

# PEKING REVIEW

21

May 26, 1961

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*Cultural Relics and Other Features*

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS



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May 26, 1961 Vol. IV No. 21

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## ROUND THE WEEK

### Small Fry Come of Age

The simultaneous development of big as well as medium-sized and small enterprises is paying bigger and bigger dividends. This is one of the well-known "walking on two legs" policies that guide construction in the country. The large number of small iron and steel plants, chemical works, cement factories, mines and factories of all sorts that were born two or three years ago have been growing steadily and undergoing a process of technical metamorphosis. Some of the small ones have matured into modern medium-sized plants; some, clusters of small ones, have grown into industrial bases of a considerable size. These "guerrillas," as people call them, have become a powerful aide to the "regulars," the nation's industrial giants.

The latest news is from the small coal and iron-ore mines in various parts of the country which have been raising their technical level step by step.

In Hopei Province, north China, more than 240 pairs of small coal shafts have systematically introduced a number of technical improvements since last year. The adoption of better coal cutting and conveying equipment and other devices introduced by the miners themselves, helped to raise output by 50 per cent. In Kiangsu, east China, where baby-sized coalmines account for one-third of the province's total coal output, 30 small coal pits are being technically transformed. The stress is on better ventilation, drainage and hoisting facilities.

Production in 89 pairs of small coal shafts in the east coast province of Shantung has either been mechanized or semi-mechanized. Technical improvements are also being made in other coalmines with special attention to tunnelling and extraction methods. These technical changes have increased the capacity of the shafts by 100 to 200 per cent. A marked increase in daily output is also reported in the 20 small coalmines in Szechuan Province which completed similar technical

improvements in the first quarter of this year.

Technical improvements have also been taking place in the small iron mines that spread throughout the country.

Nineteen small iron mines which are the chief suppliers for about a dozen local steel enterprises in Szechuan are now being improved technically. When the transformation is completed, these mines are expected to double their present output.

Many small iron mines in Shantung have adopted mechanized devices for tunnelling and ore crushing. New drainage, hoisting and lighting equipment has been added and light railways built for short hauls.

While the small mines of other provinces are growing up technically, Heilungkiang, up in the northeast, is energetically building a fresh group of small coalmines. These include nine pairs of shafts and three open cast mines. The completion of these will considerably increase Heilungkiang's coal output and serve to even out still more the distribution of coal industry in that province.

Introduced in the spirit of the general line for building socialism, the extensive building of small and medium-sized industrial enterprises, using both modern and indigenous methods of production, has proved to be highly effective. It speeds up the tempo of general industrial development, rapidly strengthens weak links in the national economy, helps bring about a more rational distribution of industry in the country and trains large numbers of skilled workers. As time goes on we will certainly be hearing more from these small fry.

### New Boom in Handicrafts

The current campaign for better quality and a wider range of products is sweeping through virtually every field of work. One of the most welcome results of it is the appearance on the market of an increasing variety of fine handicraft goods. Signs of growing prosperity are reported in almost all handicraft centres in the

country. Last week word came from Chekiang Province along the east coast that in the first quarter of the year, the nimble-fingered craftsmen of Wenchow, Ningpo and Hangchow had added 106 new varieties to their long list of art handicrafts. There has been a general rise in quality too. Popular items like Hangchow's silk parasols, wood carvings, sandalwood fans and scissors are of better quality than ever before.

In Szechuan, southwest China, handicraftsmen are stepping up their production of such famous products as brocade, pottery, porcelain, lacquer and bambooware. Szechuan brocade has a history of 2,000 years. Its output so far this year has increased by 25 per cent compared with the same period of last year. More than 70 new designs have been introduced including some intricate landscape patterns. Pottery workers have turned out many new coloured designs based on folk art patterns discovered by veteran craftsmen on recent special tours of the countryside.

Wenchow, a handicraft centre in Chekiang, where about 10 per cent of the population are engaged in one handicraft or another, is a typical site of the new boom in handicrafts. Practically every lane and street in the city has its handicraft production. Wenchow umbrellas, abacuses, silk dresses, cross-stitch table cloths, painted bamboo curtains and wood carvings enjoy a perennial popularity both on the domestic and foreign markets. These handicraft arts have been enriched by generations of master craftsmen. Wenchow's handicraftsmen started making umbrellas some 400 years ago and their women-folk have been producing cross-stitch

table cloths for more than 300 years. Their products are noted not only for their fine craftsmanship but the quality of the materials used. To make a fine Wenchow umbrella, for instance, 107 separate pieces of various materials are needed. Wenchow's handicraftsmen are setting the pace today in the campaign for more and better products.

### Picking "Housekeepers"

A good number of rural people's communes are currently holding their regular elections of managerial staff. Realizing how much having good "housekeepers" means to the welfare of the commune, members carefully discuss their choice of administrators. As one old granny in Guyuan People's Commune in Shantung puts it: "We pick our managers with the same care we pick our sons-in-law. This business affects the whole commune."

In the Chengmen Production Brigade of Jinsha People's Commune, Fukien Province, election meetings saw a turn-out of 95 per cent of the membership. They debated the strong and weak points of each candidate exhaustively, sometimes before they cast their vote raising fresh points again and again even after the discussion was declared "closed." In electing the leader of the brigade some proposed Chang Chang-wei, a poor peasant. He was handicapped by the fact that he is illiterate. But after much discussion the members still elected him on the ground that he is upright, experienced in farming and modest. For chairman of the control committee Huang Yu-kuang, a Communist and a former farm labourer, was chosen. The members found him to be a conscientious worker, close to the people and good at carrying out the policies of the Party in his work.

Many members of the old managerial staff whose work has earned public trust were also re-elected. Of the 104 commune officials, 81.7 per cent were re-elected. Among them, poor peasants and lower middle peasants account for 93.2 per cent. This is because they can best share the feelings of the masses and are most interested in improving the welfare of the collective.

### What the Scholars Are Discussing

The "hundred schools of thought" are certainly contending to good effect.

A number of lively discussions are going on in academic circles these days. Architects in Shanghai are debating something that concerns everyone most closely—the architectural styles of the houses, public buildings and other structures that are going up in great numbers all over China; they are also dealing with the question of what determines architectural styles. Historians in Hopei Province are discussing the division of periods of feudal society in old China, and the nature of the Taiping Revolution. In Chinghai, out in the far west, agricultural experts have been exchanging views at a series of meetings in which research papers on agricultural science were read.

Canton reported last week on the very extensive seminars held there and that attracted a large number of scientists from all parts of Kwangtung Province. At discussions lasting 44 days in all, scientists from various research societies in the province exchanged ideas on 367 subjects. The total attendance at the several hundred lectures given was over 23,000.

Among the reports submitted to seminar discussion, many concerned certain important new discoveries and innovations. A large number of papers dealt with practical problems in production and construction. A highly regarded report was one on the building of earth dams submitted by the Water Conservancy Society. It summed up the experience of the people in building dams in this part of the country. The Farm Machine Society presented the results of their research on the effectiveness of four different types of tractors working in paddyfields. This is of considerable importance to the resolution of the problem of mechanizing farm work in the paddyfields. Great interest attached to a report by the Medical Society on the efficacy of treating such ailments as ulcers, high blood pressure with a combination of methods taken from Western medicine and traditional Chinese medicine. These and other reports provoked some valuable discussions which will benefit further research.

The seminar proved to be an excellent clearing house for new knowledge. It enriched research and also promoted closer co-ordination among various specialists. Discussions on agricultural production, for instance, drew



Embroidering and Basket Weaving  
Papercut by Chu Shu-cheng

in specialists from the fields of forestry, fishery, animal husbandry, physics, meteorology, mathematics and even philosophy. Many groups were enabled to make arrangements for a better exchange of data and research apparatus.

## Industry on the Grassland

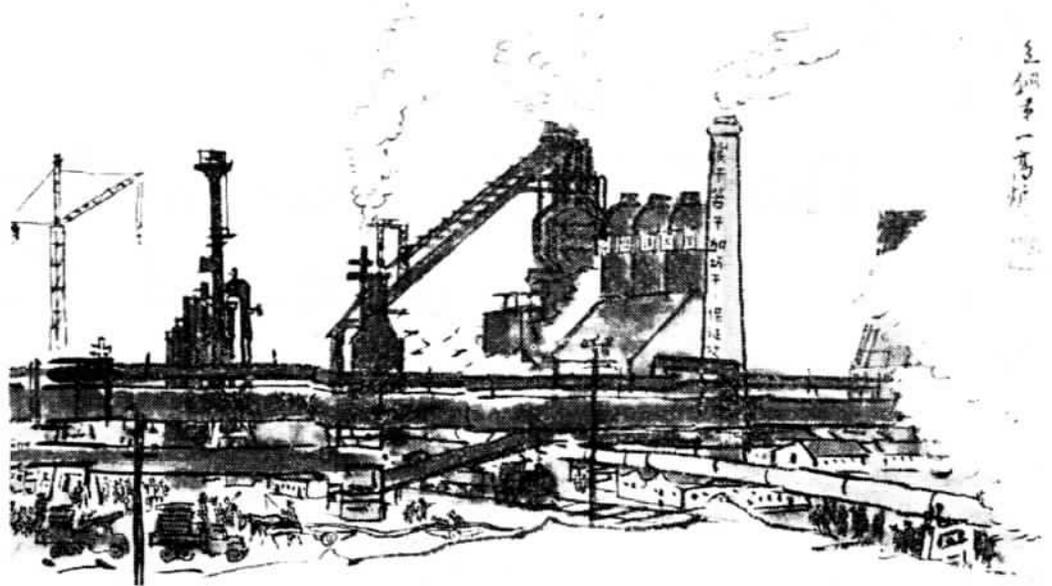
The people of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region has just celebrated the 14th anniversary of its founding. No longer the wild, desolate grassland it used to be, the nose dive its population curve took in pre-liberation days has stopped. Now the trend is upwards. The number of livestock is also growing steadily. Signs of prosperity are everywhere. The local people, however, take special pride in their fast expanding industry.

When it first became an autonomous region in 1947, Inner Mongolia had only five power stations, three flour mills and one woollen textile mill. That was practically the only industry the region could boast of. Today on its rolling pastures there have risen not only the giant iron and steel works at Paotow, which is already a major national steel base, but many medium-sized and small iron and steel plants in Huhehot, Ulanhot and other places.

A decade ago the region practically had no engineering industry. Now it has a respectable sized one growing at a remarkable speed. By the end of 1958 it was already turning out its own blast furnaces, converters, rolling mills, machine tools and power equipment.

Up to 1950 Inner Mongolia had to import large quantities of coal from other provinces. Today coal from its many coalmines is feeding its industry as well as meeting other needs. Seven new coalmines started production last year alone.

Light industry is likewise striding ahead. Prior to 1956 the local people depended on other provinces for the supply of over 90 per cent of their consumer goods. Now the region's thriving light industry is producing 34 per cent of the consumer goods it needs. Light industrial enterprises are turning out some 10,000 varieties of commodities. The total output value of light industry in Inner Mongolia



At the Paotow Iron & Steel Works

Sketch by Yeh Chien-yu

last year was 50 per cent higher than in 1959.

Though a big livestock-breeding area, Inner Mongolia had no dairy industry at all ten years ago. Today it is the biggest dairy centre in the country exporting delicious butter and high-quality dried milk. "This is what we mean by big leap," they say in Inner Mongolia.

## Tale of a Canal

The fields of the Qijing People's Commune along the banks of the 70-kilometre-long Gongqing Canal down in the south in Kwangtung Province are a sight for the eyes. Ricefields like a green carpet spread in an unbroken expanse all the way to the horizon. Potatoes and soya beans grow profusely. Any visitor can tell these are good fields. Few, however, can imagine how different a place it was only a few years back.

