

PEKING REVIEW

50

December 13, 1963

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An Example of Modern Revisionism in Art

A critique of the films and statements of Soviet
director Grigori Chukhrai (p. 6).

Machine-Building Industry Grows

Self-reliance in action (p. 22).

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Ceylon Marxist-Leninists to Establish Revolutionary Leadership

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

December 13, 1963 Vol. VI No. 50

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- It is announced that Premier Chou En-lai will shortly pay friendship visits to the United Arab Republic, Algeria and Morocco. Vice-Premier Chen Yi will accompany him.

- Two more African countries become independent.

Kenya celebrated its attainment of independence on December 12. Vice-Premier Chen Yi represented the Chinese Government at the gala ceremony in Nairobi, Kenya's capital.

Zanzibar proclaimed its independence on December 10. Cables from Chinese leaders warmly greeted the event, the Chinese Government being represented at the independence celebrations by its Ambassador to Tanganyika.

- China and Albania signed a protocol on the exchange of goods and financial payments for the coming year.

- The fourth session of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, after meeting for 18 days, ended on December 4. The session further strengthened the people's democratic united front and contributed to rallying the people of the whole country to take an active part in building socialism.

- The Wukung People's Commune in north China's Hopei Province celebrates twenty years of collective farming.

- The China Peace Committee and the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity issued a joint statement condemning U.S. imperialism for expanding its aggression in south Viet Nam. They endorsed the six demands of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front and the supporting statement of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic.

- The Chinese press reported the publication of a theoretical journal, *The Australian Communist*, by the Marxist-Leninists in Australia.

- *Renmin Ribao* published the full text of the December 6 editorial of the Korean paper *Rodong Shinmoon* entitled "Holding Still Higher the Revolutionary Banners of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement," pointing out that to oppose revisionism is the most urgent revolutionary task of Communists.

Premier Chou to Visit African Countries

Premier Chou En-lai is shortly to visit the United Arab Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria and the Kingdom of Morocco at the invitations of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, President Ahmed Ben Bella and King Hassan II respectively.

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi will also visit Algeria at the invitation of Algerian Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdel Aziz Bou-teflika, and will accompany Premier

Chou on his visit to the U.A.R. and Morocco.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi Arrives In Kenya

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi arrived on December 10 as the guest of the Government of Kenya in Nairobi to attend the ceremonies marking Kenya's independence. He was welcomed at the airport by Gikonyo Kiano, Minister of

Commerce and Industry; R. Achieng Oneko, Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism; J.D. Kali, Member of the House of Representatives and Chief Whip of the Government Party in the House of Representatives; J.P. Mathenge, Senator and leader of government affairs in the Senate; and many other high officials and prominent public figures.

Shortly after his arrival, Marshal Chen Yi called on Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta, warmly congratulating him on Kenya's attainment of independence. He also conveyed to the Prime Minister the hearty congratulations and good wishes of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai, and on behalf of Chairman Liu and Premier Chou invited him to visit China. Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta gladly accepted the invitation, saying that he would make the visit at the earliest opportunity.

C.P.P.C.C. Session Closes

The fourth session of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which opened in Peking on November 17, closed on December 4. Chou En-lai, Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C.'s National Committee, presided at the final session.

The C.P.P.C.C. is the leading organization of the Chinese people's democratic united front. It is a consultative body where representatives of the nation's many nationalities, democratic parties, people's organizations, people in all walks of life and overseas Chinese gather to discuss state affairs and make suggestions to the Government.

At the fourth session, members of the National Committee who also attended the fourth session of the Second National People's Congress as observers had lively and animated discussions. Two hundred and nine members spoke at the plenary meetings. They included leading members of democratic parties and people's organizations, workers, peasants, scientists, professors, engineers, writers, artists, representatives of national minorities, industrialists and businessmen, people of various religious faiths and representatives of returned overseas Chinese. All expressed elation

at the rapidity with which the national economy had begun to take a turn for an all-round improvement, at China's great achievements in international affairs, her growing international prestige and the increasing number of her friends throughout the world.

The session adopted a resolution endorsing the report on the work of the Standing Committee of the Third National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. It warmly approved the speech made by Premier Chou En-lai and the reports made by Vice-Premiers Li Fuchun and Li Hsien-nien. It also gave full support to the domestic and foreign policies of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government.

The resolution called upon the people of all nationalities in the country to unite under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the guidance of the general line for building socialism. It exhorted them to work vigorously by relying on the nation's own strength and resources and to strive for the fulfilment of the 1964 economic plan and for a further all-round improvement in the national economy. It urged the National Committee and the committees at the various levels of the C.P.P.C.C. to further consolidate and strengthen the people's democratic united front and to rally all people to take an active part in the socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the socialist education movement. The resolution expressed determination to strive for victory in the struggle against imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries, modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, and for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

The session decided that the term of the Third National Committee be prolonged to September 1964. It entrusted the Standing Committee of the C.P.P.C.C.'s National Committee with the preparatory work for convening the Fourth National Committee.

Zanzibar's Independence Day

The cry "Uhuru" (freedom) is sounding throughout Zanzibar. After

73 years of British colonial rule, the country proclaimed its independence on December 10. On hand to greet the Government and people of Zanzibar on behalf of the Chinese Government was Ho Ying, Ambassador to Tanganyika.

Messages of congratulations were sent by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to Jamshid Bin Abdullah and Muhammed Shante Hamadi, Sultan and Prime Minister of Zanzibar respectively, wishing the Zanzibar Government and people prosperity and still greater successes in upholding national independence and developing their country.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Chen Yi in a message formally advising Minister of External Affairs and Trade Ali Muhsin of the recognition of Zanzibar by China said he hoped that this would lead to the further development of relations between the two countries.

