

PEKING REVIEW

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June 26, 1964

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Development of National Economies In Afro-Asian Countries

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

MAO TSE-TUNG ON THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

Chen Po-ta

(Revised English Translation)

Citing concrete examples from Chinese revolutionary history, the author expounds Mao Tse-tung's views on a number of questions concerning the Chinese revolution. These include: the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, the leadership of the proletariat, the establishment of revolutionary base areas, the united front, the continuous development of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, and the building of the Communist Party. The author explains how Mao Tse-tung's theoretical conclusions are based on the invaluable experience gained in integrating Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution.

The Struggle for Proletarian Leadership in the Period of the New-Democratic Revolution in China

Li Wei-han

The united front, armed struggle and Party-building are the three key weapons of the Chinese revolution, and the fundamental question in the united front is the question of leadership. This booklet deals with this question in depth and with a wealth of historical illustrations. It summarizes the rich experience gained in the long and complex struggle to establish and strengthen the leadership of the working class so as to carry out the tasks of China's new-democratic revolution and found the New China.

Li Wei-han is a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Director of the Department of United Front Work of the Party's Central Committee.

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北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

June 26, 1964 Vol. VII No. 26

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June 26, 1964

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese leaders reviewed the People's Liberation Army's successes in military training.
- A Malian government delegation led by Minister Jean-Marie Kone is visiting China.
- A joint communiqué of the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar was issued on June 21.
- Vice-Premier Chen Yi gave an interview to Hiroshi Hasimoto, Director of the News Division of the Tokyo Broadcasting System.
- Awards were given to 1,400 new industrial products, the manufacture of which indicates the swift rise in the technological level of China's industry through self-reliance.
- Peking held a memorial meeting for Kao Yun-peng, staff member of the office of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission in Laos, who was killed in the bombing of Khang Khay by U.S. aircraft.

Chinese mass organizations and democratic parties strongly protested against this fresh U.S. outrage against the Chinese people.

- *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator refuted slanders spread by TASS about trade between China and South Africa.

- The Chinese press published:

- the June 11 article by the editorial department of the Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit*, exposing the Soviet leaders as the biggest saboteurs of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

- an editorial from the June issue of the Vietnamese journal *Hoc Tap* upholding international unity and opposing all divisive schemes within the international communist movement.

Chinese Leaders Review P.L.A. Achievements

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and Government, and high-ranking officers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, on June 15 and 16 reviewed the successes which P.L.A. units stationed in Peking and Tsinan had achieved in their military training. They gave high praise to the manoeuvres and exercises which the units performed and which the press reported as demonstrating "the high revolutionary spirit and morale of the broad mass of officers and men of the P.L.A., their tenacity in combat and their mastery of military techniques."

"These achievements," writes the Hsinhua correspondent, "have been made by the P.L.A., under the

leadership of the Party's Central Committee and its Military Committee, by holding high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, persevering in the 'four firsts' [giving first place to the human factor in handling the relationship between weapons and men, to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work, to ideological work in relation to the other aspects of political work, and to living ideas in ideological work], developing the 'three-eight' style of work [referring to the three pointers and eight Chinese characters. The three pointers are: a firm and correct political orientation, an assiduous and simple working style and a flexible and mobile strategy and tactics; the eight characters mean: be united, alert, earnest and lively], creating companies with the 'four goods' [good political and

ideological work, good 'three-eight' style of work, good military training and good living arrangements] and striving to make itself fully competent for its tasks."

Picked militiamen and militia-women of the Tsinan area gave a display of their skill in shooting ground and water-borne targets. Some of those who took part represented three generations of a single family. They gave a splendid performance. It vividly reflected the great success of the Chinese people in carrying out the policy set out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung of making "everyone a soldier."

The review reflected the keen attention paid by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee to the revolutionization and modernization of the P.L.A. It was a notable event in P.L.A. history and a great inspiration to all its officers and men.

Chairman Mao Receives Guests

Chairman Mao Tse-tung met Dr. Hewlett Johnson, former Dean of Canterbury, and his wife on the afternoon of June 21. They had a cordial talk. That morning Premier Chou En-lai and his wife Teng Ying-chao called on Dr. Johnson and his wife at the Guest House. The British guests left Peking for home on June 22. They were seen off at the airport by Premier Chou and other Chinese leaders.

On June 18, Chairman Mao received Miraji Mpatani Ali, Zanzibar expert now working in China, and his wife. Earlier, on June 11, Premier Chou En-lai met them and had a friendly conversation with them.

On June 23, Chairman Mao received and had a friendly talk with members of the visiting Chilean journalists' delegation led by Renato Silva Valenzuela.

Malian Delegation Visits China

A Malian government delegation led by Jean-Marie Kone, Minister of State in charge of planning and co-ordination of economic and financial affairs, arrived in Peking on June 19. The Malian Minister, Madam Kone and the delegation came on a

visit at the invitation of Vice-Premier Chen Yi, who with his wife and other government officials were at the airport to welcome them. That evening Vice-Premier and Madam Chen Yi gave a banquet in honour of the Malian guests.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, paid tribute to the Republic of Mali for the great successes it had achieved under the leadership of President Modibo Keita in consolidating its political independence and achieving economic independence. Said the Vice-Premier: "You have resolutely rid your government departments of colonialists and built up a government service of Malian cadres. You have compelled the colonialists to withdraw their military bases and troops from Mali and established your own national armed forces. You have nationalized the Office du Niger and other colonialist enterprises and are striving for the complete decolonization of the social-economic structure. We heartily wish your people fresh successes in their advance along the path of independent development."

The Vice-Premier pointed out that countless facts had proved that the process of decolonization in the newly emerging African countries demanded a serious struggle against the new and old colonialists. He pledged the Chinese Government's support for the African countries in developing their national economy and excluding foreign control.

Speaking of the Laotian situation, the Vice-Premier said that the whole world was watching the United States to see whether it would rein in before the brink of the precipice and come to the 14-nation conference table, or go on acting in disregard of the consequences and get burnt playing with fire.

Minister Kone spoke warmly of the Chinese people's efforts in building their country. "Despite all sorts of imperialist and neo-colonialist intrigues and manoeuvres," he said, "the valiant Chinese people continue untiringly to forge their own future, thus winning the sympathy and admiration of all those who love freedom and peace." He praised China's

consistent stand in opposing imperialism and colonialism and giving aid to the African countries. "The Malian people," he stressed, "know and highly appreciate the valuable, disinterested and mutual assistance given by the great Chinese people to the brotherly countries of the third world, aimed at accelerating their emancipation, development and thorough liberation from the yoke of foreign domination and exploitation." He expressed the conviction that the friendship between Mali and China would grow day by day.

On June 21, Premier Chou En-lai received Minister Jean-Marie Kone and members of his delegation. Later, he entertained his guests at a banquet. On June 22 Jean-Marie Kone and his delegation attended a mass rally which well expressed the growing friendship between China and Mali and the strengthening of Asian-African solidarity.

Premier Chou Receives Peking Opera Workers

Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, on June 23 received the responsible members, leading actors and actresses and playwrights of the 28 companies now taking part in the 1964 festival of Peking opera on contemporary themes. The Premier made a speech and took part in the lively general discussion which ensued. Others who spoke included Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching and noted Peking opera workers.

Chinese People Denounce U.S. Atrocity in Laos

The recent bombing by U.S. aircraft of the quarters of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission in Khang Khay, Laos, has aroused nationwide indignation. Various people's organizations and leaders of the democratic parties have denounced and strongly protested against the bombing which killed one and wounded five members of the Chinese staff.

(Continued on p. 30.)

Self-Reliance Brings New Industrial Products

"The number of new products developed by China's industry has increased considerably in the past few years," according to a statement by Vice-Premier Po I-po at an award-giving ceremony in Peking last week for more than 1,400 new industrial products. Congratulating workers, scientists, technicians and others concerned on their successes in making the new products, *Renmin Ribao* in its June 19 editorial pointed out that their manufacture represented a swift rise in technological levels and was another indication of China's steady advance in the development of its economy by self-reliance.

Today, as *Renmin Ribao* noted, "China has reached a new level, ending an industrial history of mainly doing repairs." Yearly since 1960 the nation's industry has increased the number of new products. Compared with 1957, the last year of the First Five-Year Plan, China today makes two and a half times as many major industrial items. The 1,400 awards went to the cream of some 8,000 new products developed in recent years. The factories which made them represent the metallurgical and machine-building, coal mining, petroleum and chemical industries, textile and other light industries, communications and transport, forestry, medicine and other fields.

Major Changes in Industry

Most awards were for results achieved by the combined efforts of factories, scientific research institutes, colleges and universities, and designing departments. They reflect new achievements in science and technology, and their manufacture signifies three major changes in China's industry. First, Chinese technicians and workers are now able to make high-grade, precision and heavy-duty products with local materials. These include precision machine-tools, meters and instruments and high-speed electronic com-

puters—all of fairly high technological standards. Second, the nation's growing ability to make complete sets of industrial equipment, including equipment for large nitrogenous fertilizer plants, oil refineries, hydroelectric stations and ships, trains and newly designed lorries. Third, the increasing level of self-sufficiency reached in fuels, metals and other material as reflected in hundreds of new varieties of rolled steel, non-ferrous metals and petroleum products.

All these successes, said Vice-Premier Po I-po, "are to be attributed first and foremost to the carrying out by industrial departments of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's directive to 'give top priority to variety and quality.' They are tremendous achievements resulting from implementation of the Party's general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards."

Role of Self-Reliance

All the award-winning products are urgently needed by the national economy, and represent an increased ability to build socialism through self-reliance. In its editorial *Renmin Ribao* said: "The rapid increase in the number of new products and the rapid improvement in techniques demonstrate a great victory in carrying out the policy of building a prosperous and strong country through hard work and self-reliance. Many of the new products were made under conditions in which imperialism and modern revisionism denied our country any technical information. While congratulating the units that made the 1,400 award winners, we take pride in the victory won by the Party's policy of self-reliance."

Noting that this policy had greatly encouraged the workers' revolutionary spirit and brought their creative-

ness into full play, the editorial went on to say that the Party's idea of self-reliance had broken the restrictions of old traditions and exploded the myth of relying on foreign countries, given full scope to the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the people and encouraged them to make bold efforts for technical innovations and discoveries. The editorial recalled that Chairman Mao Tse-tung had spoken of the importance of this policy on several occasions—during the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-36), during and after the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and after the liberation of the country in 1949. Chairman Mao also had stressed its importance in the period of socialist construction and urged the people of the whole country to build a strong socialist country with their own hands.

Declared the editorial: "It is precisely Comrade Mao Tse-tung's idea of self-reliance that has helped us overcome extremely great difficulties and defeat our powerful enemies in successive revolutionary wars. And it is precisely because we have continued to put this idea into practice that we have, in the course of our socialist construction, smashed the blockade imposed by U.S. imperialism and surmounted difficulties created by the Soviet revisionist group." The editorial expressed the belief that, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the industrious Chinese people would build their country into a modern and strong socialist nation in the not too distant future.

The presentation of awards was jointly sponsored by the Planning Commission, the Economic Commission and the Commission for Science and Technology. More than 2,700 people attended, including Vice-Premiers Nich Jung-chen and Tan Chen-lin.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi Answers Questions By Japanese Journalist

Vice-Premier Chen Yi was recently interviewed by Hiroshi Hasimoto, Director of the News Division of the Tokyo Broadcasting System. Following is a translation of the questions and answers published in the Chinese press on June 20, 1964. — Ed.

I. Questions concerning the restoration of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations.

1. Relations between our two countries are being gradually improved in the form of "accumulation." But what is your view of the Japanese Government's idea of separating politics from economics?

ANSWER: At present, relations between China and Japan are, as Mr. Hasimoto has said, being gradually improved by "accumulation." However the present state of Sino-Japanese relations still falls far short of the two peoples' strong desire for restoring diplomatic relations.

Normalizing relations between the two countries includes normalization of both political and economic relations. Therefore, in gradually improving relations in the form of "accumulation," it is, as a matter of course, necessary to improve simultaneously both political and economic relations. Moreover, the development of political and economic relations influence and promote each other. The Chinese Government has always held that in relations between China and Japan, politics and economics are inseparable. In plain words, what the so-called "separation of politics and economics" implies is, politically, to continue to adhere to the attitude of non-recognition of China and, economically, to develop Sino-Japanese trade on a limited scale. Obviously, this is not in full accord with the demand for promoting the normalization of relations between our two countries.

The key to the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations is for the Governments of the two countries, in the interests of their own peoples, to pursue an independent foreign policy and gradually do away with outside obstacles. Recently, some influential Japanese papers and periodicals have explicitly pointed out that the guiding principles for the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations should be the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. I believe this view is reasonable and realistic.

2. The question of reparations will naturally come up in restoring diplomatic relations between Japan and China. What is your opinion about Japanese reparations?

ANSWER: The Chinese people suffered great losses during the Japanese militarists' war of aggression against China. The Chinese people have the right to ask for reparations. Although the war has been over for nearly 20 years, China and Japan have not even concluded a peace treaty, there is no basis for the discussion of this question. In dealing with Sino-Japanese relations, the Chinese Government and people have always looked forward, instead of looking backward. What the Chinese and Japanese Governments must do at present is first of all to make joint efforts to solve the question of how to help bring about the normalization of relations. If the Japanese Government respects the wishes of the Japanese people, it must show its sincerity and be prepared to solve step by step the major question of normalizing diplomatic relations between China and Japan; once diplomatic relations are restored, it will be easy to settle other specific questions through friendly consultation.

3. The Chinese leaders have made it clear that "the question of Taiwan is one of internal affairs," this question has great bearing on the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China. What does China think about the solution of the Taiwan question?

ANSWER: Taiwan is Chinese territory and a Chinese province. The liberation of Taiwan is a question of China's internal affairs. Therefore, it must not be entangled with the question of restoring diplomatic relations between China and Japan.

Of course, the Taiwan question also has its international aspect, but this is because the United States has occupied China's Taiwan Province and the Straits of Taiwan by force. The Chinese Government has on many occasions expressed its readiness to settle Sino-U.S. disputes through peaceful negotiations, including the question of the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Taiwan and the Straits of Taiwan and not to resort to force. The Sino-American talks which have continued for eight years deal mainly with this question. The principle we have put forward at the Sino-American talks is very simple, consisting of only two items: first, China and the United States to coexist peacefully according to the Five Principles; second, the U.S. Government to guarantee to withdraw its armed forces from China's Taiwan Province and the Straits of Taiwan. But both items have been unreasonably turned down by the United States. We absolutely cannot tolerate U.S. occupation of our sacred territory Taiwan Province. The day will come when the United States

has to recognize these two principles and withdraw from Taiwan, and Taiwan will eventually return to the embrace of the motherland.

To legalize its forcible occupation of Taiwan, the United States continuously plots for the creation of "two Chinas." The so-called "one China and one Taiwan" is a superficial change of the "two Chinas" scheme; in essence, there has been no change at all in the forcible U.S. occupation of China's Taiwan Province. Some people with an ulterior motive has seconded the U.S. plot, crying that "the status of Taiwan is undetermined," or proposing to place Taiwan under U.N. control; all this is aimed at severing Taiwan Province from China. Such a scheme absolutely cannot be tolerated. It will not only meet the Chinese people's resolute opposition but the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people and all those who uphold justice.

II. Since some aspects of the struggle against modern revisionism have not been understood in Japan, it is hoped that concrete and easy-to-understand explanations will be given.

ANSWER: There are serious differences between us and the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on a whole series of questions of principle concerning Marxism-Leninism; these are differences between two lines, Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. Our viewpoints and our approach to the differences have been fully expounded in a series of articles by the newspaper *Renmin Ribao* and the magazine *Hongqi*. As long as there are differences, there are polemics. Only by full-scale polemics can a distinction be drawn between right and wrong and unity benefited. The Chinese Communist Party has consistently stood for strengthening unity between the Chinese and Soviet Parties, between China and the Soviet Union and in the socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have always harboured profound fraternal friendship and the greatest respect for the Party and people of the Soviet Union, who grow up in the native land of Lenin and have a long revolutionary tradition, and have long striven for unity with them. We firmly believe that because of the demand of the two Parties and peoples of China and the Soviet Union and the demand of the world's people, the two Parties, countries and peoples of China and the Soviet Union will, in the long run, become closely united in the struggle against imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries and to uphold Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, safeguard unity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement, support the revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples and nations the world over and defend world peace.

III. Concerning Sino-U.S. relations.

There is the view that recent talk of approaching China is gaining ground even in U.S. political circles

and that there will be a big change in U.S. policy towards China following the U.S. presidential election this autumn. Does China have the intention of positively improving her relations with the United States by then?

ANSWER: Since the victory of the Chinese revolution, the United States has adopted a policy of hostility and aggression against China, bringing about the present situation in Sino-U.S. relations.

