastern provinces of Heilungkiang, Kirin and Liaoning, electricity has reached down to the communes' production brigades. In Liaoning, electrified irrigation and drainage stations have turned large tracts of low-lying alkaline land into rice paddies. Yingkou County on the left bank of the lower reaches of the Liao River in the last few years has turned large areas of its alkaline land into rice paddies with the aid of electric irrigation and drainage stations. Yingkou's example has prompted the Panshan County on the bank opposite to do the same. The latter is now building seven elec-

tric pumping stations to drain and irrigate about 45,000 *mu* of its alkaline land.

Investments 30 per cent greater than those of last year have been allocated for new power facilities. These include 1,923 km. of high-tension transmission lines to extend the power grids of the northeastern cities and industrial areas to half of the total number of counties in the three provinces.

South down the coast, on the Yangtse River delta, pumping stations built in recent years now safeguard 30 per cent of the 40 million *mu* of land against drought and waterlogging. Another 1.5 million *mu* will benefit similarly when 1,400 km. of power lines link up several hundred new pumping stations this year. The state puts up the main power grid while the communes pay for the feeder lines and most of the pumping equipment. A 35,000-volt underwater cable with a maximum current of 14,000 kilovolt-ampere has just been laid from Shanghai across the Whangpoo to take more power to the farms on this river's east bank.

Further south, the Pearl River delta in Kwangtung Province already has 2,500 electric pumping stations working. By this year's end most of its 6 million *mu* of land will be protected by an additional 2,000 stations against the twin evils—too much water and too little.

## Counter to Sandstorms

PLANTING trees became a mass movement of national proportions after 1949 when the country was liberated. People called these annual tree planting campaigns "making the motherland green." In the last 15 years large areas of barren land have been revitalized through afforestation and other soil conservation measures. Trees have helped to check erosion, raise water-tables, increase soil fertility, and reduce the amount of dust in the air and silt in the rivers.

The following are two only of the many instances where, in People's

China, man has already scored initial successes in changing his environment.

Trees have helped to combat sandstorms in Peking. Records kept since 1951 show that from 1951 to 1954 there was a sandstorm in the capital every three days in the spring and early summer. From 1955 to 1958 there was one every four and a half days. In the years 1959-62 there was one sandstorm in eight days.

The million *mu* of trees Peking planted after the city was liberated and the several big reservoirs built in the nearby countryside were mainly responsible for the improvement. The forest belts broke the force of the dust-laden winds sweeping down from the Mongolian plateau. Peking residents rightly feel that the capital's former stern continental climate has been modified. There are fewer sandstorms and the trees have made the summers cooler and greener and the air cleaner.

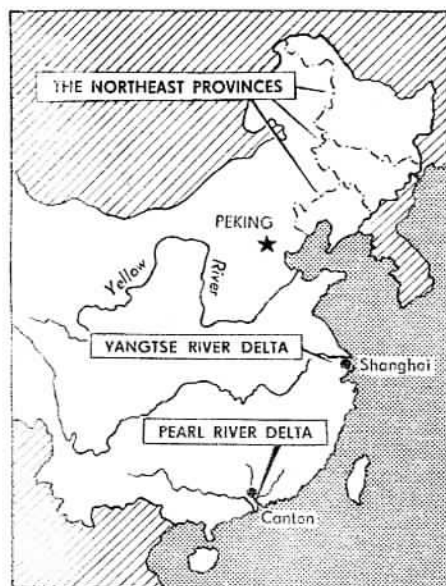
Another example is provided by the Enhe People's Commune in Chungning County, Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region, south of Inner Mongolia. Trees planted over a span of a dozen years by the commune, which borders on a desert, have enabled it to defeat violent sandstorms—an ancient enemy—and to reap better harvests.

This area averaged about 100 *jin* of grain per *mu* on the eve of liberation. Last year's grain harvest showed that 16 per cent of the commune's fields yielded 500 *jin* per *mu*, 24 per cent gave 400 *jin*, and nearly a third more than 300 *jin*.

The trees had helped to bring this about. But other measures assisted too—commune members dug a web of irrigation and drainage canals and also adopted other high-yield farming practices including more intensive cultivation.

## Coral Fossils on 5,500M. Peak

ON a successful climb to the 5,500-metre virgin peak of Yulung (Jade Dragon) Mountain in northwest Yunnan, scientists of Peking's Geology Institute last month found coral fossils at a height of 4,000 m. above sea level.