A couple of years ago, there was no canal here. It was notorious then for its dryness and poor soil. Drought struck nine out of ten years. Huge stretches of parched land lay waste. It was best known to the people round about through a local legend.

During the Ming Dynasty, some 500 years ago, so goes the tale, the emperor sent his officials to all parts of the country in search of pretty girls to be his imperial concubines. When the imperial scouts came to Tienpai County, they picked Li Hsiang-niu, a lovely farm girl in her teens. Unwill-

ing to leave home and become an idle possession of the feudal ruler, she refused. Threatened by the officials, she said she would comply on one condition—that she would go to the capital by boat, and right from the doorstep of her home. The officials, eager to get her to court, agreed. They ordered that a canal leading to a nearby river be dug immediately. Hsiang-niu was delighted that her people could have a canal to irrigate the land and end the age-old droughts. It was with bitter pain that she found out later that the officials were pressganging the villagers to dig the canal. Many died of hard work under the whip of the guards. Sorrow for the suffering she had unwittingly brought to her people caused her to take her own life.

A legend is after all a legend, but it does reflect the local people's yearning for a water channel in the region. As a matter of fact, only a few score kilometres away the Shalongkiang River flows, and it wasn't a too difficult task to build a canal and bring in its waters. Yet in the old days, this always remained a dream. The people were too poor and did not have the power, and the government didn't care to undertake the task. In 1958, when people's communes were founded in the region, the peasants, with the strong support of the local people's government, mustered their resources and manpower and set about this project. Whole families turned out to cheer the happy sight when at last water from the Shalongkiang River filled up the newly built canal and poured into the thirsty fields.

# The Enlarged Geneva Conference Enters Its Second Week

*Following is an abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of May 24 reviewing the first week of the Geneva Conference. Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

**B**ETWEEN May 16 when it opened and May 23, the enlarged Geneva Conference for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question conducted its first round of general debate. The heads of all delegations have spoken at the conference. The overwhelming majority of them indicated their readiness to reach agreement through negotiation so as to settle the Laotian question peacefully. However, the proceedings of the conference during the first week also make it clear that the conference still faces a complex struggle before it can make real progress.

What has the first week of the conference told the people of the world?

First and foremost, it demonstrates that the will of the Laotian people for peace, neutrality, independence and national amity cannot possibly be suppressed by any force. This powerful aspiration was once more made known to the whole world through their true representatives at this solemn international forum. The heads of the Delegations of the Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat recounted in detail the history of Laotian developments since 1954. They convincingly pointed to the facts of the Vientiane agreements of 1957, the coalition government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma which was formed later in accordance with these agreements, the coup d'etat of August 1960 and the legal government headed by Prince Phouma formed afterwards and the series of political reverses and military defeats suffered by the rebel clique after they occupied Vientiane. This series of events forcefully demonstrates what the Laotian people really want. But for intervention from outside, the Laotian people would have long ago fulfilled their aspirations for peace, neutrality, independence and national amity in accordance with their own will.

## U.S. in the Dock

Where does the intervention come from? With irrefutable facts, the Delegations of the Royal Laotian Government, the Neo Lao Haksat, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, China, the Soviet Union and Poland have forcefully exposed the criminal U.S. activities of intervention and aggression in Laos. Delegations of certain neutral countries have also justly pointed these out. And even some friends of the United States, so long as they do not lie blindly, have pointed out either explicitly or

implicitly that the grave situation in Laos has been caused by the United States ignoring or violating the 1954 Geneva agreements. But the U.S. Delegation and the handful of people who tried to cover up for the United States dared not face the facts—they tried to quibble, shouting lamely about what they call "threat from the north" and "violence by the Pathet Lao with outside assistance." However, they could not produce a single shred of evidence. Thus, even the Western press has to admit that the United States stands "in the dock" at the enlarged Geneva Conference.

## Two Diametrically Opposed Approaches

It is clear from the speeches of the delegates of the various countries that there are two diametrically opposed approaches to the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

One approach lays stress on the necessity, on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreements, of respecting the will of the Laotian people, and letting the Laotian people settle their internal affairs by themselves and realize their aspirations for national amity, democracy, unity and the safeguarding of independence and, at the same time, creating the necessary international conditions really to enable the Laotian people to realize their aspirations free from outside interference. This approach is represented by the programme of peace and neutrality put forward by the Delegation of the Royal Laotian Government and resolutely supported by the Delegation of the Neo Lao Haksat, and by the two proposals put forward by the Soviet Delegation—"The Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos" and "The Agreement on Withdrawal from Laotian Territory of Foreign Troops and Military Personnel and on the Powers of the International Commission." The proposals of Laos and the Soviet Union have won the firm support of the Delegations of China, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Poland. The head of the Cambodian Delegation in his speech expressed agreement with the Soviet proposal for the participant countries to reaffirm their respect for Laos' sovereignty, independence, unification and territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of Laos and prompt withdrawal from that country of all foreign troops and military personnel. The head of the Burmese Delegation also stressed in his speech that a solution to the Laotian question must be sought on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreements. There is no doubt that only by following this road can the Laotian question be settled peacefully and that only this approach is in keeping with the interests

of the Laotian people and of peace-loving people all over the world.

Another approach is to give nominal assurances concerning Laotian neutrality and independence while actually undermining the independence of Laos, encroaching on its sovereignty and interfering in its internal affairs. This is the approach which the United States persists in. The set of proposals put forward by Dean Rusk, Head of the U.S. Delegation, are, in fact, designed to impose an international condominium on Laos to facilitate further U.S. aggression and intervention against that country. They are fundamentally opposed to the 1954 Geneva agreements and to the aspirations and interests of the Laotian people, and are therefore doomed to failure.

This line of the United States has not only met with the opposition of the Laotian people and other peace-loving countries; it has even failed to win full approval from the other Western countries. The U.S. press is very much worried that if the United States insists on going it alone, a "dangerous split" may develop between the United States on the one hand and Britain and France on the other.

### Vigilance Against New U.S. Military Adventure

What calls for serious attention is the fact that the United States, in order to gain at the conference table what it failed to gain on the battlefield, is preparing for a new military adventure even as it attends the conference. While clamouring at the conference about the cease-fire in Laos being ineffective, the United States has directed the Laotian rebel forces to carry out military provocations, to attack and occupy areas under the control of the Laotian Government forces and the troops of the Neo Lao Haksat and violate the cease-fire order. Especially serious is the fact that, at the instigation of

the United States, the Laotian rebel forces are making preparations, in collusion with the troops of south Viet Nam and Thailand, to mount surprise attacks on the forces of the legal Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat. A battalion of the Ngo Dinh Diem troops is now on its way to Laos, and its advanced units have arrived in Huoi San. A battalion of Thai troops stationed on the right bank of the Mekong River has received orders to attack Laos. These troops have concentrated in the Savannakhet area and are under the direct command of the U.S. advisers; they are ready to mount offensives against Highway 9 and the Tha Khek area. At the same time, U.S. Vice-President Lyndon Johnson has toured south Viet Nam, Thailand and the Philippines to make preparations for aggression and intervention by the SEATO aggressive bloc against the countries of Indo-China and other Asian countries. All this shows that all countries and peoples interested in the prospects of the enlarged Geneva Conference and peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia must maintain keen vigilance and halt the new adventurist plot of the United States.

The enlarged Geneva Conference has entered its second week. Discussions at the conference will centre on some specific, fundamental issues. Judging from what happened in the first week, the United States will certainly not easily give up its policy of aggression and intervention. So the conference will have to make each step forward and score each victory by waging a severe struggle against U.S. imperialism. All peace-loving countries and peoples must not only oppose the series of obstacles erected by the United States in the way of the conference, but also maintain keen vigilance and prevent the United States from violating, outside the conference, the cease-fire in Laos and provoking further military conflicts. Only in this way can the Geneva Conference be made a success and the Laotian question settled peacefully.

# Guarantee of Neutrality or International Condominium?

## Renmin Ribao Observer on Rusk's Phony Plan for Laos' Neutrality

*The following commentary appeared in "Renmin Ribao" on May 20. Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

**I**T is the universal desire of the Laotian people to see their country independent and neutral. This burning desire cherished by the Laotian people has been repeatedly and solemnly expressed in the political programme for the realization of peace and neutrality in Laos published by Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the legal Royal Laotian Government, on May 8 and in the speech delivered by Quinim Pholsena, Head of the Delegation of the Royal Laotian Government, at the enlarged Geneva Conference on May 17. The delegates of many countries participat-

ing in this conference have indicated their willingness to respect this legitimate desire of the people of Laos.

In his speech delivered on May 17, Dean Rusk, Head of the U.S. Delegation, quoting U.S. President Kennedy, declared that the United States "strongly and unreservedly supports the goal of an independent and neutral Laos." Isn't this a fine thing? But wait a minute. A careful reading of Rusk's speech and particularly his three-point "broad outlines" for the neutrality of Laos makes it clear what kind of "independence" and "neutrality" the United States wants Laos to attain.

Rusk holds that first of all, there must be "a definition of the concept of neutrality, as it applies to Laos."

He said that "this definition must go beyond the classical concept of non-alignment and include positive assurance of the integrity of the elements of national life."

### **True Meaning of Neutrality**

In fact, the U.S. Secretary of State does not have to bother himself about such academic work as defining the concept of neutrality applicable to Laos. The legal Government of the Kingdom of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat have already defined in clear-cut terms the kind of neutrality the people of Laos want. That is, the Kingdom of Laos undertakes that it will not join any military bloc; that it will not allow any country to establish any military bases on its territory; that it will not accept protection by SEATO; that it will establish friendly relations with all countries on the basis of equality and respect for the sovereignty of the Kingdom and annul all agreements it deems to be in contravention of its policy of genuine peace and neutrality; and that any economic and financial aid offered by other countries must have no political or military conditions attached. What the enlarged Geneva Conference should do is to provide an international guarantee for respecting the independence and neutrality of Laos in accordance with the demands of the Laotian people and on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreements.

U.S. ruling circles obviously find these principles set forth by the Laotian people not to the taste of the United States. In their opinion, the "neutrality" of Laos must go beyond the principles laid down by the Laotian people themselves and must include something in which the U.S. overlords have absolutely no right to interfere at all, that is, what Rusk called the "integrity of the elements of national life." But nobody can deny that the national life of Laos is the concern of the Laotians themselves. Has not Rusk said himself that "a truly neutral Laos must have the right to choose its own way of life in accordance with its own traditions, wishes and aspirations for the future"? What has the question of "the integrity of the elements of national life" of Laos got to do with the United States?

### **Pretext for Intervention**

Rusk stressed in particular that the "neutrality" of Laos should involve "safeguards against subversion of the elements of the state which is organized, directed or assisted from beyond its borders." What familiar phraseology this is! It seems one has heard something like this said somewhere before. Oh yes, that's it. The SEATO military pact concocted single-handedly by the United States provides that its members should "prevent and counter subversive acts from without against their territorial integrity and political stability." No wonder certain sections of public opinion have pointed out that the kind of "neutrality" Rusk wanted Laos to carry out is the "neutrality" of the member states of the SEATO military bloc. Everyone knows pretty well that the United States has made much "contributions" in guaranteeing this kind of "neutrality" of the member states of the SEATO military bloc, from the provision of military aid and the establishment of military bases to direct military intervention. U.S. Vice-President Johnson is now

visiting these countries to plot more "effective action." One still remembers very clearly that it was precisely under this very same sort of pretext mentioned by Rusk that the United States supported the Laotian rebel clique in unleashing the civil war. It is thus clear that Rusk, in defining the neutrality for Laos the way he did, is in fact merely trying to find a pretext for carrying out intervention in Laos.