The Chinese Government has always been willing to improve and develop relations with all countries in the world, the United States not excepted, on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Whether Sino-U.S. relations can be improved does not depend on our country, but on the United States. Sino-U.S. relations will naturally improve only if the United States ends its invasion and occupation of China's Province of Taiwan and withdraws its armed forces from Taiwan Province and the Taiwan Straits. But up to now we see no sign whatsoever that the United States will change its policy of hostility and aggression against China. True, recently in the United States, there has also been some talk of the need to adopt a so-called realistic attitude towards the China question. But in the final analysis this "realistic" attitude is still restricted to carrying on the plot of "two Chinas." There has been no basic change.

IV. I would like to ask you about the prospects of China's entry into the United Nations.

ANSWER: China is not only a member state of the United Nations but is one of its founding members. However, China is excluded from the United Nations today, and its seat in the United Nations is usurped by the Chiang Kai-shek clique which long ago was overthrown by the Chinese people. This extremely abnormal state of affairs is created entirely by U.S. imperialism. China's legitimate rights in the United Nations must be restored and should have been restored long ago. Now, more and more countries support the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations; for this we express our thanks. We are convinced that U.S. imperialism's manipulation of the United Nations will sooner or later break down and the Chiang Kai-shek gang will sooner or later be ousted from it. The lawful seat of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will sooner or later be restored. This, of course, takes time. We are not in a hurry, we can wait. Under no circumstances will we barter away principles and sovereignty; any attempt to make the restoration of China's seat in the United Nations a bait for our acceptance of the "two Chinas" scheme is doomed to failure.

V. On the improvement of friendly relations with the Asian and African countries—the present state and future developments.

ANSWER: The Chinese and Asian-African peoples share a similar historical experience and destiny, and

face common enemies and common tasks in struggle. The historic mission of combating imperialism, old and new colonialism have closely linked the Chinese people with the Asian and African peoples. Since its inauguration, the People's Republic of China has always paid attention to developing state relations, and economic, cultural and friendly contacts with the Asian and African countries. Up to the present we have established diplomatic relations with 30 Asian and African countries and developed various forms of friendly contact with the peoples of those Asian and African countries with which we have not yet established diplomatic relations.

The friendly relations between the Chinese people and the Asian and African peoples incur the inveterate hatred of imperialism and the reactionaries of different countries who are trying to undermine these relations by every possible means. But they will never succeed in this. Friendly relations between the Chinese people and the Asian and African peoples are bound to progress along with the steady upsurge of the Asian and African peoples' struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism. The warm welcome accorded to Premier Chou En-lai in his recent tour of 13 Asian and African countries fully shows the bright prospects of further development of friendly relations between China and the Asian and African countries. Mr. Hasimoto, I accompanied Premier Chou on his tour and I can still well remember the oceans of people turning out to welcome the Chinese and Premier Chou. This is a rarity not only in the diplomatic history of China but in the diplomatic history of the world.

VI. Has China's possession of nuclear weapons come to the stage of materialization?

ANSWER: We have always held that it is the people, not any alleged new weapons, that decide the destiny of mankind. We resolutely advocate complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons. But in the situation in which several big powers monopolize nuclear weapons and engage in nuclear blackmail, in the interest of the security of our country and world peace we cannot be without our own nuclear power for self-defence. Nuclear fission is not an extraordinarily difficult scientific technique. I think that after a series of efforts we will eventually possess our own nuclear weapons. Some people may be concerned that once China has nuclear weapons, she will pose some sort of a threat. This worry is completely uncalled for. China is a socialist country; she has not committed aggression against anyone, nor will she commit aggression now or in the future. China's foreign policy is not determined by whether or not she has nuclear weapons. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of China integrates the interests of the Chinese people with those of the peoples of the socialist countries, of the working class and the oppressed peoples and classes throughout the world and with those of the peace-loving countries and peoples the world over. And, proceeding from this, China supports all just struggles against imperialism and old and new colonialism, and in defence of world peace. This is the starting point of China's foreign policy.

On the Development of Afro-Asian Countries' National Economies

Chinese Delegate's Speech at Economic Preparatory Meeting for Second African-Asian Conference

- Afro-Asian countries should mainly rely on their own efforts and at the same time carry out mutual assistance and co-operation.
- China strives to strengthen its economic co-operation with other Afro-Asian countries on the basis of eight principles.
- It is necessary for Afro-Asian countries to struggle unremittingly against imperialist grip on their economic lifelines.

Fang Yi, head of the Chinese delegation to the Economic Preparatory Meeting for the Second African-Asian Conference, made a speech at the meeting in Geneva on June 16. Following is a translation of his speech. — Ed.

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates:

It is a great pleasure for the Chinese delegation to join friends from so many Asian and African countries

in an exchange of views on problems of common concern in economic development and co-operation by way of preparation for the Second African-Asian Conference. It is my feeling that the successful holding of such a meeting is a victory in itself. Here, I would like, in the name of the Chinese delegation, to address our congratulations to the meeting. I would also like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the delegates from Indonesia, Liberia and ten other Asian and Afri-

Economic Preparatory Meeting for Second African-Asian Conference

THE Economic Preparatory Meeting for the Second African-Asian Conference was held in Geneva on June 16-17 and was attended by representatives of 41 Asian and African countries. A. Romes Horton (Liberia) was elected Chairman; Layachi Yakir (Algeria) and Khék Vandy (Cambodia), Vice-Chairmen; Nugroho (Indonesia), Secretary-General; and Rahnama (Iran), Reporter.

In his opening speech, Horton said that the meeting was convened in accordance with the communique of the Djakarta preparatory meeting for the Second Afro-Asian Conference and was a continuation of the Djakarta meeting.

A joint communique of the meeting was released on June 18 which declared that the meeting "unanimously recognized the great significance of strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity and co-operation for the winning of economic independence." In addition, "The representatives also took this opportunity to express their views on the principles and means of developing their national economies and strengthening mutual aid and co-operation."

can countries who, as members of the working committee, have done a great deal of work in preparation for this meeting.

Since the First Asian-African Conference, which was of great historic significance, there have been earth-shaking upheavals in Asia and Africa. More than 30 countries there have since attained independence. The people of those Asian and African countries still under colonial rule are carrying on valiant struggles for independence and freedom. The Afro-Asian people's cause of solidarity against imperialism has seen tremendous development. In international affairs, Asian and African countries are playing an increasingly important role. The Asian and African peoples who suffered the tribulations of slavery, oppression and exploitation under colonialism for centuries, have now stood up.

The independent Asian and African countries are anxious to transform the state of poverty and backwardness resulting from long years of colonial domination. The peoples of Asian and African countries have made gigantic efforts in developing an independent national economy and in building up their own countries. As master of their own house, many Afro-Asian countries are striving to eradicate the influences of colonialism, take over foreign-owned enterprises or plantations and set up and develop their own industry and agriculture. We warmly hail the successes won by the Afro-Asian peoples in their struggle to create a new life. We wholeheartedly wish them further and greater achievements in the years to come.

The winning of independence is but the starting point of a new struggle. We all need to wage an unremitting fight against imperialism and old and new colonialism in order to oppose outside intervention and consolidate political independence and in order to erad-

The communique also stated, "The meeting was held in a friendly and harmonious atmosphere, embodying the consistent spirit of Asian-African conference of seeking common grounds while setting aside differences and of reaching unanimity through consultation. It was the unanimous hope of the representatives of the participating countries that this meeting would contribute to the discussion of economic problems at the Second African-Asian Conference."

The communique also contained a "preliminary review of the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development by its African and Asian participants." The meeting recommended to all African and Asian countries participating in the Second African-Asian Conference to be held next year "to pursue further the study and evaluation of the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in the light of the provisional agenda of the Second African-Asian Conference, and if possible to forward the result of their study to the standing committee of that conference before March 1965."

icate colonial influences and win economic independence. The imperialists and old and new colonialists loathe to see Afro-Asian countries become prosperous and strong along the road of independent development. They try hard to hold their ground as exploiters and to continue their grip on the economic lifelines of these countries. In international trade they loudly advertise the "principle of non-discrimination" while in fact practising most wanton discrimination against us Afro-Asian countries. Manipulating international market and monopolizing world prices, they have inflicted heavy losses on Afro-Asian countries amounting to billions of dollars annually in recent years as a result of the worsening gap in their terms of trade alone. By erecting tariff-walls and trade restrictions they make it increasingly difficult for Afro-Asian countries to export their products. From what they have squeezed out of the Afro-Asian people, they have handed out so-called "aid" to Afro-Asian countries. More often than not, however, their so-called "aid" turns out to be an instrument to keep these countries under their control.

This state of affairs is utterly unreasonable. This is the root cause of the various economic difficulties confronting us newly independent Afro-Asian countries. We have every reason to demand that the Western countries change this completely unreasonable state of affairs. They have exploited us so much and for so long. Why can't we ask them to be a little fair and reasonable? However, we Afro-Asian countries know from our own experience that even though as a result of our efforts the Western countries may be compelled to make certain limited concession under specific circumstances, as a rule, they will never relinquish their position of exploiters and monopolizers.

In the final analysis, in order to develop our national economy and achieve economic independence,

we Afro-Asian countries should mainly rely on our own efforts and at the same time carry out mutual assistance and co-operation among ourselves and with all other friendly countries which treat us as genuine equals. It is true that we newly independent Afro-Asian countries are still poor and backward and our capacity is limited. But precisely because we are friends who are poor we find it easier to understand each other's needs. Mutual assistance and co-operation among friends who are poor are mutual assistance and co-operation on genuinely equal footing. Such mutual assistance and co-operation are precious and reliable. There are many things that simply cannot be done between Afro-Asian countries and Western countries but can be done among Afro-Asian countries, such as expanding trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, providing each other aid without any conditions or privileges, exchanging experiences on how to eradicate the economic influences of colonialism, gradual development of the national economy on the basis of self-reliance, and so on.

Of course, we are keenly aware that as a result of the prolonged rule by imperialism and colonialism the economy of many newly independent Afro-Asian countries is still to a great extent tied to that of the industrialized Western countries. Moreover, the capacity of us newly independent Afro-Asian countries in expanding trade or in providing aid is limited at present. However, we all possess very rich and abundant natural resources. Our people are diligent and industrious, brave and intelligent. For centuries the Western colonialists have owed their very subsistence to us. Can't we survive without them? No matter what difficulties we have to overcome, we newly independent Afro-Asian countries must go forward. Economic co-operation between us will grow gradually. A Chinese proverb says that "a journey of a thousand miles starts from the first step." As a rule, a new thing grows from small to big. We are convinced that with the exertion of energetic efforts by all Afro-Asian countries and with the growth of mutual assistance and co-operation among them the present state of affairs will eventually undergo a change.

Acting in the spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity, the Chinese Government has consistently worked for the development of economic co-operation with other Afro-Asian countries. Both during their revolution and in the course of construction the Chinese people have received the sympathy and support of the peoples of other Afro-Asian countries. We always deem it our bounden internationalist obligation to support other Afro-Asian peoples who are engaged in struggles. We always consider assistance is mutual. We have done as much as our capacity permits to help other Afro-Asian countries develop their national economies and to strengthen mutual assistance and co-operation with them. But at present China's economic level is not high. What we have been able to do is limited. Having attained independence earlier and with such a great manpower, China logically ought to make more of a contribution to the struggle of Afro-Asian peoples for winning and safe-

guarding national independence. What we have so far done falls far short of what we should have done. But we are sincere. In conducting economic co-operation with other Afro-Asian countries and in extending aid, we always adhere to the following principles: (1) The Chinese Government always bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual. (2) In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges. (3) The Chinese Government provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible. (4) In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development. (5) The Chinese Government tries its best to help the recipient countries build projects which require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital. (6) The Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government undertakes to replace them. (7) In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master such technique. (8) The experts dispatched by the Chinese Government to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities. As our economic construction develops we hope to be able to make a greater contribution to the mutual assistance and co-operation among Afro-Asian countries.

Dear colleagues, we are all very busy and have a limited time at our disposal. However, since we have a common language and share the excellent tradition of seeking common grounds while setting aside divergences and of reaching unanimity through consultation and since the communique of the Djakarta meeting has provided us with a basis and, with the excellent preparation done by many friends, it is my belief that, as a result of our common efforts, we shall certainly be able to fulfil our task competently and pleasantly.

There has been considerable growth in economic co-operation between Afro-Asian countries since the First Asian-African Conference. With full confidence we can anticipate that the Second African-Asian Conference will open up new and broader prospects for economic co-operation among Afro-Asian countries. The cause of the Afro-Asian countries is infinitely bright.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

TASS' Anti-China Rumour-Mongering

by COMMENTATOR

Following is a translation of a commentary published by "Renmin Ribao" on June 23 under the title: "It Is Time for TASS to Wind Up Its Anti-China Rumour-Mongering." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

IN a news dispatch dated June 17, the Soviet TASS News Agency slanderously alleged that China took a "strange position" on the question of severing trade relations with South Africa. Quoting *New Africa*, a magazine published in London, the Soviet news agency tried to prove that "in contrast with many Asian and African countries," not only does China "continue to maintain trade relations with the Verwoerd government," but "trade between China and South Africa has visibly increased in recent times." This confirms that the TASS Agency has sunk to the point of openly spreading rumours and cooking up slanders in its anti-China propaganda.

China's Stand on South Africa

The Chinese Government and people have consistently and resolutely supported the just struggle of the people of South Africa against the fascist rule of the Verwoerd regime and racial discrimination and for national independence. In line with this position, the Chinese Government, since July 1960, has broken off all economic and trade relations with the colonial authorities of South Africa. In its reply to the United Front of South Africa on March 28, 1961, the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade made clear the stand taken by the Chinese Government. At a people's rally held in Peking on June 26, 1963, in support of the struggle of the people of South Africa, Liu Chang-sheng, President of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association, announced that the Chinese Government had long ago severed all economic and trade relations with the colonial authorities of South Africa. On July 15 the same year the Hsinhua News Agency was authorized to issue a statement reaffirming the steadfast stand of the Chinese Government in implementing the diplomatic and economic boycott of the colonial authorities of South Africa and supporting the just struggle of its people. On April 13, 1964, at another Peking mass rally to support the struggle, Mao Tun, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, reiterated once more that since 1960 the Chinese Government had severed all economic and trade relations with the authorities of South Africa. But, as a state news agency of the Soviet Union, TASS, rather than trust the statement and speeches made by the Chinese Government and people, has preferred to believe a report in a magazine in Britain and raise a hue and cry on this basis. What, after all, is the motive behind all this?

Frankly speaking, there is nothing new about the rumours spread by TASS. They are merely a refurbished version of similar rumours fabricated by U.S. imperialism and its followers to undermine the relations of friendly co-operation between China and the African countries and sabotage Asian-African solidarity. Far back in early July 1963, the Indian Information Service, in an attempt to show that "China's tall claim about championing the cause of Africa has been amply disproved," spread the rumour that there was a "dramatic increase" in South Africa's exports to China. On January 14 this year when Premier Chou En-lai was making his African trip, the *New York Times* gave out the rumour that last year "China has more than tripled its trade with South Africa." And now TASS has come up with the similar rumour that "deliveries from South Africa to the P.R.C. trebled in 1963." This parrot-like repetition of the anti-China slanders of U.S. imperialism and the Indian reactionaries proves, if anything, that TASS will stop at nothing to ally itself with them in opposing China and wrecking her friendship and unity with the African countries.

But the anti-China propaganda that TASS indulges in is full of loopholes. According to its fabrication, China's total imports from South Africa in 1962 and the first eight months of 1963 totalled \$7.5 million. But TASS also spread the lie that in 1962 and early 1963 alone China imported £5.5 million worth of maize from South Africa. Calculated at the exchange rate of \$2.8 to the pound, this transaction in maize alone would amount to \$15.40 million. We would like to ask TASS: Which figure should your readers give credence to? It is ludicrous indeed that without even learning to do elementary arithmetic, you should want to conjure up figures with which to attack the Chinese Government and people. Your attempts to vilify China before the African people by lying and slandering only serve in the end to expose your own enormous stupidity.

Double-Faced Tactic

In fact, the data we have in our hands show that there are indeed people who are doing business in a big way with the Verwoerd government while professing support for the struggle of the South African people. It is precisely these hypocrites who, on the one hand, declare that they "will work still more insistently to strengthen friendship, co-operation and mutual support between the socialist countries and the young nations breaking out of the chains of foreign domination, and to promote their unity and solidarity." but, on the other hand, have no scruples about using lies and slander to sow discord between socialist China and the Asian and African countries in their struggle for unity against

imperialism. But this double-faced tactic will deceive no one; nor will it benefit these hypocrites themselves.

We must tell TASS that it is high time to end its anti-China slander campaign. The Chinese people and the African peoples are brothers who share a common destiny in their struggle against imperialism and against old and new colonialism. No one can undermine the militant friendship and unity between the Chinese peo-

ple and the African peoples. Nor is anyone able to distort the just stand of the Chinese Government and people in giving firm support to the South African people in their struggle for independence. Whoever tries to sabotage the friendship and unity between the Chinese people and the South African and other African peoples will simply be lifting a stone to crush his own feet and exposing his own vicious features as a provocateur.