Sketch map by Su Li

Mt. Yulung is part of the Heng-tuan range in southwest China. Since the late 19th century, it has been the object of a number of expeditions from several countries but its extremely difficult topography and capricious weather turned back all attackers until on May 15 four of the expedition of seven teachers and students reached its summit. The successful team included one woman climber, Li Chih-ling, who is a staff member of the Geology Institute.

The finding of coral fossils above the snow-line gives fresh support to the hypothesis that between 400 and 200 million years ago, in the late Palaeozoic age, the Yulung area was actually the bed of a large sea. Later, in the Mesozoic age, it cradled an inland lake. Some 60 million years ago as a result of the upward thrust of the Himalayan *massif* it was squeezed up to become the mountain mass it is now. The upward movement of the area continues today.

Yulung attracts China's geologists, botanists and other scientists because of its unique history that has caused it to become a vast natural botanical garden.

Many plants which have vanished elsewhere in China are found on Yulung Mountain. Forests of rare pines, spruce, sequoia and firs cover its slopes with 100 other species of trees of economic value. Well over 300 kinds of rhododendrons and 400 different medicinal herbs grow there.

### **Beating Poisons in Factory And Farm**

**R**ECENTLY in Shenyang, in China's industrial northeast, the China Medical Society called a conference of medical research workers to review the work of preventing and treating occupational diseases. A major topic of discussion turned out to be the problem of eliminating the hazards of accidental poisoning in industry and agriculture.

This branch of toxicology is a new subject for China, born of the rapid growth of modern industries and the increasing use of chemicals on the farms.

Of 500 papers read at the conference, over a quarter dealt with making the manufacture and use of

farm chemicals safer. Many concerned poisoning induced by insecticides containing organic compounds of phosphorous, and new antidotes and methods of treatment.

Delegates judged most satisfactory the measures already taken to prevent and treat toxic effects in industries using rare metals and organic solvents and in industries and trades using lead, mercury, benzene and other chemicals and their compounds. On the basis of medical workers' findings reached through on-the-spot studies and research work, more complete preventive measures have been devised.

The synthetics industry making plastics, synthetic fibres and artificial rubber came in for special treatment.

Other reports were on the diagnosis and treatment of maladies

affecting agricultural workers and the prevention of occupational hazards in the lumber, livestock raising and fishing industries brought on by the wider application of chemicals and introduction of machinery.

### **Briefs**

A new-type of grab dredge capable of lifting 120 cu.m. of mud an hour for use on reservoirs, rivers and harbours has gone into serial production at the Talien shipyards.

\* \* \*

A modern workshop has been set up at the Shanghai No. 10 Steel Plant to manufacture tinplate which formerly China had to import. All equipment in the workshop was made by local factories.

### **Family of Good Neighbours**

**F**IVE children, three boys and two girls, are living in a compound in the southeastern part of the city near the Peking Gymnasium. They have no parents. Their mother, a factory worker, died of cancer in 1961. Their father also passed away in the following year, when the eldest was 15 and the youngest aged only 3. Children in China who have no parents or close relatives to act as their guardians are usually taken care of by state orphanages. But in this case, the Chou children, with the exception of the youngest, were all in neighbourhood schools and they wanted to stay together as a family. So the factory where their father had worked, entrusted the local residents' committee, a branch of the municipal people's council, to take care of the children. The committee called a special meeting to discuss the matter, accepted the trust and authorized payment of the children's school fees and living expenses out of its social relief fund. And so it was arranged.

Neighbours keep a friendly eye on the day-to-day life of the youngsters, help them shop and mend their clothes. The girls are being taught how to do simple cooking and house-

hold work. A barber in the neighbourhood gives them hair-cuts free of charge.

When holidays come around, the local residents' committee and neighbours see to it that the children have a good time.

Today, both 13-year-old Tung-ching and ten-year-old Tung-lai get good grades for study and conduct and are members of the Young Pioneers at their school. Eight-year-old Tung-ho is the special care of the housekeeper of the school where she is studying. Tung-yi, aged 5, the youngest, is in a kindergarten coming home each weekend. Since graduating from middle school last summer, the eldest brother, Tung-shan, has been working at a power station and is quite the "head of the house."