### **Violation of Laos' Independence and Neutrality**

In his outlines Rusk made a big hue and cry about the strengthening of international control in Laos. He wanted to brush aside the 1954 Geneva agreements, establish an "effective international machinery" and invest it with supreme power. Rusk said: "The control machinery must have full access to all parts of the country without the need for the consent of any civil or military officials, national or local." "It must have its own transportation and communication equipment sufficient to the task. These must be constantly available to and under the sole orders of the control body." "It must be able to act on any complaints from responsible sources, including personnel of the control body itself, responsible military and civil officials in Laos, the governments of neighbouring countries and of the members of this conference." It may be asked whether such a machinery is to be an organization for international control or one for international domination. It is quite possible to imagine such a situation: following the establishment of such an international body as proposed by Rusk, if and when a "complaint" is made by the United States, or its satellites in the neighbourhood of Laos, or any one of the U.S. agents in Laos, this international body can at once overrun Laos with its vehicles, vessels and aircraft and do what it likes. It may be asked: what would become of the sovereignty of Laos if Rusk got his way? Despite his talk that "neutrality must be consistent with sovereignty," this proposal of Rusk is the very denial of Laos as a sovereign state. Obviously, what Rusk wants is to superimpose this so-called "international control machinery" on the Royal Laotian Government, and make it rule supreme in Laos and interfere arbitrarily in its military, political, economic and other affairs. Is it not clear that this international body designed by Rusk is not for guaranteeing but for violating the independence, sovereignty and neutrality of Laos?

Of course, international control is necessary in order to effectively guarantee Laos' independence and neutrality. The proposal put forward by the Soviet Delegation at the enlarged Geneva Conference on May 17 correctly defines the functions and powers of the international commission. According to the Soviet proposal, in supervising and controlling the cease-fire in Laos, the international commission must carry out its work strictly within the limits of the cease-fire agreement concluded by the three political forces of Laos, and in close co-operation with the Laotian authorities. Another important task of the international commission is to supervise and control the withdrawal of foreign troops and military personnel, and to investigate cases of violations of the provisions prohibiting the entry into Laos of any foreign military units and military personnel. This commission must ensure that the sovereignty and independence of Laos is not encroached upon, and respect that country's sovereignty and independence

in carrying out its work. The Soviet proposal is in striking contrast to Rusk's plan.

### **A U.S. Trick to Practise Neo-Colonialism**

Rusk talked a lot about the question of foreign assistance to Laos, but stripped of empty diplomatic phraseology his views on this question do not go beyond the following two points: he felt "regret" over the conditions under which Laos received foreign assistance in the past and he suggested that in the future, such assistance "be administered by an organization of neutral nations of the area."

As the enlarged Geneva Conference is discussing the question of the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, it is useful to look back on the foreign assistance extended to Laos. Everybody knows that there are two kinds of assistance to Laos which are completely different in nature. One kind of assistance comes from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It has no political or military conditions attached; it facilitates the peaceful construction of Laos and the preservation of its sovereignty and independence. During his visit to the Soviet Union last April, Premier Souvanna Phouma thanked the Soviet Union for its help to Laos in the "struggle to defend our freedom and independence and to pursue our policy of peace and neutrality." Another kind of "assistance" comes from the United States. The legal Laotian Government has already made a correct appraisal of the kind of "assistance" given by the United States. In his speech at the enlarged Geneva Conference, Quim Pholsena, Head of the Delegation of the legal Laotian Government, pointed out that far back in the period after the 1954 Geneva Conference, the United States granted "economic and financial aid with unacceptable political conditions attached," and supported "certain elements of the opposition and the army, instigating them to take over state power and overthrow the legal government supported by the masses."

The United States has been using "assistance" as a means of interfering in Laos' domestic affairs, and now Rusk is complaining and expressing "regret." Plainly speaking, what Rusk "regretted" is merely the fact that despite its "assistance," the United States has failed to achieve its purpose of controlling and enslaving Laos or prevent the legal Laotian Government from receiving from the socialist countries assistance given without any political or military conditions attached. With an insight into Rusk's frame of mind, it is not difficult to understand the real intentions of the United States in inventing such an international organization to "administer" assistance to Laos.

Laos is an independent and sovereign state. The legal Government of the Kingdom of Laos has every right to decide whether or not it accepts foreign assistance and from which country it will accept it. Laos also has every right to decide how to use foreign assistance. Answering a provocative question put by a U.S. newspaperman in November last year, Premier Souvanna Phouma made it clear that the Laotian Government did not consider it necessary to report its decisions (on acceptance of foreign assistance) to any country. Rusk's proposal that an international machinery should "administer" assistance to Laos is yet another vicious trick of the United States to carry on its neo-colonialism. The United States attempts

to use the prestige of the neutral nations to realize its aggressive designs. This is an insult not only to the Laotian people but also to the neutral nations.

Although in his outlines Rusk did not openly speak of the plan for military intervention against Laos, a U.S. plot in this respect was, however, disclosed by *The New York Times* correspondent S. Topping in a dispatch from Geneva on May 16. Topping wrote: "Another aspect of the United States' plan would entrust the organization and training of a Laotian constabulary of about 10,000 to 20,000 men to a nation to be designated by the conference." The dispatch indicated that a certain neutral country might serve. It is thus clear that there are many schemes which the United States intends to carry out in Laos in the name of "neutrality."

One can now see clearly that the blueprint for so-called assurances of Laos' "independence and neutrality" tucked away in Rusk's briefcase is actually a conspiratorial plan to undermine its independence and neutrality. By means of the definition given by Rusk for Laos' neutrality and through the "international control body" and "international organization" for control of assistance designed by him, the United States aims to flagrantly violate Laos' independence, encroach on its sovereignty, interfere in its internal affairs and place Laos, in effect, under international condominium.

### **Tragic Example of the Congo**

People have no lack of experience concerning what kind of tragic consequences such international condominium may lead to. Leaving aside what happened in history, let us take a look at the recent events in the Congo. Through intervention by the United Nations, the United States has turned the Congo into an internationally controlled country under U.S. domination. The result was that Premier Lumumba of the legal Congolese Government was murdered in cold blood, the Congo was dismembered, the rebel groups have run amuck there and the flames of war have yet to be put out. Moreover, the United States is now stepping up its aggressive plot to swallow up the Congo by itself. All this is the "gift" presented to the Congolese people by the United States in the name of "safeguarding peace." The criminal activities of the United States have all along met with the firm opposition of the Congolese people and peace-loving people the world over. Now the United States is trying to turn Laos into a second Congo. This is bound to be resolutely opposed by the Laotian people and peace-loving people the world over.

Rusk's speech, however, contains one remark that is quite true. He stated: "We cannot impose on Laos anything which that country and its people do not truly want for themselves." Indeed, the Laotian people will under no circumstances accept anything which runs counter to their national interests.

In his speech at the enlarged Geneva Conference, Phoumi Vongvichit, Head of the Delegation of the Neo Lao Haksat, pointed out that the Laotian people firmly oppose the U.S. plan for interfering in the internal affairs of Laos and endangering its independence and sovereignty. It is impermissible to encroach on the sovereignty of Laos or to interfere in its internal affairs. Rusk had better give up his hostile plan against the Laotian people before it is too late.

# China Opposes U.S. Military Intervention In South Viet Nam

*Following is the text of the statement issued on May 21, 1961, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China opposing the stepping up of military intervention in south Viet Nam by the United States. — Ed.*

**A**T a time when all peace-loving countries and peoples throughout the world are keenly following the enlarged Geneva Conference for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, the Government of the United States of America is, nevertheless, stepping up its scheme of aggression and intervention in south Viet Nam. Not long ago, Lyndon Johnson, the Vice-President of the United States, bustling around in south Viet Nam, announced together with the Ngo Dinh Diem clique an "eight-point programme." This is a programme aimed at bringing south Viet Nam under complete military, political and economic control and enslavement by the United States, a programme aimed at turning south Viet Nam wholly into a U.S. military base and colony. This programme thoroughly undermines the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indo-China and gravely jeopardizes peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

The fact is well known that it is the United States which has all along violated the Geneva agreements, obstructed the peaceful unification of Viet Nam and used the SEATO military bloc to carry out aggression and intervention against the Indo-Chinese states and other Asian countries. Having been frustrated in its policy of aggression against Laos, the United States has been compelled to take part reluctantly in the enlarged Geneva Conference for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. These fresh activities of U.S. aggression in south Viet Nam, coming at such a time, serve as a more evident proof of

the fact that the United States has no intention of discussing seriously at the Conference the question of how to ensure the peace, independence, neutrality and unity of Laos, but is trying by hook or by crook to disrupt the Conference, or to put Laos under the supervision of an international body in the way which the United States desires, that is, to realize a joint international control, so as to carry out new intervention in Laos. In this regard, all countries and peoples interested in peace in Indo-China and the outcome of the enlarged Geneva Conference must be highly vigilant.

In its statement of May 19, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam sternly condemned the United States for its crime of stepping up military intervention in south Viet Nam and called on the Co-Chairmen and the other participating nations of the Geneva Conference to take urgent measures to check the adventurist scheme of aggression which the United States is effecting in a stepped-up way. The Government of the People's Republic of China fully supports this urgent appeal and the solemn and just stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. As a participant of the Geneva Conference and one of the guarantors of the Geneva agreements and as a close neighbour of the Indo-Chinese states, the Government of China, and the Chinese people as well, cannot, of course, remain indifferent to the present increasingly grave situation brought about by the United States in south Viet Nam. We hold that the Co-Chairmen and the other participating nations of the Geneva Conference have an unshirkable responsibility, that they ought to take effective steps to check U.S. intervention and aggression in south Viet Nam, ensure the implementation of the Geneva agreements and peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

## Pen Probes

### Kennedy's Rope Trick

**I**N the Great Rope Trick the magician persuades a rope to rear itself vertically, unsupported, into the air. A man then climbs up it and covers himself with a cloak. At the magician's "Hey Presto!" the cloak falls to the ground and the man has disappeared. It is related, however, that on one occasion when the magician hey-prestoed, it was the rope that disappeared, leaving the man suspended in mid-air. He is still there.

Thoughts about all this have been recalled by the reported evacuation of the remnant Kuomintang troops from the Burmese-Thai-Laotian borders. These marauders, after being driven out by the People's Liberation Army from China more than ten years ago, crossed over into Burma and led a bandit existence there, from time to time attacking the borders of People's China, until a couple of months ago when they were driven out of Burma

by the Burmese Army. They then moved over into Thailand and Laos. With these bandits being harried like rats from hole to hole, the Chiang Kai-shek clique and its U.S. backers were forced by the pressure of world public opinion to announce that these trouble-makers would be evacuated.

It all seemed very sensible. Planes would be provided and these remnant bandits would be evacuated to Taiwan. Kennedy produced the "rope" all right: U.S. planes flew in to take them off to Taiwan.

On April 12 it was announced that the evacuation had been completed. The Kennedy "rope" disappeared and, "Hey Presto!" what do we see? The evacuation, it was announced, was made on the principle of "voluntary repatriation." What this actually meant was explained by a Taiwan dispatch printed in a Hongkong paper, *Chen Pao*. This quoted a "major-general" of the bandits as saying that the greater part of those evacuated were "women, children, the aged and the weak. All those who remain behind are fighters who have survived the bloody battles in the past ten years." Other sources made it clear

that the Kuomintang bandits have in fact evacuated only those they regarded as liabilities on active military operations. The Rangoon press has reported that a sizable force of these brigands has re-entered Burma and set up their headquarters in Tale village, in the Karen area.