Document

Joint Communiqué of China and Tanganyika-Zanzibar

Following is the text of the joint communiqué of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, made public on June 21. — Ed.

AT the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Goodwill Economic Mission of the Government of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar headed by His Excellency Second Vice-President Rashidi Mfaume Kawawa paid a visit of friendship to China from June 10 to 19, 1964. The mission included: His Excellency Nsilo Swai, Minister of State (President's Office), and His Excellency Abdul Rahman Mohammed Babu, Minister of State (President's Office).

During their stay in China, Second Vice-President Kawawa and the other members of the mission toured Peking and Shanghai, visited factories, people's communes and other economic and cultural establishments. They were accorded cordial hospitality and warm welcome by the Chinese Government and people.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, received Second Vice-President Kawawa and the other members of the mission and had cordial and friendly conversations with them.

During the visit, talks were held by Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and Second Vice-President Kawawa. Present at the talks on the Chinese side were also: Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council; Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council; Tseng Yung-chuan, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; General Peng Shao-hui, Deputy Chief of General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Lu Hsu-chang, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade; Chang Chih-hsiang, Vice-Chairman of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; Yang Lin, Representative of Fang Yi, Chairman of the Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries. Present at the talks on the side of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar were also Nsilo Swai, Minister of State (President's Office), and Abdul Rahman Mohammed Babu, Minister of State (President's Office). The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship.

The two parties had a full exchange of views on international questions of common interest and the question of developing the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries and common views were reached.

The two parties agreed that the present international situation was further developing in a direction advantageous to the people of all countries and disadvantageous to imperialism. The imperialist policies of aggression and war are the source of present international tensions. Provided the peoples of the world unite as one and wage a resolute struggle, they will be able to preserve world peace.

The two parties warmly hailed the great victories won by the Asian and African peoples in their struggles against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for winning and safeguarding national independence. The vigorously developing national-democratic revolutionary movement in Asia and Africa is increasingly becoming a gigantic force defending world peace and promoting the cause of human progress.

The two parties pointed out that imperialism and old and new colonialism are by no means reconciled to their defeat. They are putting up last-ditch struggles; and when they have to retreat under compelling circumstances they invariably resort to political, economic and other means designed to perpetuate their control and enslavement of Asian and African peoples. Therefore, to combat imperialism and old and new colonialism and win and safeguard national independence remains the primary common task of the Asian and African peoples.

The two parties expressed concern about the present grave situation in Laos, strongly condemned imperialist intervention and aggression in Laos and expressed firm support for the Laotian people in their just and patriotic struggle for independence and neutrality. They held that it was necessary quickly to convene an international conference of the parties to the Geneva agreements in order to settle the Laotian question peacefully and check the continued development of the dangerous situation in Indo-China.

The two parties noted with pleasure that the people of Nyasaland and Zambia will soon rid themselves of the shackles of colonialism and take the road of independent development.

The two parties expressed firm support for the people of Zimbabwe and South Africa in their struggle against racial discrimination and colonial rule, strongly condemned the imperialist criminal scheme to practise racial discrimination and create another "Union of South Africa" in Zimbabwe, and sternly protested against the ruthless crimes of the colonial authorities of South Africa in persecuting the nationalist leaders there.

The two parties expressed deep sympathy and firm support for the people of Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland, South-west Africa, Gambia and French Somalia in their just struggle for independence and freedom.

The two parties pointed out with satisfaction that since the first African Summit Conference in May 1963 the African people's cause of unity against imperialism had further developed. They expressed the hope that the forthcoming second African Summit Conference would make a new contribution towards strengthening the unity and co-operation of the African states, supporting the national-independence movement in Africa and promoting Afro-Asian solidarity.

The two parties reiterated their full support for the final communique of the Preparatory Meeting for the Second African-Asian Conference held not long ago in Djakarta and considered that the meeting had laid a good foundation for the Second African-Asian Conference. They expressed the firm conviction that the Second African-Asian Conference would carry on and develop the Bandung spirit and further strengthen the Asian-African countries' common cause of unity against imperialism. They pledged that the two countries, as members of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Meeting for the Second African-Asian Conference, would take an active part in the preparatory work and, together with the other Asian-African countries, work for making the conference a success.

The two parties had an extensive exchange of views on the experience in building their respective countries and the question of developing the national economy of the Asian-African countries.

The two parties held that, in order to lift themselves from poverty and backwardness, the Asian-African countries must first of all rely on their own people and resources for the work of national construction and, secondly, they also need mutual aid and economic co-operation among themselves on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. This is the reliable way for the Asian and African countries to attain economic independence and common prosperity.

The Chinese Government reaffirmed that, in providing economic and technical aid to other countries, it would strictly observe the following eight principles:

1. The Chinese Government always bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual.

2. In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges.

3. The Chinese Government provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to

lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible.

4. In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development.

5. The Chinese Government tries its best to help the recipient countries build projects which require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital.

6. The Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government undertakes to replace them.

7. In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master such technique.

8. The experts dispatched by the Chinese Government to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities.

The United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar side expressed its appreciation of the Chinese Government's observance of these principles and considered that they provide an entirely new basis for international economic co-operation.

The Chinese side expressed support for the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in its effort to strengthen the unity of its people, oppose foreign interference, safeguard state sovereignty and national independence and develop its national economy and culture and in pursuing its policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment in international affairs.

The United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar side expressed its appreciation of the Chinese Government's consistent foreign policy of peace and reiterated its continued support for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and its opposition to the imperialist plot to create "two Chinas."

During their talks, the two parties had a comprehensive exchange of views on the question of developing economic and technical co-operation and signed the Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation. This marks the further development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

The present visit of the Goodwill Economic Mission of the Government of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar led by Second Vice-President Kawawa has made an important contribution towards increasing the mutual understanding between the two countries and enhancing the friendship between the two peoples.

The two parties expressed their determination to work jointly for the continuous strengthening of the friendly relations between the two countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference.

June 19, 1964

Indonesian Communist Party Will Never Forgive Revisionists

Following are extracts from a speech made by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, on May 2 at a Djakarta mass rally marking International Labour Day. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

WE will never forgive the revisionists. We will close all the doors against the revisionists. The most important thing is to develop the revolutionary spirit in Indonesia, Southeast Asia and other areas of Asia, and in Africa and Latin America," declared D.N. Aidit.

"From the very outset, the Indonesian Communist Party expressed its disagreement to the launching of open polemics in the international communist movement. When the open polemics started, the Indonesian Communist Party did its utmost to stop them," Aidit said.

Violation of Moscow Statement

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union unleashed at its own Party congress an open attack on the Albanian Party of Labour. The C.P.S.U. leadership at that time asked me to follow them in attacking Albania. I said, 'I do not want to do so,' because I think that to make an attack on other fraternal Parties at one's own congress will set a very bad precedent. This is not for the purpose of strengthening the unity of the fraternal Parties but for the purpose of splitting it. As a result of the attack made at the C.P.S.U. Congress on other fraternal Parties, the Communist and Workers' Parties of Italy, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Bulgaria followed suit. Thus, a manifestation of splitting the international communist movement has appeared. It is a violation of the Moscow Statement."

Referring to the visit paid to the Soviet Union and China last July by the Indonesian Communist Party delegation that he led, Aidit said, "A few days before our delegation arrived in Moscow, the C.P.S.U. Central Committee published its open letter attacking the Chinese Communist Party. Later, we went to Peking and met Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Comrade Liu Shao-chi, Comrade Chou En-lai, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and others. I expressed the view on that occasion that it was necessary to stop the open polemics. The Chinese comrades told us that they had all along disagreed to the unfolding of open polemics but what was to be done now, they asked. Since there was such an open letter attacking the Chinese Communist Party it would be impolite and unjustifiable not to reply. Yes, the case is just like this, comrades. If you receive a letter and make no reply, would it be polite? At that time, out of

my sense of justice, I felt that it was necessary for the Chinese comrades to reply. Therefore after we came back, I expressed the opinion that the open polemics should be earnestly carried out on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and in a scientific and reasonable manner, beneficial to the international communist movement. Our Party should regard the open polemics as a world Marxist-Leninist university with free tuition and learn diligently from them. . . .

"The struggle in the international communist movement is indeed sharp at present, if viewed from the angle of antagonism between Marxism and revisionism. It can only be so, because Marxism and revisionism have always been opposed to each other and the antagonism will become sharper and sharper in the days to come. The ringleaders of revisionists are diehards. In history no revisionist ringleader has ever been penitent. Revisionists are after all revisionists. . . .

"We know that the revisionists are not only wrong but also stupid. They are exposing themselves everywhere. Here I call on our workers not to become revisionists to avoid becoming stupid."

He said: "When we review the situation from another angle, it can be seen that the Marxist-Leninist movement is developing from day to day. The Marxist-Leninist movement is expanding throughout the world."

No Market for Revisionism

He said: "The mounting struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America are shaking and weakening imperialism and will finally crush it. In fact, the Indonesian Communists regard the oppressed nations' struggle for independence as a struggle against capitalism and monopoly capitalism." He pointed out that "in the areas where the revolutionary movement is rising and developing there is no market for revisionism. . . .

"However, it is still necessary for us to be vigilant. This is because the revisionists will certainly do all they can to squeeze their way into Asia, Africa and Latin America, including Indonesia. They will make efforts to gather some persons together and form another so-called 'Communist Party' or a so-called 'Marxist-Leninist Party' existing side by side with the Indonesian Communist Party. But their ugly faces will be completely exposed."

Aidit likened revisionism to a tumour developing in the international communist movement. Revisionism, he said, "is the reflection of bourgeois ideology in

the working-class movement and has created a split in the international communist movement. . . .

"The splitting of the international communist movement—which is in fact a reflection of the process of selection, crystallization and consolidation caused by the contradictions between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism—demands that the working class seriously learn and apply Marxism-Leninism so that they can faithfully carry through their revolutionary task. . . ."

Importance of Struggle Against Revisionism

"If we fail to wage a struggle to crush modern revisionism, then it will be impossible for us to win in our struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Like the imperialists, if the revisionists met with no resistance, then they would become rampant. But if we give them heavy blows they will run halter-skelter in confusion. . . ."

"The modern revisionists are levelling attacks against the Indonesian working class and the Indonesian Communist Party with the charge that they are 'nationalists' because the Indonesian Communist Party has been making efforts to Indonesianize Marxism-Leninism. According to the revisionists, this is in violation of Marxism-Leninism. The fact that they have levelled this charge against us shows clearly that they have cast away the principle that it is absolutely necessary to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the working-class revolutionary movement in various countries. It also shows that they have thrown away the principle that it is absolutely necessary for the working class 'to make themselves conformable to the specific conditions that do not exist in the European countries' (Lenin's words)."

Aidit refuted the slander of the modern revisionists that the Indonesian Communist Party was disloyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism. He said, "As a pillar of the Indonesian revolution, the Indonesian working class is not only a component part of the Indonesian society but is also part of the powerful international force. Therefore, in addition to waging a struggle in the interests of its own country and standing at the forefront in carrying out patriotic tasks, it has consistently been loyal to its own class mission and its international tasks. . . . The proletarian internationalism of the Indonesian working class and the Indonesian Communist Party is integrated with genuine patriotism."

Aidit said: "The modern revisionists have constantly attacked the Indonesian Communist Party, alleging that our efforts to strengthen the international revolutionary front of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are 'splitting' and 'racial' activities. This is a clear vilification. Everyone knows that the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is a part of the new emerging forces. It is precisely in these areas that the anti-imperialist struggle is reaching unprecedented heights. At the same time, it is precisely in the countries of

Asia, Africa and Latin America that there exist the oppressed nations that are engaged in a life-and-death struggle to crush imperialism and its legitimate child, racial discrimination. Racialism exists only among the colonialists and their lackeys while among people who are waging a struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism under the leadership of the working class there can be no social basis at all for racialism to exist. . . ."

Indonesian Working Class Stands Firm

"In short, in the struggle of the new emerging forces against imperialism, first of all U.S. imperialism, the Indonesian working class and the Indonesian Communist Party will unwaveringly continue to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, strive for the consolidation of the solidarity of the working-class movement in all the countries and crush the modern revisionists who like to prettify U.S. imperialism. . . . In spite of the frenzied attacks launched repeatedly by the modern revisionists, the Indonesian working class is standing firm and remains loyal to the Indonesian people and the Indonesian revolution. . . ."

"Thanks to the resolute struggle of the Indonesian people, particularly the Indonesian workers," Aidit went on, "the Republic of Indonesia has emerged in the international arena as a force adhering to the principles of persisting in political sovereignty, economic self-reliance and of maintaining national features in culture. . . ."

"... the Indonesian working class through its political party, the Marxist-Leninist Indonesian Communist Party, has integrated itself with the peasants. Thus, the alliance between the working class (mainly through the Communists) and the peasants has been gradually set up and developed. The increasing solidarity of the worker-peasant alliance is an important condition for the consolidation of the national united front. . . ."

"The revisionists, unwilling to see us busy among the peasants, are maligning the Indonesian Communist Party, saying that it has degenerated into a party of the peasants. Let them cry! The Indonesian Communist Party will continue to integrate itself with the peasants."

After Aidit's speech, the meeting unanimously adopted a number of resolutions, sharply condemning the United States for its acts of intervention and subversion and demanding that the U.S. Government withdraw its 7th Fleet from the Indian Ocean. The resolutions also urged that the Indonesian Government declare the U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, Howard Jones, as *persona non grata*. The resolutions expressed support for President Sukarno's order to step up the struggle to crush "Malaysia" and the determination to take up arms and increase production.

The resolutions also condemned the Brazilian military authorities for their fascist action of continuing to persecute Brazilian patriots and Chinese trade personnel and journalists in disregard of condemnation by world public opinion.

JACQUES GRIPPA'S SPEECH

At the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

On June 10, Comrade Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, gave a speech at the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Following is the second and the last instalment of a translation of the full text of his speech. The first instalment appeared in "Peking Review" No. 25. Bold-face emphases are ours.—Ed.

The class collaboration practised by the revisionists also reveals itself in certain socialist countries when they deny that there is class struggle during the course of the socialist revolution.

"The state of the whole people" signifies the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the "party of the whole people" the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class.

The example of Yugoslavia demonstrates the possibility of "peaceful evolution" from socialism to capitalism, and points out the danger represented by revisionism which is able to imperil the successes of socialism.

Moreover, talk about building communism in one country while imperialism still exists, and when socialism is still far from being fully realized, is not only a theoretical mistake. It is also demagoguery intended to cover up the repeated failures caused by revisionism at home, as well as camouflage designed to cover up the renunciation of the tasks of socialist revolution. This is a diversion, an attempt to justify theoretically the development of non-socialist relations to the detriment of other countries of the socialist camp, and for putting these countries under its economic, political and military control and supervision.

Such a policy not only tends to weaken the socialist camp which it divides. As a result of this revisionist policy, the Soviet Union itself is weakened, grave difficulties are caused for it and elements of the restoration of capitalism are introduced. It is the source of Soviet agricultural disasters. It slows down the tempo of its industrial development.

* * *

The revisionists in capitalist countries have made a big issue in recent years of the miraculous results arising from the example of communism in the U.S.S.R., as if the value of this example suffices for all and for this reason all should be subordinated to this objective.

What an absurd idea! The example of the successes of the socialist revolution certainly constitute a great

help to the exploited and the oppressed in their struggles against capitalism, against imperialism, because this example encourages their militancy and strengthens their will to realize the socialist revolution too.

But it has been a long time since the superiority of the socialist economy over the capitalist economy has been demonstrated, and example alone can by no means replace the revolutionary struggle itself.

What is more, in the case of the revisionists, they play precisely the role of negative example. In our country, what we have to do at the moment is precisely to explain that the difficulties now existing in the Soviet Union and certain other socialist countries are due to revisionism and are not the fault of socialism.

On the contrary, one can talk about the value of the example of the successes of the socialist revolution in the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the People's Republic of Albania, and in Cuba. These successes are also the victories of Marxism-Leninism.

Despite the unfortunate consequences caused by revisionism in places where it predominates, when we come to estimate the forces of the socialist camp on a world scale, we can say that they have kept on growing, thanks to the victories achieved in the socialist countries where the Communist and Workers' Parties have persisted in their Marxist-Leninist stand.

* * *

Now let's take up the question of contradictions among the imperialists.

With the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the contradictions among the imperialists have become increasingly acute. Marxist-Leninists cannot allow themselves to be indifferent to this.

It was Lenin who said:

To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie, a war which is a hundred times more difficult, protracted and complicated than the most stubborn of ordinary wars between states, and to refuse beforehand to manoeuvre, to utilize the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporize and compromise with possible (even though temporary, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies—is not this ridiculous in the extreme?