Since their story was published in the papers letters of sympathy and friendship with money gifts have been pouring into the Chou home from all parts of the country. An "aunty" working at the People's University sent them presents on the eve of the Spring Festival and she was not the only one who asked them to have dinner with her family.

After discussions among the children themselves, they decided not to accept these gifts since they have everything they need. So they send them back with letters of thanks.

# PEKING OPERA

## "Spark Amid the Reeds"

The festival of Peking opera with contemporary themes has aroused extraordinary interest in the capital. Box-office queues zigzag blocks long. Hotels are filled to overflowing with out-of-town devotees. Everywhere, it is the talk of the town, and one of the leading topics of discussion is the production of *Spark Amid the Reeds* presented by the Peking Opera Theatre of Peking.

This has a modern, revolutionary theme—an incident of the revolutionary New Fourth Army's operations in the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45)—and an exciting plot. In form, it is a development of traditional Peking opera with its typical stage conventions. Previous to the festival, some 55,000 people had already seen it at 37 performances, and their applause had left no doubt of their approval. The press has been full of expressions of praise from critics and in readers' letters. As a festival entry there will be a good opportunity to compare its merits with other attempts in this widespread effort to bring Peking opera up to date.

It stars Chao Yen-hsia, one of the brightest young opera actresses of today. The action takes place in a Japanese-occupied village in Kiangsu Province. It centres around Ah

Ching sao (courtesy title meaning "the wife of Ah Ching"), a young village teahouse proprietress who is actually a secret liaison agent for the New Fourth Army. Courageous, quick-witted and resourceful, she helps to hide 18 wounded New Fourth Army soldiers on a reed-covered island in a lake, frustrates repeated enemy searches, and finally organizes the capture of the enemy commanders.

It is a popular theme; it has plenty of action and lively dialogue, yet this alone does not account for its success.

What distinguishes *Spark Amid the Reeds* is the way it fuses Peking opera characteristics with the ways of acting, thinking and talking of modern people in modern settings.

### Singing and Dancing

Peking opera is a synthesis of singing, dancing, acting, and acrobatics poured into a mould of unique theatrical conventions. Originally produced as a Shanghai opera, *Spark Amid the Reeds* was carefully revised and recast in Peking opera form. Its most important episodes are vividly presented in singing and dancing: singing in the cases of the battle of wits between Ah Ching sao and the cunning enemy chief-of-staff, and the one in which the old peasant woman, braving torture, denounces the enemy commanders to their face, and singing and dancing in the scene where the 18 wounded soldiers on the

desolate island resolve to make their stand there. Singing is the red thread knitting the whole action of the opera, and dancing and acrobatics are used in the important action parts.

All the elements of traditional Peking opera—singing, dancing, acting, and acrobatics; the way, for instance, an actor expresses alarm or

sorrow, shows haste or determination—conform rigidly to set conventions. These conventions evolved out of life—the life of the ancients. In places where they can still serve modern life, the present production uses them liberally. For instance, the curtain lifts on the first act to a round of drum beats which grows from faint to loud, slow to swift. This is the traditional designation of a dark, still night. It immediately gets the audience into the mood of Peking opera drama. Chao Yen-hsia, as Ah Ching sao, uses many gestures and the light running steps characteristic of the *dan* (young woman) role in Peking opera. The soldiers of the New Fourth Army perform movements used in the *wu sheng* (military man) roles of the traditional opera.

Modern life, however, demands new ways of expression which no traditional convention can satisfy. New ways of expression need to be evolved on the basis of the old. *Spark Amid the Reeds* provides not a few successful examples of this.

### Developing Traditional Conventions

In one scene, the enemy troops (offstage) are on the point of searching the lake for the hiding place of the wounded Communist soldiers. Ah Ching sao, in an agony of anxiety as to how to warn her comrades, stands irresolute in her tea shop by the lake. Suddenly she hears the puppet commander threatening to shoot someone. At the word "shoot," Ah Ching sao starts, staggers back in the quick broken steps of Peking opera precisely on the staccato beat of the drum, looks around the shop, sets her hand on a big porcelain tea pot, looks at it with a dawning realization, withdraws her hand and points a finger at it, and gives a little nod. The touch, the look, the pointing and the nod, helped out by the drum, eloquently indicate that a plan has formed in her mind. With another movement that is part dance, she throws the pot and a peasant's straw hat into the lake. The enemy shoots, thinking someone has escaped into the lake, and Ah



Ah Ching sao in a battle of wits with the enemy officers



Ah Ching sao and her village aides

Ching sao has made them send off her warning for her. Here is an excellent example of the traditional techniques of the *hua dan* (vivacious young woman) role readapted and altered for a contemporary play and used to good effect.