The Burmese armed forces, furthermore, have captured copies of a secret agreement concluded by the Kuomintang clique with the Shan rebels in Burma and secret documents showing that the Kuomintang clique, the Thai reactionaries and the Karen rebels are also working hand in glove against the Union of Burma. The agreement with the Shan rebels stipulates that the Kuomintang will provide them with arms and other military equipment until the Shan state has attained its "independence." The Shan rebels, on their part, will permit the Kuomintang bandits to live in the border areas of the Shan state and provide them with "food and manpower" when they raid People's China.

The agreement runs for five years and will then continue in force if the Shan state has still failed by then to attain its "independence." The idea is that then the "independent" Shan state will participate in the aggressive, U.S.-controlled SEATO bloc.

Some Kuomintang bandits did leave Burma — but only to transfer their nefarious activities to Laos. The U.S. plots to use them in the Laotian civil war. The puppet Kuomintang consular officials in Vientiane disclosed that the Phoumi-Boun Oum clique had asked the Chiang Kai-shek clique to allow these bandits to remain on in Laos to help them against the Laotian patriots. A drowning man will clutch at a straw.

The U.S.-staged "evacuation" of the remnant Kuomintang bandits from Burma and Laos is, in fact, simply a gigantic swindle. It merely shows once again what Washington's protestations about its peaceful intentions are worth. Washington wants to leave the Chiang brigands in Laos intact to keep that land tied permanently to U.S. war plans; it is contemptuous of the national sovereignty of the Southeast Asian countries; it has no wish to tolerate the existence of Burma as a united, sovereign, peace-loving and neutral state, or to relax tension in this or any other part of the world.

The world is not amused by Kennedy's tricks. The Kuomintang bandits Kennedy so zealously protects will



Rotten Wood

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

find no safe refuge in Burma or Laos. The Burmese people have set up a national committee representative of 29 political parties and organizations to oppose aggression by U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Anti-U.S. sentiment runs high in Burma. The Laotian people have denounced the presence of the Chiang brigands in their country and will not tolerate further intervention by their U.S. backers. World public opinion will not permit the U.S. imperialists to use these cut-throats to reinforce the reactionaries in the Laotian civil war. The crimes of plunder and murder committed by the Kuomintang bandits in Burma and Laos, like those perpetrated by the U.S. mercenaries in Cuba and everywhere else where the hand of the U.S. shows itself in action against the peoples, lie stinking at the door of the U.S. Kennedy Administration.

## The Peasant Question in The Socialist Revolution

by HSIAO SHU

*Following is the first instalment of a translation of an article published in "Hongqi" (No. 6), fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Subheads and bold-face emphasis are ours. The concluding instalment will appear in our next number.—Ed.*

**O**F China's population of more than 600 million, over 500 million are peasants. They constitute a most tremendous force in both the democratic and socialist

revolutions. The solution of the peasant question and the question of the establishment of the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class are regarded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and our Party as questions of the utmost importance in the socialist as well as in the democratic revolution.

Marxism-Leninism long ago established the possibility and necessity of transforming a small-peasant economy into a socialist economy under the conditions of

the proletarian dictatorship. Whether the proletariat, after the seizure of state power, can thoroughly defeat capitalism and carry the socialist revolution forward until the building of socialism is completed depends, to a very great extent, on whether it can correctly carry out the socialist transformation of petty production based on private ownership of the means of production. Even in the more advanced capitalist countries such petty producers still exist alongside the proletariat. To be sure, the more backward the economy of a country, the greater the number of such petty producers, the most important section of which are the peasants.

Lenin greatly developed Marx's and Engels' theory on the peasant question. He pointed out that the working class can and must draw the working peasants to its side and turn them into a reliable ally in the struggle for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship and the victory of socialism. Lenin utterly demolished the absurd opportunist contention that the peasantry could only be the reserve army of capitalism. According to this view, the proletariat should adopt a hostile attitude towards the peasant masses in the socialist revolution; this would certainly lead to the collapse of the socialist cause. At the same time, Lenin also refuted another absurd opportunist contention: the peasants could spontaneously advance towards socialism. According to this view, there is no need for the proletariat to work hard to guide the peasants onto the socialist road; this actually amounted to asking the proletariat to give up its leadership of the peasantry, and could also only result in the collapse of the socialist cause. Contrary to these opportunist absurdities that are fundamentally divorced from reality, Lenin scientifically analysed the class character of the peasantry and formulated the correct policies of the proletariat towards the peasantry and its various sections in the socialist revolution. Lenin's teachings enabled us to understand that the process of constantly strengthening the worker-peasant alliance under the proletarian dictatorship is also the process of the proletariat educating the peasant masses and transforming the peasants' individual economy according to socialist principles, the process of the struggle between capitalist and socialist roads in the countryside, and the process of the peasant masses completely breaking away from the capitalist road and taking the socialist road under the leadership of the proletariat. **The only correct policy for the proletariat, in this process, is to guide the millions upon millions of the peasant masses to change over, by way of co-operation, from an economy based on individual private ownership to one based on socialist collective ownership.**

Marxist-Leninist principles regarding the socialist transformation of agriculture are a universal truth applicable in all countries that have taken the road to socialism. This universal truth has once again demonstrated its power in China.

The Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, creatively applying Marxist-Leninist principles regarding the socialist transformation of agriculture in the light of China's specific conditions, led the

peasants to carry out socialist transformation on a large scale following on the victory of the democratic revolution and the conclusion of the land reform. By 1956, the switch-over to agricultural co-operation had been completed throughout the Chinese countryside and the broad masses of peasants had switched from an individual economy onto the path of a socialist collective economy. Soon after the completion of agricultural co-operation, the Party led the peasants to set up people's communes throughout the countryside, thereby developing socialist collective ownership to a still higher stage. Today China's countryside, holding aloft the banner of the people's communes, is forging ahead vigorously along the road of socialism.

### Characteristics of Socialist Transformation of Agriculture in China

Due to certain conditions the socialist transformation of agriculture in China has its own peculiar complexities. First of all, there was a vast small-peasant economy and a huge farming population. The scattered and backward small-peasant economy which depended on man and animal power was overwhelmingly predominant in agriculture; the rural population linked to this small-peasant economy comprised over 80 per cent of the country's more than 600 million people. Secondly, this backward agricultural economy made up a predominant proportion of the whole national economy. In 1949, the year the Chinese People's Republic was founded, the output value of modern industry accounted for about 17 per cent of the gross output value of industry and agriculture taken together, whereas the gross output value of agriculture, its sidelines, individual handicraft production and manufactories together accounted for about 83 per cent of the gross value of aggregate industrial and agricultural production. By 1952, the former proportion was 26.7 per cent and the latter 73.3 per cent. Thirdly, there was a deep-rooted tradition of private ownership of land in China's rural areas and the peasants had a very deep attachment to private land ownership; furthermore, in the old society the tradition of co-operation was lacking in the countryside. Fourthly, even when a powerful state sector of the economy had been established in China, there still existed a large amount of private industry and commerce. The socialist transformation of private industry and commerce proceeded alongside the socialist transformation of agriculture. In 1952, capitalist industry (including that working on state orders for processing or manufacturing, i.e., in the elementary forms of state capitalism) accounted for 39 per cent of gross industrial output value (not including handicraft industry); private commerce accounted for 57 per cent of total retail sales in all commercial enterprises.

Some capitalists at home and abroad, basing themselves on these specific conditions, asserted that the Chinese Communist Party would never be able to realize socialism in China's rural districts. There were also people within our Party who held that the socialist transformation of agriculture could be placed on the agenda only after a fairly long period of time following the land reform; in

fact they were content with the status quo of the small-peasant economy. They asserted that the peasants would be dissatisfied if socialist transformation were carried out immediately and that it would thereby do harm to the worker-peasant alliance. In their view, for a certain period of time, the peasants should be allowed to enjoy "good days" "in security" on the land they received and should not be "disturbed." They held that we should persuade the peasants to take the socialist road only when our industry had developed to such an extent that agricultural mechanization could be carried out; and that we should tackle the question of the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce before we dealt with the question of the socialist transformation of agriculture.

**The Central Committee of the Party** rejected this erroneous view and, as the saying goes, "striking while the iron was hot," **promoted the agricultural co-operative movement right after the conclusion of the land reform throughout the country without pause by the method of establishing typical examples to demonstrate the way and gradual popularization.** Already in December 1951, when the land reform was nearing completion throughout the country, the Central Committee of the Party formulated the "Decisions on Mutual-Aid and Co-operation in Agricultural Production." By the end of 1952, when the tasks of rehabilitating the national economy and eliminating feudal vestiges were essentially completed, the Central Committee of the Party put forward the general line for the period of transition which called for the step by step socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist industry and commerce side by side with gradual socialist industrialization. In December 1953, the Central Committee of the Party further promulgated the "Decisions on the Development of Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives." The co-operatives gradually developed in this period on the basis of the mutual-aid teams. The number of co-ops increased from 130 in 1951 to more than 15,000 in 1953 and further to over 110,000 in 1954; the number of households in the co-ops rose from over 1,600 in 1951 to over 270,000 in 1953 and 2.3 million in 1954. In 1955, the co-operative movement continued to forge ahead. An upsurge in the movement for the socialist transformation of agriculture occurred in the latter half of that year when large numbers of peasant households joined the co-ops of the elementary type and quite a number of co-ops of the advanced type were organized. In 1956, the elementary co-ops advanced further and the great majority of them developed into co-ops of the advanced type. By the end of 1956, over 107 million peasant households were in advanced co-ops and over 10 million in elementary ones, making up between them 96.3 per cent of all peasant households in the country. Thus socialist agricultural co-operation was brought about throughout the land only five years after completion of the land reform.

### **Immediate Advance to Co-operation After Land Reform**

**Why did we have to launch the co-operative movement without pause after the land reform? Why is the view that there should be a pause wrong?**

Although the land reform freed the peasants from feudal ownership and gave them land, it could not stop the tendency towards polarization in the countryside. If, after distribution of the land, the individual economy of a single household as the unit of production were allowed to continue for a long period of time, this would simply be creating favourable conditions for the growth of capitalism. Lenin pointed out long ago that ". . . small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale."\* The actual situation in China also proved this point. In the years following the land reform, a new process of class differentiation took place in the countryside. Although the co-operative movement was launched immediately and gradually developed, a process of class differentiation continued wherever the co-operative movement did not reach. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in 1955 that ". . . in recent years there has been a spontaneous and constant growth of capitalist elements in the countryside and . . . new rich peasants have sprung up everywhere. Many well-to-do middle peasants are striving to become rich ones. Many poor peasants, lacking sufficient means of production, are still not free from the toils of poverty; some are in debt, others selling or renting their land. If this tendency goes unchecked, the separation into two extremes in the countryside will get worse day by day."\*\*

It can thus be seen that it was not possible for the individual peasants to enjoy "good days" undisturbed on the land they received. If socialism did not "disturb" them, capitalism would certainly do so. **The individual economy is an unstable one. The elimination of the system of feudal land ownership and the equal distribution of land are only the first step towards the emancipation of the peasants. In order to emancipate themselves thoroughly, the peasants must switch over from the individual economy of private ownership to a socialist collective economy. Under conditions where the proletarian state power has been established, the proletariat helps the peasants to find their way out and it becomes possible to guide the peasants onto the co-operative road before polarization becomes very serious in the countryside. This is wholly to the interest of the broad masses of the peasants and facilitates the rapid development and smooth completion of co-operation.** As Engels said in "The Peasant Question in France and Germany": "The greater the number of peasants whom we can save from being actually hurled down into the proletariat, whom we can win to our side while they are still peasants, the more quickly and easily the socialist transformation will be accomplished."† Had we stopped the revolution after the land reform and let the spontaneous capitalist forces in the countryside and the polarization of the peasantry develop unchecked, we would have encountered very

\* V.I. Lenin, "Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," *Selected Works* in 12 vols., Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1938, Vol. X, p. 60.