He pointed out further that it was necessary to use: most thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skilfully every, even the smallest, "rift" among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who fail to understand this, fail to understand even a particle of Marxism, or of scientific, modern Socialism *in general*. Those who have not proved by *deeds* over a fairly considerable period of time, and in fairly varied political situations, their ability to apply this truth in practice have not yet learned to assist the revolutionary class in its struggle to emancipate all toiling humanity from the exploiters. And this applies equally to the period *before* and *after* the proletariat has conquered political power. ("*Left-Wing*" Communism, *An Infantile Disorder*.)

The aggravation of contradictions among the imperialists has posed us the problem of indirect allies of the proletarian revolution. In this respect, it is also necessary to start from the concrete analysis of concrete situations and to examine the possibilities offered in relation to the supreme and general interests of the proletarian revolution and especially, at the present time, in relation to the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations.

One of the principal aspects of the contradictions among the imperialists today is the contradiction between different capitalist countries and U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism is still pursuing its plan of world domination which includes the political, economic and military control of other capitalist countries. Under such conditions, it is inevitable that their contradictions should surge up and grow bigger.

For this reason the West European countries are of a double character. They are imperialists and exploiters to other countries, especially to peoples enslaved by new and old colonialism. On the other hand, they are exploited, mainly by U.S. imperialism.

This phenomenon is reflected with special clarity in the revenues from capital invested by the finance capital of these countries on the one hand, and on the other hand, from capital invested by foreign finance capital in these countries.

It is necessary to make use of the contradictions among the imperialists within the framework of realizing our international strategic aims and, tactically, with the objective of isolating U.S. imperialism, the enemy of the peoples of the whole world.

We can note that these contradictions in certain circumstances are already taking on the aspect of a struggle for national independence and for liberation from the U.S. yoke.

So long as these strata of finance capital continue to head this opposition to U.S. imperialism, we can see that the outcome can be one of the following:

— capitulation to the demands of the United States, or the arrangement of new compromises more or less favourable to these finance capital strata (in this connection, the development of class struggle on the domestic and international scales may act as one of the factors deciding them on such a stand);

— the outbreak of a conflict or war of an imperialist nature;

— the carrying out of a so-called neutral policy, with or without the formation of new political-military blocs;

— an eventual alliance with the socialist countries.

We are assuredly heading towards complex situations which may present abrupt turns and changes, in the course of which the Communist Parties will be required to display a high degree of political capability in order to be able to direct their actions correctly.

But in these circumstances, the working class of the capitalist countries can and must play a still more active role.

We consider that our course of action should be one of struggle for national independence, in the course of which the working class should endeavour to ensure its hegemony and leadership by forming the widest possible alliances, including even alliance with certain capitalist strata whose interests are opposed to those of U.S. imperialism.

The working class should take back into its own hands the banner of national independence.

This national-independence struggle cannot imply any weakening of the class struggle within the country between labour and capital.

The Communist Parties uphold their independence on the ideological, political and organizational planes; they will continue to promote the struggle of the working class more extensively on all fronts.

Thus in Belgium we have raised the slogan of struggle for national independence and for the liberation of our country from the yoke of the United States; at the present stage, we have put this objective into the concrete demand of the slogan: "Quit NATO!"

* * *

What is the attitude of the revisionists towards these contradictions?

At times, they regard imperialism as a monolithic bloc, and denounce as a crime the efforts of Marxist-Leninists to utilize these contradictions and seek for the widest possible alliances. At other times, they denounce French imperialism as the principal danger, and go so far as to consider France's recognition of the People's Republic of China as an act that is to the advantage of a war policy.

At still other times, the revisionists rant that the dangers of West German revanchist militarism and of the so-called Bonn-Paris axis are the greatest dangers.

Actually, however, they are opposing these dangers with the policies of U.S. imperialism—which they present as being “wise and reasonable, and full of concern to preserve peace.” For the revisionists, subjection to U.S. imperialism, its control and its presence itself (including military occupation) are all a kind of “guarantee” against the danger of West German revanchist militarism.

In every case, the revisionists’ position has one and only one meaning: that they accept, desire, and even demand the leadership, the hegemony of the United States.

Under these circumstances, how can one not expose their attitude which has led them to set themselves against the national independence of their own country, and made them the collaborators and accomplices of U.S. imperialism?

Is it not significant that in the draft of the theses of the last congress of the Belgian revisionists, U.S. imperialism was not even once denounced?

And in the draft resolution of the 17th congress of the French Communist Party (May 1964), did they not achieve a tour de force by not once using the expression “U.S. imperialism” either in talking about Cuba or south Viet Nam?

On his latest visit to France, Khrushchov spared no effort in heaping compliments and platitudes on de Gaulle. But today when de Gaulle—and he most certainly is a representative of French finance capital—opposes U.S. imperialism to a certain degree, the revisionists are embarrassed about it.

As for the West German revanchists, who was it that put them back on their feet, who was it that armed them? It was precisely U.S. imperialism. Without its alliance and support they would not have been able to give themselves the arrogant airs they are assuming today.

How was it that German imperialism was able to set up bases in Holland, Belgium and France? That was the result of its joining the aggressive pact of NATO, an instrument of U.S. imperialism.

Atomic weapons are stored in West Germany because U.S. imperialism has decided that they should be. German generals find themselves in the highest posts of command in NATO. For the moment, West German militarism is comporting itself as the loyal ally of U.S. imperialism. It is its principal bridgehead in Europe, and an important instrument in its world policy.

We say that, at present, there actually exists a Washington-Bonn axis, a condominium of the United States and the German Federal Republic, under the former’s direction, over NATO.

Of course, internal contradictions also exist in such an alliance, and one cannot predict the future development of such contradictions. But the fact is: U.S. imperialism is now supporting West German militarism,

and, to prepare its revanchist plans the latter, on its side, is leaning on U.S. imperialism.

To pretend to oppose West German revanchist militarism while approving of U.S. imperialism, as the revisionists are doing, is nothing but a hoax.

* * *

Lenin said: “One form of deception of the working class is pacifism and abstract propaganda for peace.”

The revisionists are using this deception in an attempt to divert the working class, the peoples and oppressed nations from their struggle against exploitation and oppression. They wish to “outlaw” struggles, revolutions and liberation wars.

But their so-called pacifism also tends to divert the peoples from effective struggle against imperialist aggression and to avert world war.

The leaders of the revisionists are multiplying their acts of kindness towards imperialism. But imperialism is not in the least grateful; it despises them, and shows a growing arrogance towards them.

The capitulation of the leaders of the revisionists before U.S. imperialism, and their collaboration with it, can only encourage its aggressiveness and further increase its threats against the Soviet Union itself.

Let us take for example the Moscow tripartite treaty which not only Marxist-Leninists but all the awakened working people have unanimously condemned.

All of us know the contents of the Moscow treaty which is a copy of the 1962 Anglo-U.S. proposal.

The Moscow treaty means the continued manufacture and stockpiling of strategic nuclear weapons by U.S. imperialism and the augmenting of their destructive potential, the aggravating of the danger of a thermonuclear world war.

It gives the green light to U.S. imperialism to concentrate its military efforts on the improvement and accumulation of tactical nuclear weapons—the chosen arms of U.S. imperialism to implement its policy of blackmail and aggression against the national-liberation movements. The Moscow treaty encourages a real dissemination of imperialist nuclear weapons through the increase in the number of U.S. military bases and submarines equipped with Polaris missiles and through the multilateral nuclear force which puts these engines of imperialist aggression at the disposal of the allies of the United States, including the West German revanchists.

At the same time, the Moscow treaty also signifies the intensification of the campaign against the peoples who refuse to bow before the dictates of the imperialists supported by the revisionists.

The possession of atomic weapons by socialist China would strengthen the world forces of peace and serve as a factor for peace. But the U.S. imperialists supported by the revisionists have presented this even-

tuality as a danger to peace. The Moscow treaty is one of the most dangerous hoaxes known to the peoples. It ominously reminds one of the Munich Agreement of 1938.

The revisionists, instead of denouncing imperialism which is aggressive by nature, consider China, Korea, Viet Nam, Albania and Cuba which refuse to sign the Moscow treaty, as warmongers.

The revisionists' abandonment of the objective of totally banning and destroying nuclear weapons signifies their opposition to this demand of the peoples. And this fact shows up their duplicity.

Nuclear threats and blackmail form a part of the so-called "strategy of peace" of U.S. imperialism. But nuclear threats and blackmail also form an integral part of the theory and policy of revisionism.

With the exposure of this blackmail their whole conception of class collaboration collapses.

At a recent session of the United Nations, the Soviet delegate even put forward a so-called "plan of general disarmament" which enables U.S. imperialism to retain possession of nuclear weapons in the final phase. This is the so-called project of the "nuclear umbrella." It is a reproduction of an old American proposition, and thus serves as a legalization of the "Pax Americana" and the plan for world domination by U.S. imperialism which relies precisely on a monopoly of nuclear power and which has the support of the Khrushchov revisionist group.

The revisionists give us a demonstration of the spurious character of their slogan of "a world without war and without arms" while imperialism still exists.

Facts have confirmed the correctness of the Leninist thesis on "the impossibility of eliminating wars without eliminating classes and creating socialism."

* * *

The revisionist leaders who call compliance with imperialism "peaceful coexistence" harbour a rancorous hatred for revolutionaries.

The Belgian Communists and other vanguard workers were deeply angered when they were informed about the way the Khrushchov group has made serious attacks — particularly vicious in the economic field — on those socialist countries where the Communist and Workers' Parties are holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

They share your pride and joy when they see that these odious manoeuvres of the revisionists have failed and that these difficulties have now been successfully surmounted by applying the principle of self-reliance.

There is no need here to dwell on how all the awakened working people abhor and oppose the Khrushchov revisionists' supplying of arms to the reactionary Indian bourgeoisie to help it in its aggression against socialist China.

Comrades, to put it in one sentence: modern revisionism is totally reactionary and counter-revolutionary both in theory and practice.

In the course of the same struggle which we have waged in Belgium we have become familiar with the theory and practice of revisionism.

Let us recall briefly that during the past few years a revisionist leading group has been operating as an organized faction within the Belgian Communist Party. This group seeks to make the Party degenerate, and has carried out systematic revisionist activities.

This group has manoeuvred cunningly to expand its positions in the leading organs, and has violated and renounced the decisions of the Party Congresses.

The disgraceful attitude of this group during the counter-revolutionary rising in Hungary was the signal announcing their later betrayals.

The *Drapeau Rouge* of November 2, 1956, carried this on its front page:

"Nagy proclaims the neutrality of Hungary and denounces the Warsaw Treaty. He appeals to the United Nations." In this article, *Drapeau Rouge* reported without comment "retreat of the Soviet troops, the massacre of 130 communist militants hung by their feet from trees and brutally beaten to death."

In this same issue of the paper, the Political Bureau, dominated by the revisionists, expressed its "appreciation for the moderate attitude of the Soviet Union." (This was at the time when Khrushchov was withdrawing the troops from Hungary.) The Political Bureau regarded this attitude as ". . . a manifestation of a great force in the service of an international detente."

Speaking of the government of the traitor Nagy, the Political Bureau asserted that it embodied "the first successes won by the efforts of the Hungarian Workers' Party and the organizations representing the working class of Hungary and Hungarian socialist democracy grouped around their Government." The Political Bureau also hoped that "the Hungarian tragedy was approaching its resolution," a resolution that under the circumstances would be the victory of the counter-revolutionary.

The "Belgian Peace Committee," at the head of which one finds the same revisionist leaders who now defend the Moscow tripartite treaty, published a communique, also carried by *Drapeau Rouge* without any comment, which "deplores the bloodshed and regrets the intervention of Soviet troops in the internal affairs of the Republic of Hungary."

This communique, which was given the approval of the revisionist leaders, said: "These incidents prove that military treaties authorizing the stationing of foreign troops in any country are a danger to peace."

Since these events, there has not been any self-criticism by the revisionist Political Bureau.

In 1957, the Political Bureau showed its interest in the programme of the Yugoslav revisionists.

But later, these chameleons pretended to approve the 1957 Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, just as later they pretended to approve the 1960 Statement of the 81 Parties. But in each case this was done only in order that they could continue their undermining activities.

The 13th Party Congress held in Liege in 1960 ended its session in ambiguity. However, the Political Bureau was obliged to give way on some of the assessments and formulations originally put forward in its theses. Notably the proposition about "advancing to socialism along the parliamentary road" was deleted from the theses by the congress.

But from that time on, the true colours of the revisionist Political Bureau have been completely exposed. There has not been a single event which does not reflect the struggle between the two lines.

The revisionist leading group has betrayed all and renounced all. They have betrayed the struggle for immediate demands. During the great strike of December 1960-January 1961, the revisionist Political Bureau was opposed to advancing the struggle to a higher stage. It claimed that the proposal to march on Brussels, agreed upon by hundreds of thousands of workers, was ultra-Left.

But on the contrary, it advocated the "holding of consultations and talks with the representatives of the majority." It disassociated itself from the strikers who fell victims to provocation by the gendarmes at the Guillemins Railway Station in Liege. It even held a press conference for this purpose!

It wanted to split the strikers' front, especially in Brussels.

When a new upsurge of workers' demands got under way towards the end of 1961, the revisionist Political Bureau, instead of calling on people to take action, went so far as to appeal for a "national labour conference," a get-together organized by the Government with representatives of the capitalists and the leaders of the reformist and Christian trade unions.

A member of the revisionist Political Bureau wrote at the time:

It is clear, in fact, that none of these urgent problems with which we are concerned, can be properly solved except in the course of negotiations in as calm an atmosphere as possible. . . . All these problems are so complicated that no answer can be found through a simple collision between the capitalists and the workers. This is exactly why the reactionaries hope for such a collision.

The revisionists also want to take the road of social planning. In giving free rein to their dreams of class collaboration, they cherish the illusion of being able to plan and programme the relations between the

antagonistic classes in capitalist society and bring about harmony between the two.

One revisionist lyrically declared: "Nearly everyone (including a good number of anti-communists) could be said to be creating communism unwittingly."

In the past few months, during the struggle to increase wages and so on, the main concern of the revisionists has been to restrain the workers' struggle, to formulate objectives which divert the people's attention, and oppose the general programme of demands which our Party is successfully popularizing.

The revisionists have betrayed the struggle against the anti-strike laws.

On September 1, 1962, Ministers Gilson and Vermeylen put forward several repressive, anti-workers bills.

However, all that the main ringleaders of the revisionists could find to say about this in January 1963 was that it was "a manoeuvre aimed at heading off the formulation of new workers' demands."

The revisionists go so far as to consider the demand for the "resignation of Gilson" as an anti-Party slogan!

The revisionists support the Lefevre-Spaak government, instrument of the most reactionary stratum of finance capital and lackey of U.S. imperialism, instead of criticizing it.

The Belgian revisionists have betrayed the struggle to prevent world war.

Together with their likes in other countries, they frantically support the Moscow tripartite treaty.

Now they condemn the demand for a reduction of 10,000-million in military expenditures. They have presented Kennedy as "the king piece in the struggle for peace" and called for the "strengthening of Kennedy's position."

The Belgian revisionist group is of the opinion that the question at present is not to withdraw from NATO but to assure United States leadership of this organization.

In international policy the Political Bureau's stand is to give active support to Spaak who has become a confidant of Khrushchov.

But in mass demonstrations, especially the "Youth's Anti-Atomic March" on March 15 and the "Day for Peace" activities of May 8, the collusion of revisionist and reformist leaders was unable to prevent the majority of demonstrators from accepting our slogans for a consistent struggle to prevent world war: "For the total banning and destruction of nuclear arms!" and "Quit NATO!"

The Belgian revisionists have betrayed proletarian internationalism.

They have betrayed the revolutionary national-liberation struggle of the Congolese people.

After tolerating Belgium's military intervention, they advocated U.N. intervention in the Congo. This intervention resulted in the deaths of Lumumba and his comrades-in-arms. It opened the doors of the Congo to U.S. imperialism, and subjected the Congolese people to greater sufferings, massacres and misery.

The revisionists spread criminal illusions in the Congo and in Belgium. They proposed that Gizenga should abandon the liberated area in the northeastern part of the Congo so as to play the parliamentary game in Leopoldville. Since then, Gizenga has been confined to an unhealthy island, and people do not know whether he is still alive today!

Here let me hail the new development in the Congolese national-liberation struggle!

Gone are the days when capitalism and imperialism could pin their hopes on throttling the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples by bloody suppression.

The Congolese people and their revolutionary leaders have drawn the lessons from their earlier setbacks.

The Congolese people have taken up arms to drive out the U.S. neo-colonialists, who directly intervened under the cover of the U.N., and the Belgian colonialists, and the Kasavubu-Adoula-Mobutu clique, which is in the service of imperialism.

The successes already won in this struggle herald new victories!

During the Caribbean events, in October-November 1962, the Belgian revisionists were scared stiff by the nuclear blackmail and completely opposed giving active support to socialist Cuba.

They surpass the worst reactionaries in their campaign of calumny against the People's Republic of China.

They ranged themselves unconditionally on the side of the reactionary Indian bourgeoisie, accomplice of U.S. imperialism, when it launched its aggression against socialist China.