Another example is the role of enemy chief-of-staff acted by Ma Chang-li, well known for his playing of *lao sheng* roles in the traditional style. These are old or middle-aged men generally of a positive type. In traditional opera, the villain is usually cast in the role of either the *jing* (painted face) or *chou* (clown). Ma Chang-li discards the evil, painted face and exaggerated manifestations of wickedness of these traditional roles, but employs some of their elements and combines them with the melodies, speech forms and movements of the *lao sheng* to bring out not only the evil in the villain, but also the outward suavity which conceals his treachery.

### Melodies

Yet another important feature of Peking opera are its various traditional melodies which distinguish it from other forms of opera. *Spark Amid the Reeds* makes extensive use of the two principal tunes of *xi pi* and *er huang* as well as other lesser ones in Peking opera for the songs of its characters. Here too

alterations and innovations have been made to adapt them to the needs of its modern theme. Opera fans can pick out the Peking opera flavour in the very first bars of the music, and yet find it new.

Settings are basically realistic. Costumes are modern without being naturalistic, stylized to suit the stylized acting and general style of production. The soldiers wear uniforms but there is no attempt to make them look like the soiled uniforms of men living in a marsh. Ah Ching sao's costumes are not those normally worn by a teahouse keeper, but their designers have struck just the right note between reality and giving vivid colour to the character.

### Learning From Life

With all this, the actors and actresses of the troupe could not have created really convincing characterizations of revolutionaries, especially the soldiers, without a deeper knowledge of the latter's thoughts and feelings. For this reason, before rehearsals started, the whole cast went for a brief period of training and living among the People's Liberation Army soldiers. This was of immense help to them in grasping the spirit of the revolutionary people's army, which they have faithfully brought to the stage.

The success of *Spark Amid the Reeds* marks an important achievement in the development of Peking opera with contemporary themes. It offers a sharp contrast with other less successful efforts in the same direction made by progressive artists before the liberation. In his fifty years on the stage, the late Mei Lan-fang, the great exponent of Peking opera, created many unforgettable historical figures such as the women generals Liang Hung-yu and Mu Kuei-ying and the ill-starred court beauties Yang Kuei Fei and Hsi Shih. But, deeply concerned with the future of Peking opera like the true artist he was, he was not satisfied and sought to broaden its scope to include plays with a new content. This was because he saw the limitations of an art that could only portray the ancients. Some forty years ago, he put on an opera called *A Strand of Hemp* in modern dress, a play that exposed and denounced the feudal marriage system of that time. A few progressive artists followed his example. But the reactionary old social order and the conservative forces in the Peking opera world were dead-set against them, and their efforts had no chance whatsoever to develop into a new trend of reform along this line.

*Spark Amid the Reeds* is a noteworthy achievement of efforts towards the same end that now have the full backing of the Communist Party and society. Although it still has certain defects, and shows only one of many ways in which contemporary themes can be successfully portrayed in this style of opera, it demonstrates that in New China, this is a direction which has boundless possibilities for development in the future.



The enemy officers questioning Ah Ching sao  
Sketch by Yeh Chien-yu

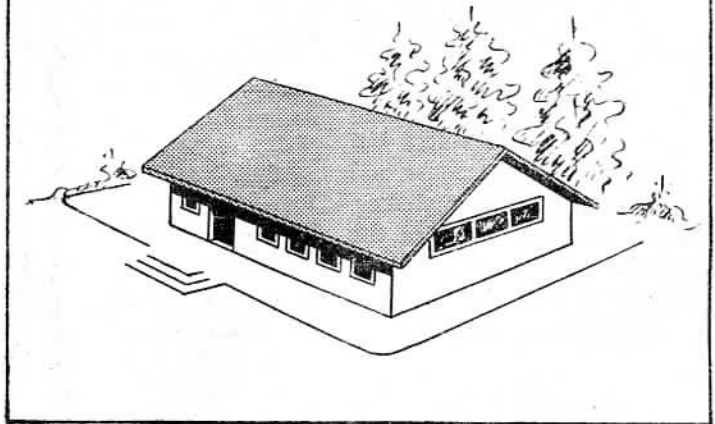
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