\*\* Mao Tse-tung, *The Question of Agricultural Co-operation*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, pp. 31-32.

† Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955, Vol. II, p. 435.

great obstacles and much greater difficulties when we instituted co-operation at a later date.

### Relationship Between Socialist Transformation of Agriculture and Socialist Industrialization

**The view that agricultural co-operation cannot start before a fairly high level of industrialization has been attained and agricultural mechanization achieved, is also wrong.**

The basic error of this view lies in its contention that industrialization can be carried out in isolation from agricultural co-operation. China's industrial foundation was very weak. That is why the realization of socialist industrialization, especially the giving of priority to the development of heavy industry, is the central task of China's socialist construction. Only by rapidly developing socialist industry can the material basis be laid for agricultural mechanization. But the rapid development of industry cannot be separated from the rapid development of agriculture. The individual small-peasant economy which is privately owned, backward and scattered restricts the growth of the agricultural productive forces and cannot satisfy the demands of industry for raw materials, food and other farm produce; it cannot provide industry with a broad market and this creates unfavourable conditions for industrial growth. **In accordance with China's specific conditions, by advancing agricultural co-operation step by step, changing the individual agricultural economy of small-scale production into a co-operative economy of large-scale production and bringing the collective and co-operative strength of the peasants into full play before it was possible to equip agriculture with machinery, it was possible to develop the agricultural productive forces and thereby promote the development of industry. Moreover, it is possible to realize farm mechanization only on the basis of large-scale co-operative management in agriculture.** It is for this reason that Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that under the conditions obtaining in China, agricultural co-operation would come before farm mechanization. Socialist industrialization and socialist agricultural co-operation must never be separated and considered in isolation from each other; we must never stress industrialization only and neglect agricultural co-operation; nor should we postpone agricultural co-operation while waiting for mechanization.

Marxism-Leninism holds that the state power of the proletariat and socialist industrialization cannot be allowed to rest for any length of time on the two different bases of a big socialist industry and a small-peasant economy. This is because a small-peasant economy restricts the growth of the productive forces; the scattered nature of its small commodity production is not suited to planned national economic construction; and a capitalist economy which is antagonistic to socialism will grow out of the small-peasant economy. The situation in China, in which small-peasant economy made up a very large proportion of the national economy and the peasantry constituted the vast majority of the population, showed the difficulties facing our socialist transformation of agriculture; it also showed the urgent importance of this transformation. As early as 1949 Comrade Mao Tse-

tung emphatically pointed out at the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee that "if there were only a state-owned economy and no co-operative economy, it would be impossible for us to lead the individual economy of the labouring people step by step towards collectivization, impossible to develop from the new-democratic society to the future socialist society and impossible to consolidate the leadership of the proletariat in the state power."<sup>\*</sup>

Facts have proved that rapid completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture not only did not disrupt the worker-peasant alliance but actually strengthened it under new conditions. Those who held that it would undermine the worker-peasant alliance did not understand that the worker-peasant alliance varies in character in two different periods. In the first period, the worker-peasant alliance was built on the basis of the bourgeois democratic revolution, on the basis of the anti-feudal land reform. After the conclusion of the land reform, if the new, actual problems of the peasants were not tackled, and polarization among the peasants and the contradiction between big socialist industry and small-peasant economy were allowed to develop day by day, the worker-peasant alliance would be in danger of being destroyed. Therefore, under these new conditions, the worker-peasant alliance must be built on a new basis. "That basis is," as Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out, "simultaneously, gradually, to bring about, on the one hand, socialist industrialization, the socialist transformation of handicraft industry and capitalist industry and commerce, and, on the other, the socialist transformation of agriculture as a whole through co-operation. In that way we shall put an end to the systems of rich-peasant economy and individual economy in the countryside and so let all people in the rural areas enjoy a common prosperity."<sup>\*\*</sup>

As for the view that the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce should be carried out before the socialist transformation of agriculture gets under way—it is, of course, also wrong. Under the conditions obtaining in China, the enterprises of the national bourgeoisie can and should be gradually transformed along socialist lines by peaceful methods. The steady progress of this transformation created favourable conditions for the socialist transformation of agriculture, which, in turn, gave a very great impetus to the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. The socialist transformation of agriculture in a country where the small-peasant economy was absolutely predominant eliminated the sources engendering capitalism and thereby isolated capitalist industry and commerce. This point was proved precisely by the fact that in 1956, following the upsurge in the agricultural co-operative movement, the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce also surged to a high tide.

All this shows that it was absolutely necessary for the Party to take positive steps, after the land reform, and

<sup>\*</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 369.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *The Question of Agricultural Co-operation*, p. 32.

without interruption, for the rapid promotion of the agricultural co-operative movement.

### Favourable Conditions for Socialist Transformation of Agriculture

We must realize that extremely favourable conditions existed for the socialist transformation of agriculture in China. The anti-feudal land reform was launched in China during the prolonged revolutionary wars led by the proletariat and it was thoroughly completed after the proletariat captured state power throughout the country. The proletariat, its Party and the state power it leads enjoy a very high prestige among the broad masses of peasants as a result of the revolutionary wars, the land reform and the founding of the people's democratic state. A solid worker-peasant alliance was already established in the democratic revolution. During the protracted revolutionary wars prior to the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, our Party already had a wealth of experience in leading the peasants in the base areas to organize mutual-aid teams and co-operatives following the land reform.

After the Chinese proletariat won state power throughout the country, it gained control of the nation's economic life-lines by virtue of the immediate confiscation of bureaucrat capital and the establishment of a powerful socialist sector of state-run economy. Thus, after the completion of the land reform, the proletariat was in a position to use the power of the state and the socialist sector of state-run economy to assist the peasant masses in their socialist transformation.

Although the peasants were private owners, they were at the same time working people and as such they could accept the leadership of the working class, rise, and together with the latter, fight the capitalist system of exploitation and take the road of socialist agricultural co-operation. The great majority of the poverty-stricken peasants, in particular, were keen about taking the socialist road. As the Chinese peasants had been for a long time led and educated by the Party and tempered in revolutionary struggles, they had a relatively high degree of consciousness and were convinced from their own experience that the Communist Party stands for their interests.

To be sure, it is an arduous and complex task to lead the peasants, as private owners, to take the socialist road. In the old society, the peasants toiled year in and year out on small plots of land. Although they suffered from feudal exploitation and oppression and lived a life of semi-starvation, their habit of small production and their sense of private ownership of land and other means of production was very tenacious; the well-to-do peasants, in particular, had an even stronger sense of private ownership. The land reform overthrew the feudal land system and gave land to the peasants. This was in conformity with the peasants' habit of small production and their concept of private ownership. The socialist revolution aims at changing the peasants' private ownership. This comes into conflict with the peasants' habit of petty production and their concept of private ownership born of their economic position and formed over a long historical

period. In order to guide the peasants onto the socialist road, the working class must take this dual character of the peasantry into full account, bring their socialist initiative into play and overcome their backward inclinations and spontaneous tendency towards capitalism.

It is for these reasons that, although the socialist transformation of agriculture is very necessary and entirely possible and is an urgent task, no one must think that it can be carried out simply by administrative orders.

Lenin said that "we have millions of individual farms in our country, scattered and dispersed throughout remote rural districts. It would be absolutely absurd to attempt to reshape these farms in any rapid way, by order or by action from outside."\*

### Socialization of Agriculture by Education and Persuasion

When the period of the democratic revolution was basically concluded, Comrade Mao Tse-tung stressed that "the education of the peasantry presents a serious problem." **To socialize agriculture, only the method of persuasion and education could be adopted; the method of coercion must never be employed.** In the "Decisions on the Development of Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives" of December 1953, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party pointed out that "the development of co-operation in agriculture must be guided, everywhere and at all times, by the basic principle that it should be voluntarily accepted by the peasants. It is absolutely impermissible to try to carry out the socialist transformation of small-peasant economy merely by issuing a call from above. Still less is it permissible to order or force the poor and middle peasants to join the co-operatives, or to take away their means of production and put them under collective ownership. Compulsion, commandism and expropriation of the peasants' means of production are criminal acts. They would disrupt the worker-peasant alliance, and the alliance between the poor and middle peasants; they are, in fact, criminal acts which would undermine co-operation in agricultural production without bringing any benefit whatsoever."

A fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism regarding the peasant question is that no attempt should be made to force the peasants to accept socialism by the method of expropriating their property. In order to realize socialism, the proletariat must forcibly expropriate the bourgeoisie (in China, we expropriated the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie, while we carried out the socialist transformation of the national bourgeoisie by the method of redemption and through state capitalism). But under no circumstances is it permissible to turn, by the method of expropriation, the means of production of the peasants as working people into collective property.

It is precisely from this viewpoint that Marxism-Leninism holds that transformation of the individual peasant economy into the economy of collective owner-

\* V.I. Lenin, "Speech at the First Congress of Agricultural Communes and Agricultural Artels," *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 199.

ship is the only correct road for the socialist transformation of agriculture because it is the only form acceptable to the peasants. Engels pointed out long ago that ". . . when we are in possession of state power we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants (regardless of whether with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in the case of the big landowners. Our task relative to the small peasants consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to co-operative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose."\*

Therefore, the economy of socialist public ownership inevitably has two different forms, namely: ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. The former began to be established after the expropriation of the

\* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 433.

means of production of the exploiters and the latter was established voluntarily by individual peasants and small handicraftsmen under the leadership and with the assistance of the Party and the state power of the proletariat. For a fairly long period of time, this collective ownership suits the conditions of the productive forces and can promote the growth of production and it conforms to the level of consciousness of the peasant masses.

**After the land reform, in order to promote rapidly the change-over in agriculture from individual to collective economy, the Chinese proletariat and the Communist Party, upholding the voluntary principle, adopted the policy of active leadership, steady progress and appropriate policies, steps and measures and did deep-going and painstaking work among the peasant masses.**

(To be continued)

## Afforestation

# Shelter-Belts in China's Northeast

by LI FANG

**S**EEN from the air, the green, criss-crossing walls of shelter-belts with a lush growth of different crops nestling in between, present a fascinating sight over vast areas in the northeastern part of China. This is one of the biggest afforestation projects undertaken after liberation. It covers 47 counties and cities in the western part of the three northeastern provinces of Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang, and the eastern part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region—an area of more than 340 million *mu*.

### Havoc from Wind and Sand

Only a decade ago, large parts of this area were vast stretches of sandy and alkali wastes, devoid of vegetation. In pre-liberation days the peasants, ruthlessly exploited and oppressed by the landlords and the Japanese invaders who overran the northeast for 14 years, were driven to destructive felling of forest stands for timber and fuel. Unplanned tilling of the land and over-grazing on the pastures created dust bowls; green-clad mountains were denuded of their undergrowth; grasslands were turned into sandy wastes.

By the time of liberation in 1948, such wastes made up some 60 per cent of the area; forests were reduced to a mere 3.2 per cent of the land area. Deprived of shelter, farmlands, constituting one-quarter of the area (the rest was grassland), were constantly threatened by all kinds of natural disasters—wind, shifting sand, flood, drought, frost and hailstorms. Records show that moderate gales (velocity: 15 metres and more per second) blew nearly one-third of the year and the worst year recorded as many as 109 days of strong gales (20.8 metres and

more per second). At those times, the sand and dust clouds blocked out the sun and the wind blew away the top soil, carrying off seeds, destroying seedlings, or lodging the growing crops. Shifting sands laid waste and swallowed up large tracts of good farmland. In Fuyu County, Kirin Province, for example, a large sand dune by the Sungari River relentlessly advanced at an average pace of 7-10 metres per year and each year swallowed up more than 1,500 *mu* of farmland; it had already destroyed 900 houses on three streets just outside the county town. Many people were driven from their land or left homeless.