They even went so far as to declare as anti-Party the resolutions of solidarity with socialist Cuba and socialist China passed by the Federal Bureau of Brussels on November 6, 1962.

The Belgian revisionists have violated and betrayed every revolutionary principle in the 1960 Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties. They have rejected the revolutionary essence of the Party. They have even done this in the new "Party Constitution" they have adopted. Their congress theses are a systematic exposure of modern revisionism.

Today their greatest anxiety is to be admitted to "Socialist Common Action," an organization completely under the control of the Right-wing leaders of the Belgian Socialist Party and which progressive workers call "Common Inaction."

The revisionists recommend that the Left-wing workers in the Socialist Party should "remain in the ranks of their [Socialist Party] organizations" so as to "faithfully carry out the decisions of the Belgian Socialist Party's congresses." They launch the accusation of "anarchist Leftism" against those Left-wing workers in the Socialist Party who do not wish to listen to them.

The Revisionists Desired and Engineered a Split

Since December 1961 the revisionists of Belgium launched public attacks against the Albanian Party of Labour and the Chinese Communist Party.

Encouraged by the revisionist counter-current of which Khrushchov is the self-appointed head, the Belgian revisionists have stepped up their divisive measures; at the end of 1962 these took an organizational form; they have taken increasingly arbitrary measures, in violation of the Party Constitution, against those Party militants who uphold the Marxist-Leninist stand and the revolutionary principles of the Statement of the 81 Parties.

But the revisionists have suffered a defeat. We could not submit to this arbitrary attitude of the revisionists and make ourselves accomplices to the betrayal and liquidation of the Party.

To want to destroy Marxism-Leninism and liquidate the revolutionary Party, the vanguard of the working class, is as vain a wish as to want to liquidate the class struggle.

In June 1963 the Brussels Federation called an extraordinary congress and re-established its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

On December 22, 1963, the National Congress of the Communists of Belgium declared that the Communist Party of Belgium would be reconstituted throughout the country on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The National Congress declared null and void the various resolutions adopted by the so-called communist congress held at Easter, 1963, which confirmed the transformation of the organization controlled by the revisionists into a reformist party.

Subsequently, the National Congress elected the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium reconstituted on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The Congress adopted a programme of action which has since stood the test in mass action. Our journal *La Voix du Peuple*, has reappeared and became a weekly on January 1 this year.

We have popularized our stand through posters, meetings, tracts, agitational journals and papers in the enterprises.

Our Party already constitutes a considerable political force which has achieved successes in organizing the struggle against capital. The Communist Youth and the Communist Students have both rebuilt their national organizations on the basis of Marxism-Lenin-

ism. The organization of Young Pioneers has been reactivated in two regions.

On May Day we gave proof of the vitality of our Party. A mass rally was held at Charleroi, followed by a parade through the streets of Brussels by enthusiastic and disciplined demonstrators, filled with revolutionary spirit. This ended with another mass rally.

While the organization of the revisionists is in the process of disintegration, our Party is growing from strength to strength.

* * *

An examination of the objective situation in Belgium can be summed up as follows: the contradictions of the capitalist world are shaking Belgium, and the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism is particularly marked there.

The crisis of capitalism in Belgium is reflected in the crisis of the bourgeois parties, including the Socialist Party.

The working class of our country has more than once demonstrated its militancy.

Now it is up to us to fulfil our vanguard role.

But we must ceaselessly raise the level of the struggle of the working class, of the labouring masses.

It is also necessary to contribute actively to the international class struggle which is developing victoriously and on an ever wider scale.

The struggle of the working class and the labouring masses in our country is part of the world revolutionary struggle.

In order to determine correctly the strategy and tactics of the working class, it is necessary to base ourselves on an analysis of the concrete situation in our country and also on an exact estimate of the world political and economic situation.

The question now is to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the general line of the international communist movement to Belgium's concrete conditions.

For the objectives of the activities of the working class and labouring masses to be valid, account must be taken of the fact that the present situation in Belgium is conditioned by its subjugation to U.S. imperialism. The Lefevre-Spaak government, as we have said before, is an instrument of the most reactionary stratum of finance capital and is the lackey of American imperialism.

* * *

Our Central Committee has defined the Party's present programme of action in ten points. This programme gives the precise objectives of the struggle on all fronts and we can sum them up as follows:

— the general programme of demands of the working class; defence of democratic liberties with stress on the repeal of the anti-strike laws; realization of self-

determination for the two peoples and of the three communities on a basis of federalism; disbandment of fascist organizations.

— the struggles to prevent world war; against imperialist aggression; against the nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail by the imperialists; for the total prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and for active proletarian internationalism.

— solidarity with the socialist camp as a whole and with every socialist country in particular; solidarity with the revolutionary movements of national liberation, and with the peoples of the Congo and Viet Nam in particular; we must keep Lenin's words firmly in mind:

The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would indeed be a mere deception if complete and close unity did not exist between the workers fighting against capital in Europe and America and the hundreds and hundreds of millions of "colonial" slaves who are oppressed by that capital.

— solidarity with the working people of other countries, and particularly with the peoples of Spain and Portugal who are struggling against bloody fascist dictatorships;

— the struggle for national independence, for liberation from the U.S. yoke: "Quit NATO!"

* * *

Our activity as the revolutionary vanguard party must signify that the working class, through its day-to-day struggles, must prepare to accomplish its historic task: the socialist revolution.

These day-to-day struggles would be just a hoax if the Marxist-Leninist vanguard failed to make more and more members of the working class and the labouring masses realize the necessity of socialist revolution and the necessity to prepare for the socialist revolution.

* * *

Our Party is responsible to the working class of our country and also to the whole international communist and the workers' movement.

Our stand in the present great debate is clear.

On one side is the scientific socialist point of view and method, that is, Marxism-Leninism;

On the other side is the revision of Marxist-Leninist principles, the betrayal of the revolutionary essence of scientific socialism, that is, revisionism, capitulation to imperialism and to penetration by bourgeois ideology.

TO OUR READERS: In our last issue, between the 4th and 5th paragraphs in the right-hand column on P. 20, the following paragraph should be added: "The revisionists have gone even further: they condemn violent revolution under pretext that envisaging the possibility of violent revolution would endanger peaceful transition. This is to deliver the working class, bound hand and foot, disarmed ideologically, politically and organizationally, to bourgeois domination."

Our stand in the present debate is unequivocal: We have been, we are and will always be on the side of the revolutionary forces of Marxism-Leninism.

We are with the Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties.

We support the Marxist-Leninist comrades who are suffering attack within those Parties controlled for the time being by revisionists.

Our action is guided by the principle: "Unite, Marxist-Leninists!"

We can already say that the majority of the Communists of the world are taking a resolute Marxist-Leninist stand.

We firmly believe that even in those Parties dominated by the revisionists, most of the militants, when they find out the facts and if they are able to express their own opinions, will reject revisionism. It could not be otherwise, because when a worker becomes a Communist he does so not to betray the cause of the working class and socialist revolution, but for the triumph of the cause of the working class!

We should spare no effort to restore the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the only basis on which unity can genuinely be achieved!

The Chinese Communist Party's proposals concerning the general line of the international communist

movement and the correct stand of your Party in the debate constitute an inestimable contribution in this respect.

It is futile for the leaders of revisionism to aggravate and intensify their divisive manoeuvres.

We are living in the era of the victory of socialist revolution throughout the world.

The present debate within the international communist movement will certainly result in the victory of Marxism-Leninism.

The international communist movement will emerge strengthened from this debate to lead the working class and all the oppressed and exploited to final victory!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party and its Central Committee!

Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Onward to new revolutionary victories!

Onward to new victories for the revolutionary national-liberation movement!

Onward to new victories for the socialist revolution throughout the world!

Long live the fraternal unity of the Marxist-Leninists of the world!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

China's State-Owned Industrial Enterprises — Their Nature and Tasks

by MA WEN-KUEI

THE social character of a modern industrial enterprise is determined by the nature of ownership of its means of production. The specific nature of the ownership of the means of production determines the specific nature of the relations between men in the process of production and labour and in distribution.

Ownership by the Whole People Must Be Preserved

There is a world of difference between a socialist and capitalist industrial enterprise. The fundamental difference lies in the fact that in the former a socialist revolution has been effected in the ownership of the means of production. It also lies in the fact that a socialist industrial enterprise is operated in a revolutionary spirit, i.e., it is a modern and at the same time a revolutionary enterprise.

China's state-owned industrial enterprises are socialist in nature, being economic organizations owned by the whole people and forming an organic part of the national economy. Whether they are enterprises under the management of the central authorities or are run by local authorities, they all belong to the socialist state and are productive units in the economic sector owned by the whole people, i.e., the state sector. At the same time, these enterprises operate independently and keep their own independent business accounts.

What then are the chief manifestations of ownership by the whole people in a socialist, state-owned industrial enterprise?

Firstly, its means of production — machinery, equipment, buildings, raw and other materials, land and mines, etc. — are all owned by the state. Without an order from the state and without the approval of the higher administrative body in charge, an enterprise

must not transfer, sell or give away its means of production to another enterprise or establishment.

Secondly, it carries on production under the unified leadership of the state and according to its unified plan. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the state formulates the various principles and policies guiding the production and operation of the enterprises; works out their plans; lays down major regulations and systems of work; and directly appoints the leading administrative personnel of these enterprises.

Thirdly, its products belong to the state which alone handles the distribution and allocation of these products. It must market its products strictly in accordance with the allocation plans and prices fixed by the state; and it must not dispose of the products it manufactures without authorization.

Fourthly, it must pay taxes to the state according to regulations; besides laying aside according to state regulations a small portion as a bonus, it must hand in the larger part of its profits to the state as part of state revenues to meet overall state expenditures.

Fifthly, the wage scale and grading system for its workers and staff members are fixed by the state on the basis of the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work."

These five aspects are inter-related and interact on one another. Impairment of any of the five will weaken or even upset the exercise of ownership by the whole people. But, as the socialist state owns the means of production, the unified planning of production in an enterprise by the state and the state's unified distribution of its products is the most important and decisive factor. Without this, ownership by the whole people is just so much empty talk.

Ownership by the whole people of state-owned industrial enterprises conforms to the nature of modern industrial production which is highly social. Because it is owned by the whole people, a state-owned socialist industrial enterprise carries on production under the centralized leadership and unified planning of the state. This makes it possible for the national economy to develop in a planned and proportionate way, and for the productive activities of an industrial enterprise to proceed in the most rational and effective way in the interests of the whole people and in accordance with the needs of society. This is the essential characteristic which makes a state-owned socialist industrial enterprise far superior to a capitalist enterprise.

In any department, locality or enterprise, production must be organized strictly in accordance with the state's unified policy, plan, regulations and systems of work. They must not violate the state's unified regulations by arbitrarily using up or disposing the means of production and the products of an enterprise. Otherwise, ownership by the whole people will be weakened or impaired and there may arise the danger of its being changed into ownership by a department, by a locality or a single unit; there would thus be the danger of a

socialist economy degenerating into a capitalist economy. Lenin rightly said: "Any move, direct or indirect, to legalize the ownership of their respective production by workers in a particular factory or of a particular trade, or to legalize their right to weaken or obstruct the carrying out of the order of the state power is the greatest distortion of the fundamental principle of Soviet power and a complete abandonment of socialism."¹ We must, therefore, at all times and under all circumstances, resolutely preserve ownership by the whole people in state-owned, socialist industrial enterprises and wage an uncompromising struggle against all that weakens or impairs it.

Relative Independence of State-Owned Enterprises

But does this mean that such an enterprise does not have a certain degree of independence?

Of course not.

As we said before, in China a state-owned industrial enterprise is a unit in the economic sector owned by the whole people which operates independently and keeps its own business accounts. It, therefore, maintains a certain degree of independence under the centralized leadership and unified planning of the state. This independence is manifested mainly in the following ways:

Firstly, such an enterprise has the right to use the fixed and circulating capital put at its disposal by the state; it engages in production according to the state plan and keeps its independent business accounts.

Secondly, it has the power to sign economic contracts with other enterprises and the obligation to fulfil them strictly; it also has the right to ask enterprises or establishments associated with it to do the same. In economic dealings with other enterprises or establishments it is a qualified legal person.

Thirdly, it has the right to arrange credits and loans with the state bank and open its own account in a bank for financial transactions.

Fourthly, once the enterprise's plan is finally approved, and it finds it has surplus capacity, if the materials it needs for extra production can be obtained locally or supplied by other establishments, subject to the approval of the higher administrative body in charge, it may accept local orders or orders from other establishments within that capacity provided (a) it undertakes to fulfil its tasks under the state plan, (b) it does not use the materials allocated to it by the state according to the state plan, and (c) it adheres to the principle of exchanges of equal values.

Fifthly, after meeting the advanced and rational norms of raw and other materials and fuel consump-

¹Lenin, "On the Democratic System and the Socialist Nature of Soviet Power," [1918] Published in *Pravda*, April 22, 1957.

tion, it may, in accordance with state regulations, exchange what excess raw and other materials and fuel it has saved up with other establishments and enterprises in order to increase the production of the goods called for by the state plan. It must not, however, exchange such materials for consumer goods.

Sixthly, it has the right to make use of the bonus given it by the state to improve the working and living conditions of its workers and staff members.

It must be pointed out that the actual, concrete content of the independence enjoyed by these industrial enterprises is not invariable. It inevitably differs because the political and economic tasks facing the state as well as the specific conditions vary in different periods. However, at all times and under all conditions, the independence of a state-owned industrial enterprise is based on ownership by the whole people, and is conditional and relative. In other words, the independent running of an enterprise is conditioned at all times by the fact that it must subject itself to the centralized leadership of the state and the state's unified plan.

This restraint imposed on the independence of industrial enterprises owned by the whole people in no way fetters the enthusiasm and initiative of the personnel of such industrial enterprises; on the contrary, it creates extremely favourable conditions for them to bring their enthusiasm and initiative into full play.

A capitalist industrial enterprise is the private property of a capitalist and is entirely under his personal control. In this sense, a capitalist industrial enterprise seems to be completely independent. But this independence based on private ownership of the means of production makes it utterly impossible for it to organize production consciously according to the laws of development of social production. It is impossible for a capitalist to know exactly what society needs and the amount it needs; he can only arrange production in the light of the spontaneous fluctuations on the market. Therefore, productive activities in a capitalist industrial enterprise are bound to be upset by periodic economic crises; it is constantly under the threat of bankruptcy or business failure. So, although a capitalist industrial enterprise seems to be entirely independent, it is in fact at the mercy of the spontaneous forces in society and is doomed to passivity.

In contrast to capitalist enterprises, the independent operation of socialist, state-owned enterprises is conditioned by centralized leadership and the unified state plan. This makes it possible for such an enterprise to make arrangements consciously for production according to the needs of society with its products assured of a vast and steady market, and receive a planned and steady supply of various raw and other materials from other enterprises or establishments. This leaves ample room for a socialist, state-owned industrial enterprise to bring its initiative and enthusiasm into full play. Centralized state leadership and unified state planning are the most important requisites for an

enterprise to operate really effectively and independently and give full play to its initiative.

When we say the independence of a socialist, state-owned industrial enterprise is relative and conditional — does this mean that that independence is insignificant and dispensable?

Of course not.

That independence plays an important part in bringing the enthusiasm and initiative of the personnel of an enterprise into full play. This is because modern industrial production entails a complex system of social division of labour embracing tens of thousands of enterprises. On the one hand, there are close links between these enterprises and so society must have a unified plan and make arrangements for their production. On the other hand, each enterprise, being a basic link in the social division of labour, has its own independent production process, its own special production features, and its own technological, economic and natural conditions. Thus, in order to enable every enterprise to play its part in the organism of social production, every link in the chain of social division of labour to play its part, we must recognize their objectively independent nature, provide them with certain necessary conditions and grant them a certain degree of authority so as to make it possible for them to bring their initiative and enthusiasm into play and solve correctly and in timely fashion the problems that constantly crop up in the course of production, problems which an enterprise must and can solve.

On the contrary, if the enterprises do not have the necessary degree of independence, if all details of production and management are handled and solved directly by the state, this will inevitably bind them down and the principle of unified leadership and management at different levels will not be correctly applied in the nation's economic life. This would be inimical to the rapid development of socialist economy. Besides, in actual life, it is also impossible for the state to provide a direct solution to the many concrete problems which arise in every enterprise.

Handling Contradictions Between The State and Enterprises

Thus, we have centralized leadership and unified state planning as well as the independent running of enterprises. The two help each other, supplement each other and promote each other. To separate the two processes mechanically and regard them as being entirely opposed to each other and mutually exclusive is metaphysical and wrong.

This, course, does not mean that there are no contradictions between the two; on the contrary, contradictions between them objectively exist and will continuously intrude. Such contradictions, however, are not antagonistic in nature and can be resolved under the socialist system. It is our task to handle these contradictions consciously and correctly deal with relations between the state and enterprises. If we can correctly

integrate centralized leadership and unified state planning with the independent running of enterprises in the light of needs at different periods and under different conditions, we will be able to resolve contradictions in this field relatively smoothly and promote the development of industrial production with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

But what is the correct way of handling relations between the state and enterprises owned by the whole people?