### A Gigantic Effort

The peasants planted trees in attempts to break the wind and hold back the advancing sand, but such individual efforts bore little fruit in the old society. Landless, poverty-stricken, oppressed, it was impossible for them to afforest on any considerable scale; they were prevented from co-ordinating their efforts. Deforestation resulting from ruinous lumbering proceeded at a much faster rate than afforestation. Nature gained the upper hand more and more.

Liberation turned the tables. The working peasants became masters of their own fate and new possibilities were opened up to put rampant nature in her place. Land reform gave land to the peasants. The agricultural co-operation movement and the formation of rural people's communes that followed increased their organizational and financial strength. The Communist Party and People's Government gave the kind of leadership needed for co-ordinated efforts on a massive scale.

As early as 1951, the People's Government drew up a plan for a vast shelter-forest system. It was eagerly endorsed by the people and work immediately got under way. It went on simultaneously in the whole area extending to the Greater Khingan Range in the north, the Liaotung Peninsula in the south, the Changpai Mountains in the east, and the Inner Mongolian plain in the west. Mass action speeded up the initial detailed surveys. Thousands of people joined the survey parties. The surveying and general plan were completed in less than two years. Then a mass movement for the actual afforestation was launched. A large number of people took to collecting seeds, nursing saplings and planting trees.

### Initial Gains

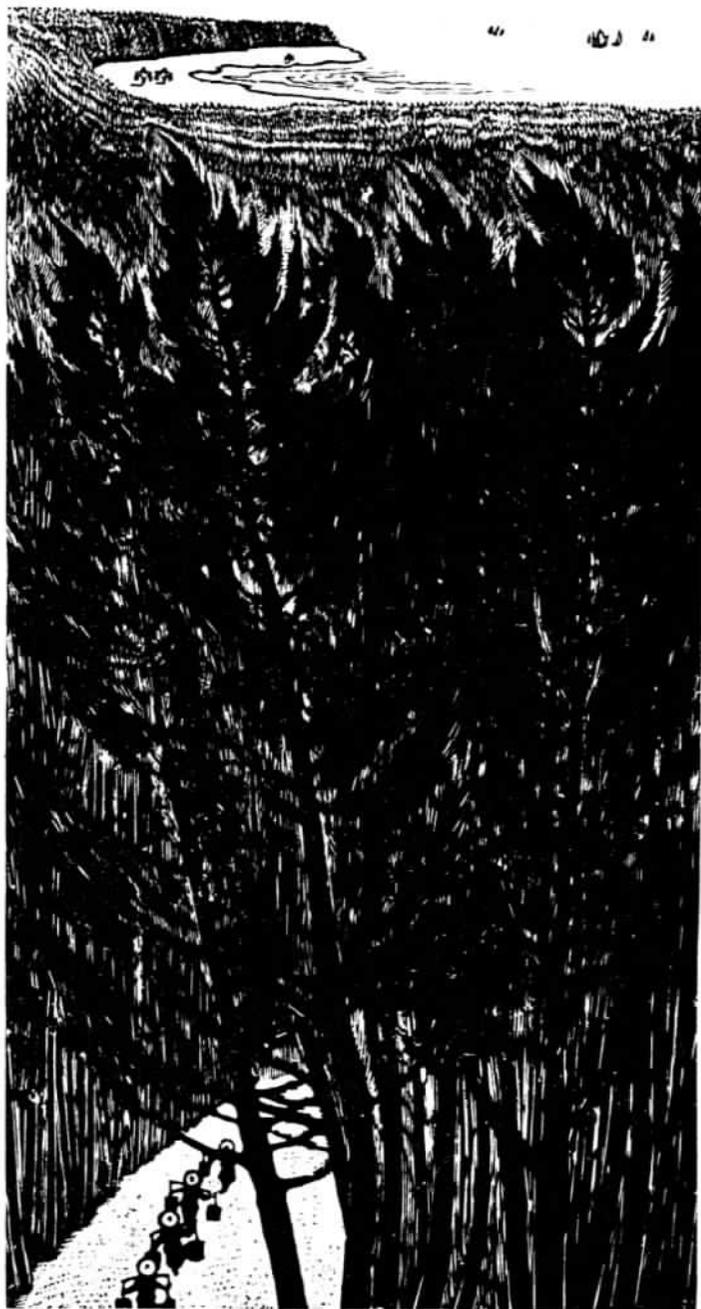
Now, less than 10 years later, young forests stand on more than 10 million *mu* of land. These include shelter-belts for the protection of farmland, sand-stabilizing forests, soil and water conservation forests, and embankment protection belts. Many of these are already playing a significant role in improving the micro-climate and restricting the damage wrought by wind, shifting sand, drought and flood.

In Fuyu County mentioned above, 105,000 *mu* have been afforested and 90,000 *mu* of this have become substantial forests. Some of the trees are eight metres tall and more. In the areas sheltered by these belts, wind velocities have been reduced by 20, and even by as much as 75 per cent; evaporation has been reduced by from 10 to 25 per cent; while relative humidity has been raised 24.7 per cent.

With the growth of these young forests which offer increasing protection for the land, crop yields have also increased steadily. In the Pachiatze area of Fuyu County, a comparatively low-yield area, per *mu* grain yield in 1951, before afforestation, was only 80 *jin*. It was 133 *jin* in 1953 and 266 *jin* in 1956, more than three times the 1951 yield. Although the crops were seriously damaged by pests in 1957, average yield still came to 212 *jin* that year. And this was only the beginning. This increase, of course, should not be attributed solely to the shelter-belts. The implementation of the "Eight-Point Charter" for agriculture and other factors were also essential. But that the shelter-belts play a big role is clear from the fact that yields from land protected by shelter-belts considerably exceeded those from exposed land. Thus, figures for the September 3 State Farm in Heilungkiang Province between 1956 and 1959 show that the average wheat and soya bean yields from sheltered land exceeded those from exposed land by 20.18 per cent and 19.36 per cent respectively.

The cultivated area, too, has been considerably extended. Less than a decade after the shelter-belt scheme began, Fuyu County was able to bring more than 105,000 *mu* of wasteland under cultivation and turn 30,000 *mu* of abandoned land into permanently cultivated land.

Many of the forests planted in the past decade have become promising new bases for timber and other forest products. They are already bringing in an increasing flow of income for the people. In recent years, the farmers of Fuyu have felled trees from newly afforested shelter-belts that yielded 8,500 cubic metres of timber.



A Shore-Protecting Belt

Woodcut by Liu Chi-min

This timber went into the building of water conservancy works, bridges, pigsties, sheep pens and stables and was also used to make farm tools, effectively promoting agricultural production. Between 1955 and 1959 many production brigades in Lungchiang County, Heilungkiang Province, derived an average annual income of from 26,000-30,000 yuan from their forest stands.

The shelter-belts have also helped in many other ways to improve village amenities. Members of what is now the Changkutai People's Commune in Changwu County were forced to move three times within living memory in face of advancing sand dunes. Now these have been anchored by a young sand-stabilizing forest, the Changkutai people have settled down in comfortable permanent new houses. And, with green trees planted all around, their surroundings have become much more pleasant and salutary—a sharp contrast with the past when trees were few and far between and not a grove or a forest was in sight.

# ART

## **Ceylonese Painting Exhibition**

The exhibition of Ceylonese painting which was first held at Peking's Working People's Palace of Culture and is now touring other cities was a popular attraction for artists and the general public in the capital. The 110 paintings by 50 artists give a broad idea of the different schools of contemporary Ceylonese painting, their great diversity of style, their rich creative talent and high artistic standards.

Landscapes in oils and water colours figure prominently in this collection. Similar subjects are treated in a great variety of styles, but in every artist's work is seen the same love of the homeland. Five of the paintings shown are by Gate-Mudaliyar Amarasekara, the noted academic painter of the older generation who is best known for his portraits in oils and water colour landscapes painted with a scrupulous realism and attention to detail. His virtuosity as a craftsman shows in his assured compositions and use of colour. His water colour paintings, like *Colombo Road* and *Palm-Fringed Coast* with their fresh colours, perfectly evoke the lush beauty of Ceylon's scenery translated by a mellow mind. In his serene oil paintings *Seascape* and *River Scene*, *Ratnapura*, and water colours *Seascape* and *River Scene*, another landscapist, K. Jinadasa, re-creates Ceylon's natural beauties from another angle and in another, a somewhat impressionist, style.

Exhibition goers were also delighted by the graceful colour and well-balanced composition of *Morning Kandy Lake* by Mudaliyar's talented son D.V.A.S. Amarasekara; *Up-Country Vista*, an oil painting by Donald Ramanayake and *Mahakandara Wewa*, a water colour distinguished by its fluent brushwork by G. S. Fernando.

As genre paintings usually do in Peking, pictures showing the everyday life of Ceylon's people also attracted a great deal of attention. *Girlhood* by A. Subramanian was well liked for its vividness and true-to-life feeling. Dayasiri Somapala and Richard Gabriel were two of the painters of popular harvest scenes.

Of particular interest were the paintings in traditional Ceylonese style

which formed a large proportion of the exhibits, and showed, as it were, the roots of present-day Ceylonese art. Ceylonese art reached a high standard of excellence more than a thousand years ago. The mural paintings of Sigiri, dating back to the 5th century A.D. and of Polunaruwa and Kandy, both belonging to the 12th century, are world renowned. Modern Ceylonese artists have made good use of these traditional forms to picture the life of their people, their manners and their picturesque customs. Such works have a striking Ceylonese national colour and form. The more than 40 pictures shown in this style cover a wide range of subjects from religious stories to contemporary everyday life. The artists have not only carried on the fine tradition of the past but have enriched it with a new content and new formal elements some taken from Western oil painting. Such new works are *After the Day's Work* by M.C.G. Fernando, a richly decorative panel showing the simple and industrious life of the people and *Railway Station* and *The Fair* by S.P. Fernando, both original compositions on subjects that are difficult to handle.

*Dancers* by K. Douglas L.E. Perera and *Kandyan Dancers* by N. Dharmadasa are both highly decorative and give an accurate portrayal of the graceful Ceylonese dance movements. This decorative trend in traditional painting is perfectly exemplified in two pieces: *Decorative Design* by the Rev. Mapalagama Wipulasara Thero

and *A Swan Design* by the Rev. Ariyajothi Thero.

The effort to draw on the fine Ceylonese pictorial art tradition of the grotto and temple murals is also discernible in other modern art media, as, for example, in the work of the oil painter and graphic artist George Keyt.

Chinese artists have eagerly welcomed the opportunity given by this exhibition to study the work of their Ceylonese colleagues and their rewarding efforts to develop their national art heritage. It has been a much appreciated opportunity too to see pictured so many facets of the life of the Ceylonese people and their beautiful island.

Following the Chinese Handicraft Art Exhibition in Ceylon last year, this exhibition of Ceylonese paintings in China is a sign of the strengthening friendship and growth of cultural and art exchanges between the two peoples.

## CULTURAL RELICS

### **World-Famous Grottoes Restored**

A meticulous and sensitive scheme for restoration has brought much of their glory back to the world-famous grottoes and temples that with their thousands of Buddhist sculptures carved in the living rock, adorn Yun-



**Palm-Fringed Coast, Ceylon**

Water colour painting by Gate-Mudaliyar Amarasekara

kang Hill, near Tatung, in Shansi Province. Some of the masterpieces here date back to the 5th century A.D. Since liberation, the Chinese Communist Party and the Government have paid great attention to the protection of the nation's historical monuments and relics. A recent State Council directive listed the Yunkang Caves as one of the most important historical sites and prescribed special protection and care for them.

More than a thousand grottoes comprise the Yunkang site. Twenty-one of these are large shrines. These grottoes, together with their over a hundred thousand Buddhist stone sculptures, took more than 40 years (from 450 to 494 A.D.) and the labour of 10,000 sculptors and others to complete. The largest image of Buddha is 15.5 m. tall set in a grotto measuring 21.3 m. wide by 15.5 m. deep. The Buddha is seated on a pedestal measuring 15.5 m. across and is surrounded by four smaller Buddhas. Pedestal, columns and walls are all richly carved. Almost all the grottoes are decorated with bas-reliefs of flying angels supple and gracefully conceived and exquisitely carved.

Shrine halls, platforms, pavilions, hanging verandas in classical Chinese architectural style and the numerous alcoves built around the main *cellas* combine to make the Yunkang Grottoes one of the gems of China's ancient civilization.

At the time of liberation in 1949, this historical site was in a state of utter disrepair. It has been ruthlessly pillaged by generations of reactionary rulers and foreign imperialists. Callous neglect by the old regimes had taken a heavy toll of its treasures.

Immediately after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Government promulgated a series of decrees and directives on the preservation of the nation's cultural heritage and the advancement of research work. An institute staffed with specialists was set up in 1952 to look after the Yunkang Caves, and since then considerable funds have been allocated by the state for its restoration and maintenance.

During the last eight years the buildings on the site have been repaired and repainted, accumulated debris has been cleared away, dilapidated grottoes have been restored and electric lighting installed in the major *cellas*. In 1955 the Yunkang Caves



The unique Shang Dynasty bronze vessel decorated with four human faces

were opened to the general public, and since then over 900 guests from about 40 countries and 240,000 tourists from all over China have visited them.

Also restored to much of their former glory are the famous Lungmen Grottoes. Carved out of the cliffs along the banks of the River Yi not far from Loyang (Honan Province), the earliest grotto here dates back to 495 A.D. This too is a cultural treasure house. The 97,000 Buddhist images and 3,680 carved inscriptions in its caves and alcoves are not only priceless objects of art, but provide invaluable material for the study of ancient Chinese life, calligraphy and history.

Greatly enhancing the beauty of this site are over one million trees planted during 1951 and 1953. These have now grown up to give the grottoes a welcome cloak of green.

After years of study and research, specialists have worked out new methods of protecting the rock sculptures from further damage due to weather and climatic changes.

#### SHORT NOTES

**Rare Antique Bronze Found.** A unique bronze, a rectangular shaped ritual vessel, dating back to the latter part of the Shang Dynasty (c. 16th-11th century B.C.), has been discovered in Ningsiang, Hunan Province. The vessel was found broken into ten pieces but it has now been carefully put together in its original shape.

As it stands today it is covered with a thick patina of bluish green with a jade-like lustre. What makes it unique are the four human faces in high relief which form the main ornamentation on its four sides, against a back-

ground of fine, zigzag lines. The austere looking faces are treated almost naturalistically with eyes, nose, mouth and general form looking surprisingly modern but with unusually large ears. Above and below the ears are decorative patterns symbolizing respectively clouds and hands with bent fingers.

The overall height of the vessel is 38.5 cm.; from bottom to rim 16.6 cm.; its opening is 29.8 cm. long and 23.7 cm. wide. The height of the legs is 14.6 cm. Archaeologists ascribe it to the Shang Dynasty, most likely the latter part of it. Other vessels found together with this piece include two big bronze bells, one with elephant designs and the other with tiger designs, both of the Shang period.

Neolithic age vessels with representations of the human face used as ornament have been found previously. The pottery basin unearthed at the neolithic settlement in Panpo Village near Sian, Shensi Province, is painted with a human face. A piece of pottery with a human face design was uncovered at the neolithic site at Sanlichiao, Shenh sien in Honan Province. Both pottery pieces are now in the collection of the Museum of Chinese History in Peking. Among well-known bronzes of Shang times there is the wine vessel in the form of a man being eaten by a *tao tieh* (head of a fabulous animal) which was said to have been found at a place in between Anhua and Ningsiang in Honan. But a vessel decorated with four human faces like the present find is unique thus far. No such vessel is listed in any illustrated catalogue of bronzes of the Shang and Chou Dynasties.

It is also remarkable that the faces on the two ends of the vessel are smaller than those on the sides, but all four faces have the same expression, and the relative positions of the eyes, nose and mouth are practically the same. This indicates the high standard of skill of the craftsmen of the time. It seems likely that they already knew how to make exact enlargements and reductions of designs.

#### CURRENT ENTERTAINMENTS

**Song and Dance, Music and Operas** by the visiting Sian Song and Dance Ensemble (Shensi Province), at the Cultural Palace of Nationalities Theatre.

**Puppet Shows** by the visiting Hunan Puppet and Shadow Theatre at the Chienmen Little Theatre.

# SIDELIGHTS

**A Useful Grass.** The uses of the tough, resilient bamboo in this country are legion. Its tender young shoots make delicious eating; peeled and shredded, its steel-tough outer skin is woven into mats, fans or baskets or into fine coverings for delicate porcelainware. Its lighter-than-steel culms or stems, some reaching 25 metres in length, make admirable scaffolding. In many districts in south China where several species of bamboo abound, a house and nearly every article of furniture and household utensil in it can be made of bamboo.

Modern industry and modern living in China have meant not less bamboo-ware, but more — and better.

Yiyang City in Hunan Province, for example, now has ten factories turning out more than 300 kinds of bamboo-ware ranging from garden rakes to exquisitely carved *objets d'art*. Before liberation many of the bamboo craftsmen of Yiyang never handled a tool more complex than a knife or saw. It is true they used these simple tools with brilliant skill, but it involved a great deal of laborious work. Today they are using machines which they themselves designed, powered either by electricity or manpower to saw, strip, shred and smooth the bamboo stems. They are using the time and energy saved to improve the already fine quality of their products and increase output. Yiyang craftsmen are proud of their hard-won fame. Mass production, they say, is no excuse for any lowering of quality. As one veteran Yiyang craftsman puts it: "Making more must mean more people buying better goods."

**Of Fish and Rice.** Breeding fish in rice-growing paddies is nothing new. Some well-watered districts have been doing this for centuries. But it has become an increasingly widely adopted practice during the last three years since the building of many large and small irrigation works by the people's communes greatly expanded the country's irrigated area. More and more provinces and communes are introducing combined fish and rice farming with successful results. A Shensi people's commune raising fish and rice together for the

first time harvested 2,600 *jin* of fish from 123 *mu* of paddy last year. In another commune in Kiangsi Province, fish were bred in 5,200 *mu* of rice-fields. The 260,000 *jin* of fresh fish landed since last year provided commune members with many a tasty meal and extra income.

**A Lively Museum.** Since it was founded a year ago the Museum of Natural Sciences in Shanghai has quickly made a name for itself by bringing science in a new live way into the lives of thousands of youngsters. It makes a speciality of exhibitions illustrating and supplementing classroom lessons and lending illustrations and specimens to schools. Pupils and public alike are attracted to its exhibition halls because what they see and hear there is always so closely related to their life and work. Last year just before the fishing season got under way the museum received a request from several schools for material to illustrate lessons on the development of the fishing industry. With characteristic speed and down-to-earthness the museum sent several of its staff to get first-hand material from a local people's fishing commune. Working together with experienced fishermen, it was able to put an eye-catching show, displaying real fishing tackle with vivid photo illustrations and several well-made documentary films.

**Mica Carving.** One of many ancient Chinese handicrafts being revived by

the People's Government after long years of neglect under the old regime is mica carving. This art originated and flourished in Canton until the beginning of this century, then it practically died out. With its natural pearly lustre and due to the prismatic qualities of mica crystals, an object carved in this material shows up in an astonishing range of colours and tints when viewed from various angles and under various conditions of light, but it takes a really practised artist to choose the right subject for the size, shape and colour of his material to get the best out of it.

Now a collection of new mica carvings is being displayed at the Handicraft Art Institute in Canton. They were made by old craftsmen brought together by the Ministry of Culture to revive this art. A carving of a pair of *Mandarin Ducks Sporting in the Water* shows how much the prismatic quality of the material matters and how it can be used. Various views, the ducks change subtly in colour from scintillating ruby to yellow to violet-green, all the colours one would see when ducks dip and dive in jade-green waters. Other exhibits too show what beautiful sculptured forms and attractive colour effects can be got out of mica by a skilled craftsman. There are not many exhibits, these being the first mica pieces carved in 40 years, but they amply show the promise of this reviving flower of art among the hundreds already blossoming.

**Voice Training.** After completing an experimental voice training course at the Shanghai Research Institute of Vocal Music, 60 stage and operatic artists showed marked improvements in their range, breath control, tone and articulation. Within a year, one baritone, a Tientsin paper-mill worker sent by his trade union for training, increased his range in the upper register by 3½ notes and by 5 in the lower register. This course attempts to synthesize Chinese operatic and Italian methods of voice training checked against scientific principles of voice production. Another successful example of the policy of experimenting to combine the best of indigenous and foreign experience, it is the work of a team working under Professor Lin Chun-ching who is himself a vocalist and a doctor of medicine.



Good Fisherman Woodcut by Mao I-heng

# CHINA AND THE WORLD

## **Polish State Leaders Greeted**

In a warm message of greetings Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Chairman Chu Teh and Premier Chou En-lai congratulated Comrades Aleksander Zawadzki and Jozef Cyrankiewicz, on their election to the posts of the Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic and Chairman of the Council of Ministers respectively.

## **China - G.D.R. Ties**

Two new steps have been taken in promoting trade and cultural exchanges between China and the German Democratic Republic.

Under the newly signed 1961 goods exchange and payments protocol, China will export to the G.D.R. minerals, livestock products, food-stuffs, textiles and other light industrial goods, while the G.D.R. will send to China chemical fertilizers, complete sets of factory installations, machine tools, instruments, forging equipment, etc.

Meanwhile, the 1961 Executive Plan of the China-G.D.R. Cultural Cooperation Agreement has come into effect following an exchange of notes. Already, in accordance with the plan, Chinese writers Chang Kuang-nien, editor-in-chief of the literary magazine *Wenjiabao*, and Pien Chih-lin are visiting the German Democratic Republic.

## **Algerian Diplomatic Mission**

Kiouane Abderrahmane, head of the diplomatic mission of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria to China, has arrived in Peking. He presented his letter of credence to Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, last week. During the presentation ceremony, both Chairman Liu Shao-chi and the Algerian diplomatic envoy underlined the militant ties which link the two countries in the fight against colonialism.

Kiouane declared: "The friendly and fraternal ties which have united our two countries were established in a decisive period in Algerian history,

during the anti-colonialist fight of the Algerian people for independence. The Algerian people will not forget that the Government of the Chinese People's Republic was one of the first to grant recognition to the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria after its establishment and since then your great country has constantly supported our revolution. The friendship between China and Algeria has been forged in the fire of struggle and true solidarity. Therefore, this friendship is solid and durable."

Chairman Liu Shao-chi, in his reply, said that "the Chinese people are very happy to see that the heroic army and people of Algeria have, under the leadership of the Algerian National Liberation Front and the Provisional Government, persisted in their protracted and heroic war of resistance, stubbornly fought against the French colonialist troops who are supported by the imperialist aggressive bloc headed by the United States and won great victories in the struggle." "The Chinese people," Chairman Liu added, "give their full support to the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria which, while conducting armed struggle, does not exclude the attainment of national independence by means of negotiations based on equality and exposes ceaselessly by this form of struggle the imperialists' manoeuvres and deception. The Chinese people stand firmly by the Algerian people, will invariably support the latter's liberation struggle and do everything they can to assist it until final victory is secured."