As experience in our country shows, in order to handle correctly the relations between the state and such an enterprise, the former must prescribe for the latter what to produce and determine the scale of production, set the amount of its fixed and circulating capital, decide the size of its labour force and its organizational form, fix consumption norms for the principal raw and other materials, fuel, power and tools, find sources of supply for it, and define its relations of co-ordination with other enterprises so that the given enterprise does not have to worry about all these things and can devote itself to production and carry on production successfully.

At the same time, the responsibilities of an enterprise to the state must be well defined. As required by the state, it must undertake to fulfil the state plan specifying the variety, quality and quantity of its output; not to overspend the total wages fund set by the state; to produce at planned cost and do its best to lower costs; to hand over profits to the state according to plan; and see to it that its principal equipment lasts out the prescribed time. When an enterprise has fulfilled its responsibilities to the state, it is entitled to deduct as its bonus fund a prescribed portion of the profits due to be handed over to the state. The amount so deducted depends on how well it fulfils its tasks. If an enterprise fails to fulfil its tasks and its responsibilities to the state, it will get no bonus.

This correct way of handling relations between the state and enterprises will strengthen the state's centralized leadership over the enterprises and its unified planning for these enterprises, create the necessary conditions for industrial enterprises to run their affairs independently and thereby enable them to rely on their workers and staff still better, and in every way fulfil and overfulfil the state plan.

Tasks of State-Owned Enterprises

The fundamental tasks of an industrial enterprise are determined by its social character.

In his book *Economic and Financial Problems* Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote:

In a factory, the activities of the administration, of the Party branch and of the trade union, must be unified for a common goal, namely, to produce as great an output as possible, of the best possible quality, at as low a cost as possible (in raw

materials, tools, and other expenses) and to market this output as quickly as possible on the most favourable terms that can be got. This task—of achieving low costs, good quality and quick sales—is the common task of the trinity of the administration, Party branch and trade union.

In other words, every industrial enterprise must, under the state's centralized leadership and unified planning, produce as great an output as it can of goods of the highest possible quality and lower costs as much as possible to accumulate funds for the state. All-round fulfilment and overfulfilment of the state plan, the increased output of social products and increased socialist accumulation—these are the fundamental tasks of socialist, state-owned industrial enterprises.

The fundamental task of these enterprises is in the first place to increase the social product as laid down by the state plan to meet the needs of society. A capitalist industrial enterprise also produces industrial goods, but its aim is to make a profit and not to meet the needs of society. Here producing goods is merely a means of the capitalist to make a profit. In contrast with a capitalist industrial enterprise, a socialist enterprise must follow the basic principle of "ensuring supplies through the development of the economy" as put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and producing industrial goods according to the needs of society.

Under the socialist system, the needs of society for industrial goods are met by production through division of labour and co-ordination of the activities of various industrial enterprises organized by the state in a planned way. The production plan which the state lays down for every enterprise reflects the social demand for goods which production in that enterprise is to meet. Thus, so far as an individual enterprise is concerned, whether or not it has fulfilled its task can best be judged by whether or not it has fulfilled the plan laid down by the state.

The fundamental task of a socialist industrial enterprise, however, is not merely to fulfil satisfactorily the production plan laid down by the state; it must also satisfactorily fulfil the quota of profit set by the state. A socialist enterprise does not rule out profit-making. On the contrary, under centralized leadership and unified state planning, it must, by working hard and practising economy, give earnest attention to profit-making, and strive to fulfil and overfulfil the task of making profits for the state as it is entrusted to do by the state so as to help expand socialist accumulation.

Profits from enterprises are an important source for the accumulation of funds for socialist construction. The success or failure of an enterprise to make a profit and fulfil the quota of profit set by the state directly affects the state's financial revenue and has a bearing on the scale and tempo of expanded socialist reproduction. At the same time, profits from enterprises are also a source from which the various common needs of society are supplied. For instance, the need to pay wages to workers and staff members in non-productive depart-

ments, payments for the state's administrative and national defence expenditure, appropriations for necessary reserves and various public welfare funds—all these are necessary expenses if socialist construction and social life are to be carried on normally. As far as an enterprise is concerned, profit is also an important indication of labour productivity and managerial ability. Therefore, whether or not a socialist industrial enterprise fulfils the task of increasing socialist accumulation is another necessary indication as to whether it has fulfilled its tasks in an all-round way.

Of course, production in a socialist industrial enterprise must not be regulated spontaneously by profit. To regard profit-making as the sole task of an enterprise, to encourage and leave it free to seek profit by all means possible and without adhering to the state plan and considering social needs—these are incompatible with the nature of a socialist industrial enterprise.

A socialist industrial enterprise is not only a place where industrial goods are turned out but also a school for fostering new, communist-minded people. It is superior to a capitalist enterprise not only because its ownership is entirely different but also because the mentality of its workers and staff members too is entirely different. A modern, socialist enterprise is a combination of modern technology and revolutionary spirit. In a socialist enterprise, all-round fulfilment of its task with greater, faster, better and more economical results is ensured by revolutionizing men's mind, revolutionizing the managerial body of the enterprise and revolutionizing the modern enterprise as a whole—that is, stirring up a revolutionary spirit among the mass of workers and staff members. To do this, it is necessary to put politics in command, to do ideological and political work well and arm its cadres and workers with Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung.

红旗
HONGQI

The Degeneration of the Yugoslav Economy Owned by the Whole People

by SHIH TUNG-HSIANG

Following is the third and concluding instalment of a translation of an article published in the May 23 (No. 10) issue of "Hongqi." The first and second instalments appeared in the two previous issues of "Peking Review."—Ed.

V

"Public Ownership" in Name, State Capitalism in Fact

The Tito clique declares that with the introduction of "workers' self-government" in its enterprises state ownership has been transformed into "public ownership" and "direct social possession," which is, according to it, "a higher form of socialist ownership."

The Tito group also claims that in these "publicly owned" enterprises "the producer becomes the mainstay of the social function of management of production, and at the same time an active participant in the function of distribution of the social products. As a political power the state has less and less to do with direct production."⁴²

All these are, of course, lies from beginning to end.

⁴² The Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

First, as revealed by the material and analysis discussed above, the social functions of production management and distribution of social products are wholly in the hands of the managers of the enterprises. These managers, in the words of the Tito clique, "appear in the capacity of a 'state' factor."⁴³

Secondly, the managers are nominally engaged by the "workers' councils" of the enterprises, but in fact they cannot be appointed without the approval of the local government. The "workers' councils" may sometimes request the removal of a manager from office but it is the local government alone that makes the effective decision.

Thirdly, the Tito clique, on the one hand, dresses up those enterprises where the managers, under the direct control of the regime, are absolute bosses, as establishments operated under the independent management of "working collectives." It calls them "social property" and not "the property of juridical owners, but of producers and managers who directly and collectively use it."⁴⁴ On the other hand, the laws of the

⁴³ Markovic, *Development of Economic Relations in Yugoslavia*, New Culture Publishing House, Belgrade, 1957.

⁴⁴ Bogdan Osolnik, "Yugoslav Reality and Chinese Policy," *Komunist*, Nov. 7, 1963.

Tito clique lay it down in barefaced terms that the state is entitled to grab through taxation and collection of interest the lion's share of the surplus value created by the workers. A survey of 50 per cent of the industrial establishments in Zagreb, for example, reveals that the Tito group took away 79.5 per cent of the net output value of these enterprises in the first half of 1963 in taxes and interest.⁴⁵

Fourthly, on the one hand, the Tito clique promises the workers of these enterprises the right to distribute by themselves a part of the funds accumulated by their enterprises through the payment of "bonuses" and "awards." They declare that the producers and the working collectives "must have the maximum of independence in . . . disposing of certain enterprise funds."⁴⁶ Yet, on the other hand, it is strictly set down in the form of law, that an enterprise will be closed down by the state in the event of failure to pay taxes and interest to the Tito clique's state at the specified time and in specified amounts. In such cases, the workers get neither extra "bonuses" nor wages. And worse: they may even lose their jobs and join the ranks of the unemployed.

Fifthly, all the more important enterprises in Yugoslavia were built with the capital of the state power at various levels. Should such establishments incur deficits, they are subsidized by the state, provided they are of vital importance to the Tito clique. There are all sorts of subsidies. In addition to federal government subsidies, there are reductions of interest on fixed assets and liquid capital, cancellation of payments of income to the state, and direct and indirect subsidies sidetracked from the local funds and budget, etc.

What does all this show? It shows that Yugoslavia's "workers' self-government" enterprises are not in any sense enterprises of "public ownership" run by the "working collectives" of producers themselves, as the Tito clique alleges. They are enterprises of that clique's state ownership, in which "the representative of the means of production is still the state."⁴⁷

What then is the nature of this type of "state ownership"?

As the analysis made above shows, this is not socialist but capitalist state ownership, whether it is judged in the light of relations between enterprises or between managers and workers.

It must be pointed out specially that the degeneration of socialist state ownership in Yugoslavia into capitalist state ownership is closely linked with the extremely important fact of the degeneration of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia from a political party of the proletariat into one of the bourgeoisie, and the degeneration of the Yugoslav state power from a dictatorship of the proletariat into one of the bourgeoisie.

⁴⁵ *Rad*, April 4, 1964.

⁴⁶ The Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

⁴⁷ Miladin Vijosevic, "Characteristics of the Yugoslav Economic System," *The Economic Policies and System of Yugoslavia*, Belgrade, 1961.

For this very reason, Yugoslavia's state capitalism does not exist under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat but of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and hence is a downright capitalist economy.

While the Tito clique encourages cut-throat competition between enterprises it also stresses state control of and intervention in the economic activities of enterprises. In the eyes of the leaders of the C.P.S.U., these two aspects are mutually exclusive. They deliberately confuse the issue by emphasizing the Tito clique's state control and intervention in the economic activities of enterprises in an attempt to prove that "the positions of socialism are going from strength to strength" in Yugoslavia.

It should not be difficult for one with some knowledge of Marxist economics to expose such sophistry. For even in an ordinary capitalist society competition and state intervention are not mutually exclusive, but complementary.

The Tito clique sometimes lays emphasis on the independent operation of enterprises, at other times on unified management. These activities, in the view of the C.P.S.U. leaders, are likewise mutually exclusive. They purposely begot the issue by playing up the Tito clique's unified management and trying to prove that it has "already rectified its mistakes" and is strengthening its "planning."

Whoever really proceeds from "facts" and "actual developments" in Yugoslavia will not find it difficult to discover that the objective is inevitably to restore capitalism in Yugoslavia, no matter whether the enterprises are managed independently or in a unified way.

To put things in a nutshell, whether the Tito clique encourages rabid competition, exercises state intervention, fosters independent operation of enterprises, or tightens unified management, its aim will always be the same, namely, to wring as much surplus value as possible from the workers and grab as much profit from enterprises as possible through its agents in them.

As long as this aim is realized, even if the Yugoslav enterprises transfer "the Darwinian struggle of the individual for existence from Nature to society with intensified violence,"⁴⁸ as Engels said of capitalist society, the state of the Tito clique will not intervene.

As long as this aim is achieved, even if the managers of Yugoslav enterprises become, like the capitalists described by Marx, "vampires" thirsting for "the living blood of labour" while the workers are oppressed and impoverished, the state of the Tito clique will likewise not interfere.

Speaking of the fact that in capitalist society the bourgeois state "will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production" when free competition develops into monopoly, Engels says, "the modern state . . . is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of

⁴⁸ 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.

the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage workers — proletarians.⁴⁹

In their article, "Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?" the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* point out that in Yugoslavia "the means of production of the enterprises under 'workers' self-government' do not belong to one or more private capitalists but to the new type of bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie of Yugoslavia, which includes the bureaucrats and managers and which the Tito clique represents," and that "the Tito clique's economy of 'workers' self-government' is state capitalism of a peculiar kind." This correct conclusion is reached after making an analysis of a mass of "facts" and "actual developments" on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

VI

What Does the Tito Clique's Subservience To Imperialism Mean?

The degeneration of Yugoslavia's state power into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and the reversion of its economy owned by the whole people into a state capitalist economy of a peculiar type is interlinked with the important fact of the Tito clique's degeneration into a willing servant of U.S.-led imperialism.

The Tito clique first caught the eye of U.S. imperialism in 1948, but particularly after it helped the Greek reactionaries strangle the people's revolution in Greece in 1949. U.S. imperialism then began to buy it over, paying a handsome price. Up to January 1963 the Tito clique had received "aid" from the imperialist countries headed by the United States to the tune of \$5,460 million, of which \$3,500 million, or more than 60 per cent, was U.S. "aid."

Out of this \$3,500 million in U.S. "aid" about \$2,500 million was economic "aid." Minus the more than \$400 million given it before 1948, U.S. economic "aid" to the Tito clique between 1949 and January 1963 amounted to more than \$2,000 million. This breaks down as follows:

In the nine years between 1949 and 1957 — a total of more than \$1,000 million, averaging about \$100 million per year.

In the five years between 1958 and the beginning of 1963 — a total of over \$1,000 million, averaging about \$200 million per year.

With the publication of the modern revisionist Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1958, the growth of capitalism in Yugoslavia was

accelerated and along with this the U.S. imperialist reward to the Tito clique was greatly increased. This shows the close correlation between the Tito clique's road back to capitalism and the increase in U.S. imperialism's economic "aid" to it.

U.S. "aid" is anything but the "completely new-type" and "specially beneficial" type of economic "aid" the renegade Tito so shamelessly tries to make it out to be.

John Fisher, editor of *Harpers'* magazine let the cat out of the bag in his November 1961 letter to Hamilton, the then head of the U.S. Agency for International Development. He wrote: "I know you realize that everything America does (or doesn't do) in foreign aid is going to interfere with somebody's internal affairs. So I trust you will tie a chain on every dime and yank hard if it isn't spent in the clearly defined interests of the United States."

The U.S. imperialists yank hard at the chain of U.S. dollars around the neck of the Tito group. They forced it to conclude one traitorous treaty after another, and sign a series of agreements to sell its sovereign rights, auctioning off to U.S. imperialism Yugoslavia's independence and sovereignty wholesale. As a result they have turned Tito-ruled Yugoslavia into a U.S. imperialist dependency.

Following the sale of Yugoslavia's sovereignty by the Tito clique and the U.S. acquisition of the right to control its military, foreign and domestic affairs, including the right to make Yugoslavia adopt capitalist "free institutions," U.S. commodities and capital have been channelled into that country in an endless flow; military, intelligence and other personnel assigned to put the U.S. aggressive policy into practice have swarmed over the land; and the decadent American way of life has penetrated into every sphere of the Yugoslav community. Once in Yugoslavia, these alien monopoly capitalist forces inevitably strengthen the country's capitalist forces, and encourage them to wage a mortal struggle against the socialist forces developed at one time in Yugoslavia after World War II. As the chain of "U.S. aid" around its neck gets tighter, the Tito clique, which has invited the devil into its land, is bound to collude still more closely with the U.S. monopoly capitalist forces to step up the offensive against the socialist forces and do its best to restore capitalism in Yugoslavia.

The article "Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?" points out that state capitalism in Yugoslavia is of a comprador character, and that the new exploiting class represented by the Tito clique is not just a bureaucrat-bourgeoisie but a bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie. This statement is completely correct.

VII

What Is the Motive of the Leaders of the C.P.S.U. In Defending the Tito Clique?

In recent years the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have become the most enthusiastic

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, pp.147, 148-149.

apologists for the Tito clique. And it is the character of Yugoslavia's economy that they defend most vehemently.

What makes them do so? What is their motive, their aim?

An editorial of the *New York Times* of August 27, 1963, gives a noteworthy explanation. It says, "Yugoslavia has borrowed so many ideas from the West that it may play the role of a transmission belt, bringing Western economic ideas to the East."

It is precisely the intention of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to protect this "transmission belt." Their scheme is to lead the Soviet Union on to the Yugoslav road and confront the Soviet people with the grave danger of going back to capitalism.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have set their hearts on colluding with the Tito group. Nevertheless, they do not like to be referred to as friends of U.S. imperialist flunkeys.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have made up their minds to learn from the renegade Tito clique. Yet, they do not wish to be called students of these renegades.

Such mentality and behaviour have landed them in a most awkward predicament.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. declare that they and the Tito clique "belong to one and the same idea and

are guided by the same theory." One would like to ask: Are the "idea" and "theory" Marxist-Leninist? Or are they modern revisionist? They have openly abandoned the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and tried to cover up the Tito clique's betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, arguing that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia stands "on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. stress that it is imperative for them and the Tito group to "make a close, mutual study of their experiences." One has to query: Is this the experience in socialist construction? Or is it the experience in restoring capitalism? They do all they can to conceal the fact that capitalism has been restored in Yugoslavia and plead that the country is engaged in the "actual construction of socialism." They even praise the Tito clique's "experience" in taking its "special road" as a "concrete contribution to the general international revolutionary workers' movement."