## **Laotian Delegation in Kunming**

A delegation of the armed forces of the First Military Region of the Kingdom of Laos has just completed a visit in China's Yunnan Province.

Speaking at a banquet given in its honour, Lieutenant-Colonel Kham Uon Bupha, head of the delegation and Commander of the First Laotian Military Region, declared that the purpose of his mission was to strengthen the friendly ties between the Laotian and Chinese peoples. Laos and China's Yunnan Province, he said, share a common border and the two peoples have always been on very friendly terms. Thanking the Chinese people for their support of the Laotian people's fight against U.S. imperialism, Lieutenant-Colonel Bupha said: "The U.S. imperialists want to turn Laos into a military base for aggression against

the Chinese People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This plot of theirs will not materialize because the peace-loving people of the world absolutely will not tolerate it."

## **Japanese People's Joint Action**

Popular organizations in China have expressed solidarity with the Japanese people in their nationwide united action carried through during May 19-20 against the Japan-U.S. "Security" Treaty and for the defence of peace and democracy. They cabled to their Japanese counterparts expressing the Chinese people's full support for their Japanese brothers in the common fight against U.S. imperialism.

The message from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions underlines the significance of the Japanese people's struggle against the Japan-U.S. "Security" Treaty not only as a contribution to the defence of their national independence, but also to the defence of Asian and world peace. At this very moment, the message points out, the Kennedy Administration of the United States is making use of its military bases in Japan to carry out armed intervention against Viet Nam and Laos.

## **U.S. Air and Naval Intrusions**

U.S. warships and planes have made further intrusions into China's territorial sea and air during recent weeks.

On April 28, between 10:16 and 12:04 hours, two U.S. warships intruded into China's territorial sea south of Pinghai and Swabue in Kwangtung Province. Between 12:22 and 12:35 hours on the same day, a U.S. military aircraft flew over the islands of Yunghsing and Shih in Kwangtung Province's Hsisha Islands. On May 4, between 10:35 and 10:41 hours, a U.S. naval patrol plane again flew over Yunghsing Island. On May 8, between 15:56 and 16:06 hours, a U.S. military aircraft flew over China's territorial sea south of Pinghai and Swabue. On May 15, between 15:55 and 16:04 hours, a U.S. military aircraft flew over the islands of Chilien, Shih and Yunghsing in Hsisha Islands. On May 22, between 10:19 and 10:30 hours, a U.S. military aircraft flew over China's territorial sea south of Pinghai and Swabue.

A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry has issued the 144th, 145th, 146th, 147th and 148th serious warnings against these military provocations.

# CHINESE PRESS OPINION

## Johnson's Murky Mission

Last week the Chinese press continued with its exposure of the devious aims of the Far Eastern trip which U.S. Vice-President Lyndon Johnson had been on. Following its Observer's commentary on the Johnson-Ngo Dinh Diem joint communique (see *Peking Review*, No. 20, p. 21) *Renmin Ribao* again commented on Johnson's trip in its editorial of May 18.

While U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk was busily erecting stumbling blocks at the enlarged Geneva Conference, Johnson was rushing from Saigon to Manila, from Taipei to Bangkok, offering dollars, guns and advice in a new U.S. effort to step up preparations for aggression and aggravate tension in Indo-China and throughout Southeast Asia. This two-pronged Rusk-Johnson deployment, declared *Renmin Ribao*, pursued the same aim and indicated that the Kennedy Administration is not out to "seek peace" as it claims, but rather to undermine it.

The Johnson trip, the editorial noted, was made at a time when U.S. policies of aggression and war were suffering ever more serious setbacks in Asia. As admitted by the United States itself, it "gambled and lost" in Laos, "the situation" in south Viet Nam "is more grave than in Laos," "a strong drift toward neutralism is reported to be overtaking Thailand" and "south Korea faces uncertainty." For the U.S. aggressors, it is indeed a case of one shock of "bad news" after another and trouble everywhere. The *U.S. News and World Report* wrote, "All through Southeast Asia, the political structure that U.S. dollars built is tending to crumble."

In the Philippines and Thailand, *Renmin Ribao* noted, Johnson clamoured that "strength" must be "maintained" and that the "commitment to freedom" must be fulfilled. He threatened that one must not "underestimate the desire and determination of our President to carry out policies to defend freedom in Asia." It is not difficult to see that this "freedom" of Kennedy's is nothing but the freedom of U.S. monopoly capital to enslave the peoples of all

Asian countries. The purpose of Johnson's Far Eastern trip is precisely to preserve this "freedom" of the United States to enslave the peoples of Asian countries, organize all the reactionary forces in Asia and suppress the struggles of the Asian peoples against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Johnson's moves in Taiwan showed anew the open hostility of the Kennedy Administration to the Chinese people, the editorial emphasized. Kennedy declared hypocritically after assuming office that he would like to see "a lessening of tension" with China. But facts in the past months show that the United States has not changed an iota of its policy of hostility towards the Chinese people. The "two Chinas" plot which it pursues with renewed vigour is opposed not only by the Chinese people but also by peace-loving peoples and countries the world over. Will it change then its policy of hostility to the Chinese people and occupying Taiwan? Johnson's latest moves in Taiwan have given a clear answer to this. Johnson himself said that no matter what tactics may be employed to meet "immediate needs," they would in no way affect the "ultimate objectives" of the United States. In other words, it will persist in its hostility to the Chinese people to the bitter end.

While in Taiwan, Johnson launched vicious and slanderous attacks on the Chinese people. He blustered that the United States would never recognize the Chinese People's Republic and would continue to oppose the restoration of China's seat in the United Nations. So far as the Chinese people are concerned, there is nothing new in all this, for who among them expects that U.S. imperialism, aggressive by nature, will change its policy of hostility towards them?

The editorial called attention to the communique on the talks between Johnson and Chiang Kai-shek which stressed that to preserve "freedom in

Asia," both parties made a "candid exploration and consideration of the strategies required to assure effective action," that they discussed the serious situation in Southeast Asia and particularly in south Viet Nam, and that the Chiang Kai-shek clique was urged to undertake "new measures of co-operation... with the United States and other countries." This, *Renmin Ribao* said, means that the United States is contemplating making further use of the Chiang Kai-shek clique to carry out its aggressive plots against other countries in Asia. As is well known, the remnant Kuo-mintang troops, on U.S. orders, have taken part in the civil war in Laos. This situation calls for the serious attention of the people in Asia and all peace-loving people of the world.

It is no coincidence that Johnson visited the Far East at about the same time the Geneva Conference was convened, the editorial said. One can well remember when in 1954 the countries concerned were holding an international conference in Geneva to seek a peaceful settlement of the Indo-Chinese question, the United States, while carrying out disruptive activities within the conference, intensified its aggressive manoeuvres in Southeast Asia. Soon after the Geneva Conference, it rigged up its Southeast Asian aggressive bloc. In the years following, it has never stopped using this tool to carry out aggressive activities in Southeast Asia and the Far East, create tension and undermine peace in



Evil Bird

Cartoon by Hsu Chin

Asia. Now, just when the international conference for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question is under way, while Rusk played the role of a trouble-maker in Geneva, Johnson from that same country was engaged on a dirty mission in Southeast Asia. The Burmese paper *Vanguard* is therefore perfectly just in describing Johnson as an "evil bird."

### **Military Coup in South Korea**

The May 16 military coup in south Korea is a fascist putsch stage-managed by U.S. imperialism, declared *Renmin Ribao's* editorial of May 21.

The "Military Revolutionary Committee," formed by a group of reactionary officers in the south Korean army after they had staged the coup, issued a "six-point programme" on May 16. It declared that it would "take anti-communism for its primary objective," "reorganize and strengthen anti-communist preparations," and "fortify ties with the United States and other free world allies." At the same time, it ordered martial law, banned all political activities and put the press and publications under strict control. Already thousands have been arrested and thrown into prison. All this, *Renmin Ribao* stated, has revealed the reactionary character of this coup.

Why are the U.S. imperialists in such a hurry to stage this coup? This is because, the paper explained, quoting a U.S. news agency, the situation was "getting out of hand" after nine months of Chang Myun's misrule.

Elaborating this point, *Renmin Ribao* continued: When the puppet Chang Myun clique first took power, it tried to deceive the south Korean people with promises of building "a welfare state." But compared with the Syngman Rhee clique which was thrown out in April last year, what it did showed that it was just a case of six of one and half a dozen of the other. Kowtowing to the U.S. *diktat*, the traitor Chang Myun continued to press ahead with arms expansion and war preparations. This has bled the masses white. The economic situation in south Korea has continued to worsen. Its national industries have all but broken down while its agriculture has gone bankrupt. The broad masses of the south Korean urban and rural population are suffering starvation, described "the worst in 15 years."

## THE PASSING SHOW

### "TIME," the Weekly Fiction Magazine

The U.S. magazine *Time*, in describing what it calls *The Cuban Disaster*, wrote: "... a dozen jets, some of them MIGs flown by Czech pilots, shot down five of the invaders' twelve B-26 bombers."

But Senator Wayne Morse, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Sub-Committee on Latin America, announced, "not a bit of evidence . . . that there was a single Russian MIG in Cuba." In smashing the U.S. mercenaries, admitted the Senator, "the Castro government used American planes we supplied to Batista."

### And the Rich Get Richer

After these years of what the capitalist economists like to call "people's capitalism" it turns out, according to a survey quoted in the *London Economist*, that at the top of the pyramid in England 20,000 persons have an average holding of over £250,000, while, at the bottom, 16,000,000 have an average holding of less than £50. One per cent of British adults

own 43 per cent of total net capital while the top 10 per cent own 79 per cent of capital. Meanwhile, in the U.S.A., the top one per cent of the "people" own 24 per cent of the personal wealth of the nation.



Under such conditions, the paper continued, the south Korean people have come to see more clearly than ever that their misery stems from U.S. military occupation and colonial rule. Although Syngman Rhee, the old running dog of the United States, was kicked out, the new running dog, Chang Myun, who replaced him could in no way lessen their sad plight. That is why the south Korean people have risen anew in unity and carried forward their struggle for survival on a still bigger scale. Since this spring, particularly, the south Korean people have spearheaded their struggle directly against the U.S. aggressors, surrounding the headquarters of the U.S. Eighth Army and staging sit-down strikes in front of the U.S. "Embassy" with shouts of "Yanks, get out!"

Recently, the editorial recalled, the United States authorities and the Chang Myun clique had tightened their fascist rule over the people and even openly called out U.S. military police to suppress the people's struggle. At the same time, they resorted to political trickery by sentencing Syngman Rhee's Minister of the Interior and others, staging so-called cabinet reshuffles and dismissing some "notorious ministers," all with the aim of softening up the patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism.

But all this was of no avail, the editorial pointed out. Recently, the south Korean students advanced a programme for cultural exchange between south and north Korea and called for the holding in Panmunjom of a conference of representatives of students from both parts of the country. This was an even more powerful form of struggle representing the common aspirations of the south Korean people. It was precisely in such circumstances that the reactionary, U.S.-engineered military coup took place. The United States has at last discarded all the "democratic" trappings to set up an undisguised military fascist regime in south Korea.

The editorial concluded: "For 16 years U.S. imperialism has occupied south Korea and thrust an extremely reactionary regime upon it. During this period, tens of thousands of south Koreans have been slaughtered by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys Syngman Rhee and Chang Myun. Yet the heroic south Korean people have remained unconquered. Now U.S. imperialism is resorting to military fascist rule. This by no means indicates its strength. On the contrary, it precisely shows its weakness and bears witness to the utter bankruptcy of its aggressive policy in south Korea."



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