By doing so, they imagine, they can extricate themselves from their sorry plight.

But, as shown by much experience in the past, the more the plotter prides himself on his tricks in fooling the people, the more harshly will his real features be exposed.

Such will be the fate of Khrushchov and his followers: it cannot be otherwise.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, in its statement, pointed out that the new U.S. crime showed once again that U.S. imperialism was the most ferocious enemy of the national-liberation movement of the Asian and African peoples and of world peace. It called on peace-loving people the world over to take immediate action to check U.S. aggression and war provocations in Indo-China, and urged the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference to convene a 14-nation conference as soon as possible and take effective measures to stop U.S. imperialism from playing with fire in Indo-China.

On June 17, a memorial meeting was held in Peking for Kao Yun-peng who was killed in the bombing. Vice-Premier Chen Yi and leading officials of various government departments, democratic parties and people's organizations were among the more than 1,500 people present.

Paying tribute to Kao Yun-peng, Chang Chih-hsiang, Vice-Chairman of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, said that he had devoted his youth and life to promoting cultural and economic exchange between China and Laos and to the lofty cause of defending peace in Asia and the rest of the world. "The bombing of Khang Khay by U.S. aircraft was a very serious step taken by the U.S. Government in further violation of the Geneva agreements, and an open provocation to the Chinese people," he said. "U.S. imperialism and its lackeys must shoulder full responsibility for this crime."

Lin Hai-yun, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, who also spoke, said that U.S. imperialism owed the Chinese people a new debt of blood for this wanton bombing. "The people of China and Laos will make these butchers pay for this," he declared. He pointed out that the crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists in Laos had enabled the people of the world to see more clearly that there should be no illusions about so

vicious an enemy and that the only way was to wage a blow-for-blow struggle.

Mme. Quinim Pholsena, President of the Women's Federation of Laos and widow of the late Laotian Foreign Minister who was killed by Laotian reactionaries, also spoke at the meeting. She denounced U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for their crimes in Laos and said that they must pay for this fresh atrocity. Referring to the political situation in Laos, Mme. Pholsena said: "The Laotian Government of National Union in Vientiane is now completely under the control of U.S. imperialism. Prince Souvanna Phouma himself has become an instrument of U.S. imperialism for launching war and massacring peaceful Laotians. Therefore, he has no right to continue issuing orders as premier." She demanded strict adherence to the Geneva agreements and the safeguarding of the Government of National Union formed by the three groups so as to ensure the realization of genuine peace and neutrality in Laos.

ACROSS THE LAND

Summer Harvest

REPORTS from important wheat-growing areas indicate that output is generally higher than last year. The summer harvest of wheat, barley, rapeseed, leguminous crops and early rice which has been going on in the last few weeks from the south to the far-off north still remains to be completed in the latter where hot weather comes later. These crops were sown last winter or early this spring.

Wheat harvesting has ended in the provinces of Hupeh, Anhwei and Kiangsu along the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtse River—China's chief producer of summer grain crops. Output here is generally up over 1963. On the outskirts of Shanghai there has been a more than 10 per cent increase of threshed wheat per *mu*. Anhwei Province has been reaping a better crop on a greater part of its wheatland than last year. Yields were affected by waterlogging in only a few places. In Hupeh although around 16 million *mu* of wheat was affected by prolonged rain during the flowering stage, as a result of timely drainage work by the people's communes the crop still is heavier than the previous year.

North China's major wheat area—the central Shantung plain, the Fen River valley in Shansi Province and the outskirts of Peking—has always been high yielding. This year is no exception. Even in the low-lying saline areas in the lower reaches of the Yellow River where natural calamities are frequent, most of the wheat has been doing better than 1963. This year's adequate rainfall and drainage facilities built in the last few years have helped reduce salinity. Around Peking, June found more than 140,000 workers, students, office workers and armymen going to the communes to put in a stint helping peasants gathering the wheat.

In central and south Sinkiang's Turfan Basin and Hotien experienced farmers are unanimously predicting a

fairly good harvest. And in China's granary, Szechuan Province, a better wheat, rapeseed and leguminous crop harvest has already been reaped compared to last year.

Throughout the country, following their harvests, commune members have begun selling their newly reaped grain and other crops to the state. It has already been reported that the government summer plan for rapeseed purchases was overfulfilled ahead of schedule. These are more than double last year, and oil content is higher.

Shanghai: 15 Years After Liberation

LIBERATED 15 years ago, in May 1949, Shanghai has changed with a vengeance. Following are some highlights of these changes.

Industry. Shanghai is now China's leading manufacturing city. While in the past its products were limited mainly to textiles and other consumer goods, it now boasts an almost complete industrial complex—metallurgical, machine-building, power machinery and chemical plants—along with expanded textile mills and various light industrial enterprises. The total value of heavy industry output in 1963, for example, accounted for more than half the city's total industrial output value whereas in preliberation days it amounted to only one-seventh.

Trade. A commercial metropolis, Shanghai handles trade with some 90 countries and areas. From here many of China's merchant marine ships, some built in the city's dockyards, put to sea while ships flying flags of many lands visit the port carrying cargoes to and from China. The erstwhile Sasoon House at the foot of Nanking Road, renamed the Peace Hotel, has on its ground floor a permanent exhibition centre displaying myriads of Shanghai-made goods for export.

No More Beggars. Once known as a centre of gangsterism and a city of

beggars and prostitutes, Shanghai is a socialist city which has rid itself of all the evils that capitalism and colonialism imply. Vagabonds, pickpockets, prostitutes and gamblers have mended their ways, having received job training after liberation and then employment.

Gambling was banned along with prostitution, and the notorious racecourse has been converted into a recreation park, a square, a public library and a museum. The dog track (Canidrome) and the jai-alai auditorium have been transformed into a cultural square for open air concerts and a gymnasium respectively.

Unemployment has long disappeared with the growth of production and construction. All the 670,000 jobless who registered at the time of liberation have found work.

Education and Recreation. The number of schools has greatly increased. Today one-fourth of Shanghai's population are enrolled in primary, secondary schools and universities; one-third of its workers and employees are attending spare-time schools. Shanghai has trained highly proficient medical personnel such as the young surgeon and other specialists who last year rejoined a worker's severed hand.

Public parks have increased from 14 to 54, and cinemas, theatres and entertainment centres have branched out from the downtown district to the suburbs.

Housing. Over 60 new workers' housing estates have been built in the suburbs. More than one million Shanghai residents have moved into new homes since 1949. The total floor space of new housing estates tops 7 million square metres. Most occupants of the new flats are workers and other labouring people who had to live in Shanghai's numerous slums; before liberation there were few new flats and old ones could be obtained only by paying "key money" which often amounted to hundreds of ounces of gold.

City Transport. Sixty-nine new bus and trolley bus routes have been opened. At present there are 113 lines totalling over 1,500 kilometres

which extend to all parts of the city. One of the city's main thoroughfares Nanking Road has been widened, something unthinkable in the past because of the fabulous price of privately owned space there; rickety trams no longer clang and sway along Nanking Road, having been replaced by spick-and-span trolley buses made locally.

Social Welfare. All over the city, there are creches, kindergartens, sanatoria, clinics and health-protection centres. Free medical service has been made available to workers, office employees, teachers and college students. Today they can consult a nearby doctor without walking more than a few blocks from home with the government paying all expenses.

Rural Scientific Activities

SCIENTIFIC experiments in agriculture has become widespread in the rural people's communes. The number of experimental groups in the countryside is growing. For example, in coastal Chekiang Prov-

ince more than 10,000 such groups are functioning.

Active participation by many people in agricultural experiments has led to better farming practices and higher per-mu yields. Many communes and production brigades have been bringing in high and stable yields for the past few years by making use of the findings of their scientific experimental groups. In northeast China's Kirin Province the Xinfeng Production Brigade of the Changbai People's Commune is only one of many examples. Since 1958 the brigade's 2,700 mu of paddyrice have averaged at least 700 jin per mu mainly as a result of applying methods tested and developed by its experimental group. Before 1958, without such help, the yield per mu was around 400 jin.

Generally organized by production brigades, the experimental groups are made up of cadres and veteran and young farmers. In this way leadership, experience and youthful vigour are ideally blended. The aim is to raise farming levels and crop yields by solving current production problems of a production brigade or commune. Activities are far ranging: adapting advanced farming experience from other places; developing or testing new strains of seeds; studying soil improvement, field management, methods of plant protection, proper use of chemical fertilizer, and stock-breeding.

In the course of their work scientific farming techniques are popularized at grass-roots level where they do the most good, and the groups train many skilled agricultural workers. In this atmosphere of the masses actively taking part in scientific experiments a new type of farmer,

versed in agronomy and totally convinced of the superiority of collective farming, is in the making. The spread of scientific knowledge boosts crop yields and hastens this country's technical reform of agriculture while at the same time farmers fully realize that it is collective farming which has made scientific agriculture possible and is responsible for growing prosperity in the countryside.

To promote and enlarge the contribution of the experimental groups a national conference was held in Peking recently by the Chinese Scientific and Technical Association to exchange experience gained in their work. The conference called on local Party organizations everywhere to strengthen the work of these groups, provide them with better guidance and get them to draw in more farmers in their work, and for production brigades to make fuller use of the groups.

Model Countryside Hospital

THOUSANDS of hospitals are serving China's vast countryside. Haerhtao Hospital, located in the hinterland of Liaoning Province not far from the southern border of Inner Mongolia, is one example of how rural hospitals are being built and operated.

Built in February 1962 on the site of a people's commune clinic, the 30-bed hospital with a staff of 31 has become the centre of preventive and curative health service for six communes with a population of 70,000. Before 1962, the nearest hospital serving the Haerhtao region was three rivers and 90 li of rough roads away.

From the start overall service to the peasants was the guiding policy. Construction got under way in winter when manpower and transport were not needed for farm work. The aim was to have the hospital ready when warmer weather arrived and illness is more common. It was built as economically as possible, with the whole medical staff taking part. Hospital regulations were drawn up according to the needs of the people it was to serve. For instance, there is 24-hour a day



Members of a Shensi people's commune experiment with intercropping wheat and cotton

service and during the busy farming season medical personnel go into the villages to treat the sick or work in the fields.

The hospital has been expanded and now has departments of medicine, surgery, obstetrics, Chinese traditional medicine and paediatrics, as well as a dispensary and laboratory. The original medical nucleus of four young medical college graduates has quickly familiarized itself with the more prevalent illnesses and these doctors have begun to specialize. Haerhtao Hospital is still poorly equipped by city standards, but its service is excellent. The staff has performed 150 successful operations, admitted 790 patients for bed care, saved the lives of 220 critically ill, treated 41,000 out-patients and has won the respect and confidence of the commune members.

There are thousands of rural hospitals like the one in Haerhtao which cover the country, in addition to more than 100,000 clinics run by the people's communes and their production brigades. Modern-equipped hospitals that form centres of the large-scale medical net work now serving the rural areas are found at the county level.

High-Altitude Farming

AN experimental farm station 4,500 metres above sea level has shattered the myth that crops cannot be grown in high mountain areas with a short frost-free period. Located in Phari, the highest town in the world, which is perched on the eastern slopes of the Himalayas in Tibet, experimentation began here in spring 1960, about a year after the democratic reforms—abolition of serfdom and corvée, rents and interest reduction, and distribution of land—were introduced.

That first year, potatoes, turnips and *qingke* (barley) were planted to 400 *mu* of land. The initial experiment was successful and potatoes yielded 1,000 *jin* per *mu* while barley averaged 150 *jin*. This year, Phari's fifth harvest will be gathered from 1,700 *mu* under cultivation.

Although more than enough potatoes are now grown for the town's own needs—the surplus contributes

to the food supply of Yatung County and Gyantse region, in which the town is located—experiments are still going on. More remains to be discovered about high-altitude farming here where only 140 days in the year find the temperature above 10° C., and only 70 days are free from frost. In addition to climatic problems, there are those of the soil.

Helping in the work have been scientists sent by the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Peking. In the matter of the area's susceptibility to frost, scientists have noted that Phari's weather generally is good during the crucial stage in crop growing. Other favourable factors are long hours of daily sunshine from April to August and low incidence of insect pests and plant diseases. Rising yields and expanded acreage since 1960 have pointed the way to still further developments to come.

Briefs

Two new books on acupuncture have been issued by the People's Publishing House of Shensi Province.

Sender Unknown

ONE wet evening in Shanghai, a middle-aged man wrapped in a dripping mackintosh stepped into the roadside office of Bus Route 96 and walked straight up to the clerk busily working behind his desk. The man fished out a small parcel from a shopping bag and put it on the desk. "Excuse me, may I leave this here for Comrade Hsi Lu-ping, he's a conductor on your route." The clerk, who was used to this sort of thing, nodded his assent without looking up. The man in the mackintosh thanked him and disappeared in the rain.

But when Hsi Lu-ping came in he said he knew no one who would bring him anything on a rainy night. Opening the parcel he found a fine pocket watch. With it was a note addressed to Hsi:

I read in the *Xinmin Evening News* the other day about how you gave away an heirloom, your pocket watch, to a comrade driver of yours. Yes, he needs it if he's to run his bus according to schedule.

Author Hao Chin-kai drew his material from ancient medical books, folk lore, clinical observation and the experience of post-liberation medical workers.

All 80 counties and cities in hilly Kweichow Province are now linked by highways. Total mileage is 7.4 times that of 1949. Two railways and a network of highways have been built in neighbouring Szechuan Province since 1949. This year 800 km. of new roads have been built in the hill regions of Szechuan. Work is going on to add another 700 km.

A postal and telegraph network spanning Tibet has been set up. Postal routes cover 14,500 km., about 7 times as much as at the time of the democratic reforms of 1959.

Among 1,600 projects connected with the lumber industry being built in Inner Mongolia and northeast China are 2,500 km. of forest railways and highways, chemical by-product plants, machine repair works and saw mills.

Here is a watch I bought two years ago. But since I'm using a wrist watch now, I've little use for it. Please make use of my extra watch if only to conciliate the comrade driver.

The note was unsigned. Hsi and others working on Route 96 tried to find out who sent it. But there was no clue except that the wrapping paper bore the name of a photographer's studio. Unfortunately all they could find was the name Wang when they went to the studio and checked the serial number on the wrapping with the register book and Wang is one of the most common names in the country!

As a last resort, Hsi sent off a letter to the *News*, asking to trace the "wanted man." But this only added to the quandary the *Xinmin Evening News* was already in since letters with similar requests continually pour into its editorial office. One inquiring who sent his umbrella to the Lost and Found stand, another seeking the one who picked up the 200 yuan he had lost and handed it over to a nearby traffic policeman, a third. . . .

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S. Bombs and Threats

Brinkmanship in Laos

Future historians will record U.S. deeds in this past month as one of the most shameful chapters in imperialist aggression against the Asian peoples. Since May 17, U.S. war planes have been raining bombs, napalm and rockets on peaceful towns and villages nestled on the mountainsides of Xieng Khouang Province and bringing destruction and death to Laotian civilians. These air invaders take off from U.S. bases in Laos, south Viet Nam and from carriers of the notorious U.S. 7th Fleet. They are under direct operational orders from Washington.

This cowardly crime is supposed to be part of "reconnaissance" operations agreed to by the Vientiane government. The bombing and strafing are supposed to be in retaliation against the self-defence of the Laotian patriotic forces. In fact, they are the brainchild of the recent Honolulu conference of U.S. brasshats and striped-pants and are intended to intimidate the Neo Lao Haksat and genuine neutralists who have stood firm against the reactionary Vientiane coup engineered by the United States. The reckless bombing of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission in Khang Khay was similarly an attempt to browbeat the Chinese people—to make China retreat from its principled stand of upholding the Geneva agreements and backing the Laotian people's aspirations for independence and neutrality.

The Xieng Khouang bombings are part of current U.S. brinkmanship in Indo-China. Washington is stepping up its war preparations in south Viet Nam and Thailand, in fact, throughout Southeast Asia. Brandishing the big stick, the aggressors talk tough and reject outright the proposal made by China and supported by the Viet Nam Democratic Republic, Cambodia and others for a 14-nation Geneva conference to discuss the Laotian situation. At this late hour, it is perhaps not amiss to remind the Wash-

ington pyromaniacs of what happened in Korea and Viet Nam — where similar bids by Dulles and his imitators ended in bitter defeats for the imperialists.

U.N. Intervention?

Prince Sihanouk Says No

Prince Sihanouk has condemned the United States for its latest Indo-China brinkmanship as seen in its open attempt to involve the United Nations. In a statement issued in the Mediterranean town of Grasse, the Cambodian Head of State rejected the U.S. proposal that a U.N. force patrol the borders of Cambodia and south Viet Nam. This preposterous idea was first broached by the United States at the Security Council where Cambodia had brought a complaint against the provocations by the United States on Cambodia's frontier in conjunction with its hirelings in Saigon.

Cambodia maintained, both during and after the Security Council meeting, that it would not countenance either direct or indirect intervention by the United States. Cambodia, said Prince Sihanouk before he left for his trip to southern France, does not mind visitors because it has nothing to hide. But he pointed out with reference to the U.S. proposal that if U.N. observers were to come at all, they could come to Cambodia only as tourists; the United Nations could not supplant the International Commission to control and supervise the implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Cambodia.

In the statement issued in Grasse the Prince said, "The manoeuvres of the Americans to compromise the United Nations as well as themselves in south Vietnamese affairs are dangerous to world peace and to the United Nations itself, which will be accused of playing the game of the imperialists." He also denounced the Americans for the hostile measures taken against Cambodia by their camp-followers, the so-called "Free Khmers" who are operating

from south Viet Nam. The United States, he said, is scheming against Cambodia in the same way it schemes against the Cuban Government with the "anti-Castroists taking refuge in Florida."

On June 10 Cambodia was again bombed by U.S. and south Vietnamese aircraft. Prince Sihanouk denounced Washington and its Saigon henchmen for such aggressive actions and again requested an immediate 14-nation Geneva conference to ensure respect for Cambodia's neutrality. War moves by U.S. imperialism on the borders of south Viet Nam and Cambodia have become so flagrant that both the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front have come out with strong statements condemning U.S. intervention under a U.N. mantle.

Rivonia Trial

Apartheid in the Dock

Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, leaders of the South African National Congress, and their comrades who were sentenced at the Rivonia trial to life imprisonment for opposing the apartheid policy of the Verwoerd regime have been transported to Robben Island off the coast at Cape Town. The island is a notorious concentration camp for non-white prisoners where nearly nine hundred freedom fighters, including Robert Sobukwe, President of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa, are kept behind bars.

The Verwoerd regime, bent on maintaining the detested social order which seeks to debase the great majority of the population in South Africa, has committed what world public opinion acknowledges as a judicial outrage. The "crime" for which Mandela and his colleagues were convicted was that they demanded an end to apartheid and the right of their people to live as human beings in the land of their birth.

South Africa under apartheid rule is one of the darkest places in the world today. The African people are humiliated and persecuted, arrested and murdered merely because their

skin is dark. Coated beyond endurance by the white minority government, the people of South Africa realized at last that they must answer violence with violence, moderation and reason being unavailing.

Umkonto We Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation), the militant organization, was born out of this realization. The idea of taking up arms for self-defence was highlighted in a passionate defence speech Nelson Mandela made at the Rivonia trial. "We felt," he said, "without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy." The road of armed revolution to overthrow armed fascist rule taken by the nationalist leaders since the Sharpeville massacre four years ago has set a new stage in the struggle in South Africa.

The jailing of Nelson Mandela and the other freedom fighters means that the Verwoerd regime is afraid of what they stand for. The mass struggle, now inspired by a new awakening, will go on, as declared by Oliver Tambo, Vice-President of the African National Congress, till tyranny is finally ended.

British Guiana

The Dagger Is Drawn

Out comes the dagger when other means fail. This Chinese saying is an apt description of the ugly situation in British Guiana where London, unable to subvert the national movement, has declared a "state of emergency" in an attempt to postpone independence indefinitely.

The legally elected government of Dr. Cheddi Jagan has always been a thorn in British colonialist flesh, if only for consistently championing the cause of Guiana's independence. So it has been stripped of its powers (British armed guards are now posted on all government buildings in Georgetown, the capital) and the People's Progressive Party (P.P.P.) virtually truncated by the arrest of its leading officials.

On the day the British governor assumed full emergency powers, Brindley Benn, the P.P.P.'s President who is also Vice-Premier and Minis-

ter of Agriculture, Forests and Lands in the Jagan government, was arrested and sent to a penal settlement near Bartica, 60 miles from Georgetown. Over a score of other P.P.P. members, six of them legislators, were seized at the same time. Government by the majority party has been made impossible.

Thus with the British governor's unlimited authority backed by troop reinforcements from Britain and the British-commanded police force, Whitehall has again reduced Guiana to the status of a 19th century colony pure and simple.

Cheddi Jagan's party has been elected to office three times despite heavy British and American support of Forbes Burnham's People's National Congress and Peter D'Aguiar's United Force, the opposition parties. Now to keep the P.P.P. from being returned again, the British Government has imposed "proportional representation" to give the two minority parties an unduly large number of seats in the coming election.

To clear the way for their local yes-men, the British imperialists and their Washington friends — the latter being particularly hostile to the Jagan government because of its social reforms at home and its friendship with Cuba — have also decided to destroy the Jagan government. They have stirred up racial troubles between the Indian and Negro communities and instigated "strikes" against the Government, and used these as the needed pretext to assume emergency powers and establish police rule.

But the Guianese people are determined to achieve independence. "Force, however brutally used," said Cheddi Jagan, "cannot destroy a resolute people."

New Soviet-German Treaty

Western Reaction

In contrast to Washington's warring outbursts in 1961 and earlier, when the Soviet leaders talked of signing a separate peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic and of ridding Europe of the West Berlin ulcer, the new Soviet-G.D.R. treaty of friendship, mutual

assistance and co-operation signed in Moscow on June 12 caused no misgivings in the chancelleries of Western diplomacy.

True, the U.S. State Department did reiterate its non-recognition of the G.D.R. and asserted that the Soviet Union remained bound by its "engagements" vis-a-vis the three Western powers. But that was just an expected restatement of its known stand. The general tenor of official and press comments showed that Washington was not in the least disturbed by the new move. AFP quoted official American sources as saying that Secretary of State Rusk had been informed of the treaty beforehand by the Soviet Ambassador, who indicated that it did not change the existing situation in West Berlin.

Erhard, the West German Chancellor who was in Washington, told newsmen after discussions with Johnson: "We came to the conclusion that the treaty did not contain anything alarming." Willy Brandt, Mayor of West Berlin and leader of the West German Social Democratic Party, called attention to the fact that the Soviet Union "took care that no misunderstanding should occur and informed the Western powers of its intentions in advance." He termed the treaty a "consolation prize" which "changed nothing in the status quo in Germany."

The *New York Times* editorialized that "Premier Khrushchov carefully continues to sidestep any critical confrontation with the West, as he has since Cuba. The new treaty is not the separate 'peace treaty' he had threatened to conclude in a move to drive the Western powers out of Berlin." *Der Tagesspiegel*, a West Berlin daily, held that the treaty signified that the Soviet Union had given up the idea that it could force the West to sign a German peace treaty according to its wishes. Commenting on Khrushchov's "unprecedented step" of advance notice to the West, the London *Daily Sketch* wrote: "The British Government believes he did so to make it clear that he did not want to open up any new crisis with the West over Berlin and Germany. In other words, the treaty is designed purely for internal Soviet bloc reasons."

FOLK ARTISTS

Peasant Woman's Exhibition

An exhibition of more than a hundred works by a 64-year-old peasant woman has been held in the city of Hangchow famed for its West Lake. The artist Kao Miao-lan, now a member of a rural people's commune in Chekiang, was born in a peasant home so poor that she was sold as a child-bride. She had to do all the heaviest household and farm work for her new family. Fortunately she had learnt to make paper cutouts in traditional village folk art style early in her childhood and so was able to make a bit of extra income by peddling her papercut designs—patterns for embroidery on cloth shoes or slippers—or rag dolls of opera characters. Widowed at 38 and all alone, she thereafter supported herself solely on her earnings from her art work.

The land reform after liberation gave her land and a house. At 52, she joined a village school for adult illiterates and after a few years, learnt the rudiments of reading and writing. Out of the gratitude of her heart for the new life, in 1955 she made a number of opera dolls, squirrels, deer and other animals out of cloth and sent them as her personal gift to Chairman Mao in Peking.

In 1958 during the big leap forward, along with many other peasants she became interested in painting. In the six years since then, she has painted over 2,000 works. Now

retired from farm work she is well provided for by the commune and has ample time to devote to her hobby.

Kao Miao-lan's traditional Chinese paintings, New Year pictures, papercuts and cartoons give vivid expression to the joy she finds in life. The men or women, old or young, she paints or cuts with a disarming simplicity and directness, are peasants who are happy, spirited and revelling in their work. They are painted in bright contrasting colours and have a strong folk flavour—the costumes of her peasant women, her landscapes and birds and animals are clearly evolved out of

her work in papercuts. Some of her best work have been collected in such widely sold art albums as the *Collection of Contemporary Chinese Paintings* and the *Collection of Art Works by Workers, Peasants and Soldiers of East China* published by the Shanghai People's Art Publishing House.

Her Hangchow exhibition sponsored by the Chekiang branch of the Union of Chinese Artists was her



Planting Bamboo

Painting in ink and colour by Kao Miao-lan

first individual showing. Famous traditional-style painter Pan Tien-shou, chairman of the branch, particularly praised her work for the new ideas they express through traditional folk media.

Shensi Peasants' New Works

An exhibition of new work by local peasant artists attracted crowds of fellow farmers and town dwellers in the county town of Huhshien in Shensi Province. The 174 paintings and picture story illustrations shown by the county cultural centre were by 82 peasants. These were chosen from a total of 420 paintings and 514 complete sets of picture stories submitted. Rural themes naturally predominated. A painting that was particularly well liked by visitors was *Opening a Ditch* by Wei Chung-fu, a member of the Xinzhai Production Brigade of the Pangguang People's Commune. It shows sturdy peas-



Ploughing by Tractor

Papercut by Kao Miao-lan

ants, men and women, opening up a ditch in the commune fields. The main group of figures is hard at it, working with cheerful spirits for the future; two younger women, pausing from their work, are exchanging a word in private. Like this painting, all the exhibits have a spirit of great virility.

The exhibition is one of several held here annually. Huhsien County has 460 peasants who are keen amateur artists, painters and illustrators. Most of them took up art after 1958 when the big leap forward not only gave wings to their energies in productive work but also confidence to challenge the arts. A Wangchan People's Commune production brigade formerly had only one person, an ex-landlord, who knew how to paint. Since 1959, more and more of its members have taken to the arts. One, a young farmer Tu Chih-lien, a poor farmhand in the old days, has become particularly well known for his paintings of the new countryside and its people. Guided by the cultural centre and professional artists he has now produced over 400 works. Practically every household in his village has a New Year picture, a door- or window-picture, or a water-colour painting done by him.

Handicraftsmen Honoured

The 65th anniversaries of the working life of a 79-year-old and two octogenarian craftsmen were celebrated in Soochow, handicraft city of east China. Two hundred folk artists, painters and poets attended a party given in their honour.

Beaming 81-year-old embroideress Chin Ching-fen told visitors about her latest work, scenes from the classical play *The Western Chamber*. She plans to finish six more panels in the next two years. Chin Ching-fen is well known for her skill and delicate touch in embroidering human figures. Outstanding among her works are the twelve beauties from the classical novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* which she completed in 1962.

Shen Chin-shui, 81 years old, is an exponent of the ancient art of weaving silk tapestries. He is particularly skilled in bird and flower pieces which give an impression of being three dimensional. Seventy-nine-year-old Kung Fu-chi's specialty is delicate poker work. Using a heated iron tool he burns human figures, flowers, landscapes and other designs into the wood of fan ribs, combs and furniture. He does his pictures in traditional style without any preliminary drawing. The works of all three were shown and greatly admired at the party.

Before liberation these folk artists were ignored and scorned. Chin Ching-fen was forced to give up embroidery and become a maid in Shanghai. Kung became a street sweeper in Nanking. After liberation, they were sought out by the People's Government and returned to their specialities. All three are now either People's Deputies or members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference at city or provincial level. Chin Ching-fen is also Vice-Director of the Soochow Embroidery Research Institute.

ARCHAEOLOGY

2,000-Year-Old City Found

Archaeologists have found the site of the lost city of Chunan that flourished nearly 2,000 years ago. The discovery was made, thanks to clues given by alert members of a rural people's commune, in Yingkow County, Liaoning Province, in north-east China.

The *Han Dynasty History* and the *Commentary to the Canon of Rivers*, a famous 6th century work, describe this city as existing during the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-24 A.D.) at the place where at that time the Liao River flowed into the sea. Since those days, however, the topography of the area has changed and its exact location has remained a mystery for more than a thousand years. Now the remains of Chunan

have been found under the northern slope of the Yingshoukou Village on the lands of the Tangchi People's Commune.

The walls of the city are destroyed, but their foundations, forming a square about 800 metres in circumference, are still discernible. Two high terraces inside the walls mark the sites of buildings. Building materials and everyday household utensils have been found scattered over the terraces. They include a piece of pottery painted with a lively fish design. Many brick tombs of the Han Dynasty have also been found near by.

Ancient Export Chinaware

Porcelainware made for export in the Sung (960-1279), Yuan (1279-1368) and Ming (1368-1644) Dynasties have been discovered in Fukien Province. Archaeologists of Amoy University's Museum of Anthropology found them while investigating old porcelain kilns in the Chutungkung area in Tehua County and the Tzutsao area in Tsinchiang County.

In Tehua County, they found *xi* (an ancient type of water container), bowls, cups, plates, small boxes for holding seals, spoons, high-stemmed saucers, and animal and human figurines. These were fired with glazes of cream, bluish-white or blue and white. Experts say most were made in the Ming and Ching Dynasties and some earlier, in the Sung.

Porcelain relics found in the Tzutsao area include *jun chi* (a kind of water bottle carried around in olden times by itinerant Buddhist monks), bottles, pots, jugs, bowls and animal figurines with celadon, black or green glaze. From their shapes and other characteristics, they are judged to be relics of the Sung and Yuan periods.

In the past, frequent finds of *jun chi* have been made in Southeast Asia, but it was not known when or where they were produced. After comparing them with the new finds, experts are now fairly certain that many of them came from the Tzutsao kilns in the Sung and Yuan periods.

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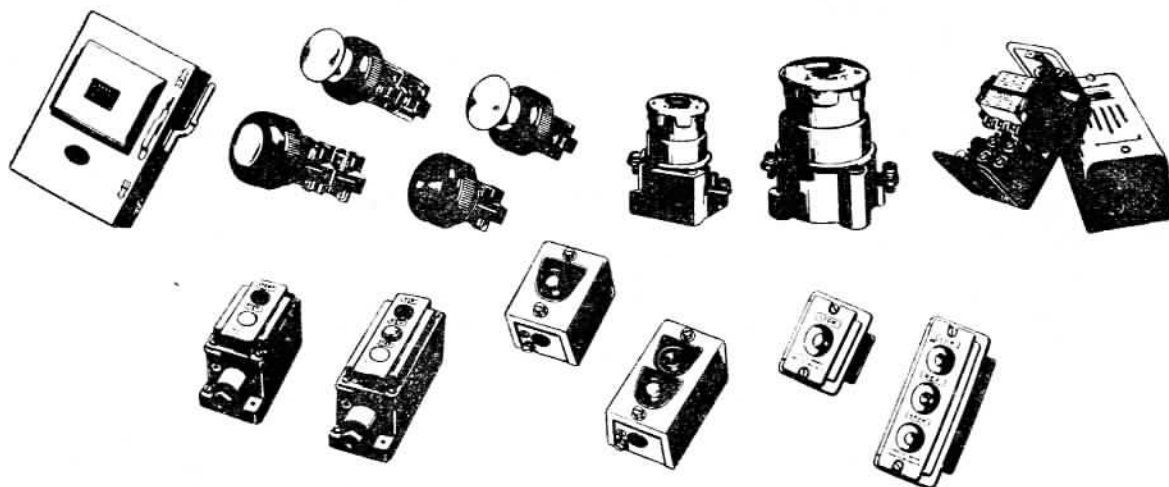
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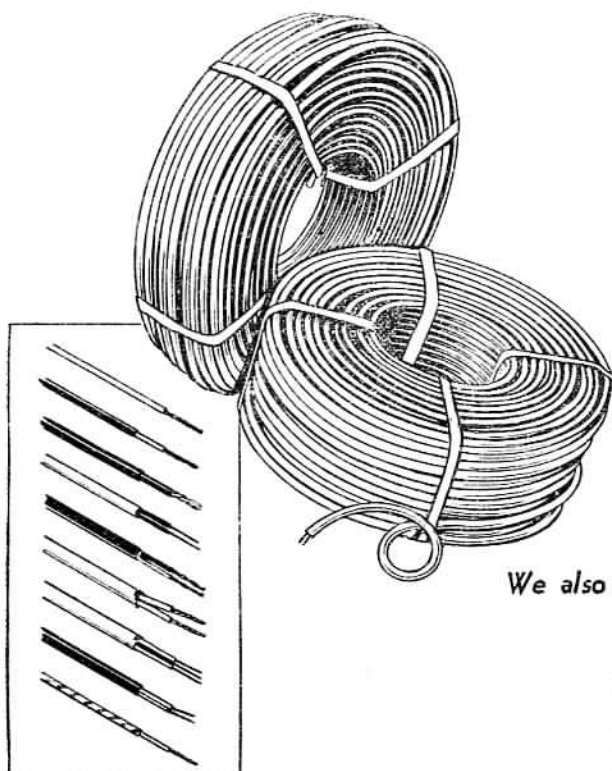
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