Renmin Ribao in its editorial celebrating Zanzibar's independence paid tribute to the heroic struggles by the people of Zanzibar against old and new colonialism. "The Chinese people," it said, "will, as before, continue to support the people of Zanzibar to safeguard their national independence and sovereignty. They hail every advance made by the people of Zanzibar in opposing imperialism as a powerful support to themselves."

Sino-Albanian Trade

Fruitful talks were held in Tirana between the Chinese and Albanian government trade delegations on the mutual supply of goods in 1964 and the continued expansion of economic co-operation between the two countries. Following the talks, the two parties on December 6 signed a protocol on exchange of goods and payments for 1964. In accordance with the provisions of the two previous agreements on the loans granted by China to Albania signed in Peking, a protocol on the use by the Government of Albania of loans from the Government of China was also signed.

According to the protocols, China will supply Albania with grain, various steel products, mechanical equipment of various types, agricul-

tural machinery, rubber, paper, cotton, lubricating oil, steel tubes of various types and other commodities. Albania will supply China with chromic ore, iron nickel ore, crude oil, asphalt, copper, tobacco, cigarettes and other commodities.

The Sino-Albanian trade talks and the protocols signed, said the communique issued after the talks, "manifest the further growth of the unity, friendship and relations of mutual aid and co-operation between the peoples of the two countries, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This will greatly promote the common upsurge in socialist economic construction and will certainly help to strengthen the unity and might of the socialist camp and the cause of defending world peace."

Chinese Exhibition in Mexico

The Chinese economic and trade exhibition, which opened in Mexico City on December 7, was seen by more than 5,000 people on its opening day. The exhibition is divided into six sections: general, heavy industries, agriculture, textile and other light industries, handicrafts, and culture and education.

The day before, President Lopez Mateos was taken around on a preview of the halls by Chang Kuang-tou, head of the Chinese exhibition mission.

The opening ceremony took place on the square in front of the exhibition building. Raul Salinas Lozano, Mexican Secretary of Industry and Commerce, cut the ribbon.

Addressing the guests at the ceremony, Chang Kuang-tou thanked the Mexican Government, business and other circles and the people for their support for the exhibition. "Both China and Mexico have a long historical background and an age-old culture," he said. "Our two peoples have always been friendly to each other. The long distance which separates us do not lessen the peoples' desire to promote friendship and trade between our two countries." He expressed confidence that Sino-Mexican friendship, co-operation and economic and trade ties would grow steadily.

Jose Luis Cecena, President of the Mexico-China Economic Relations Promotion Committee, in his speech,

described the exhibition as of great significance to Mexico. Declaring that Mexico was determined to clear away the obstacles created by foreign economic forces which tried to monopolize the country's economy, he said: "Through this exhibition the scope of our economic relations has been extended to a country which amazes the world with its advanced achievements in the economic and cultural fields."

Electronic Computers Aid Economy

China made its first electronic digital computers in 1958 and since then they have been used on an ever growing scale in research, engineering, and other fields.

It is this kind of modern equipment that enables China to issue short-term numerical weather forecasts for large areas. Such a forecast needs millions of calculations. Even large numbers of people would take a week to find the answers by manual methods. Then, the results would be out of date. Now, the computers can do the work in less than one hour. On the basis of their calculations, the nation's weather can be predicted 48 hours in advance.

Electronic digital computers prove helpful in transport and agriculture too. Last May more than 26 million ton-kilometres of freight were saved when a national distribution plan for nitrogenous fertilizers was checked. The correct choice and deployment of the most suitable types of tractors in a given area also requires detailed mathematical studies. The use of computers reduced the types of tractors operating in one county of Hopei Province, for example, from 11 to 3, thereby effecting great savings of manpower and money.

Maritime Industry

The volume of China's ocean and coastal shipping has been stepped up considerably. Simultaneous with more foreign vessels calling at Chinese ports there has been an increase in the number of sailings for foreign ports under the five-starred red flag of the Chinese People's Republic.

Three new routes, which find Chinese vessels putting in at more than 30 ports in 21 countries and re-

gions, have been opened to Southeast Asia, Europe and Africa. Although New China's first ocean-going ship sailed for Djakarta in 1961, the first day of 1963 when the China-built freighter *Peace* docked at Conakry, Guinea in Africa marked a new stage in China's overseas shipping.

Coastal trade has risen sharply with more than 60 routes being plied along the nation's 14,000-kilometre coastline. The total carrying capacity of freighters serving routes north of Shanghai has been more than doubled since 1957.

This year average time of port calls for sea-going vessels in China's major ports has been cut by one day. The result has been an addition of several hundred thousand tons in shipping capacity for Chinese cargo vessels docking at Talien, Chinwangtao, Tientsin, Tsingtao, Lienyun Harbour, Shanghai, Whampoa and Chankiang which handle more than 95 per cent of the nation's seaborne transport.

In longshoring swifter turn rounds have resulted mainly through progressively replacing manual labour with new modern equipment—cranes, loaders, conveyors, and hoists—for loading and discharging. Port rail and road connections have been improved. This year more than 70 per cent of the freight, against 25 per cent in 1957, passing through major seaports were handled by machines instead of men. Where formerly it took 500 men three back-breaking days to load a 10,000-ton collier, now it takes less than one day and far fewer longshoremen.

Capital investment during the last few years has improved and expanded seaport capacity. A deep-water pier with berths for five 10,000-ton vessels has been added to Tientsin's New Harbour. New deep-water piers, and warehouses have been built and machines installed for harbours in Shanghai, Whampoa and Chinwangtao.

An important adjunct to the nation's burgeoning maritime industry is the training of senior technical personnel for sea-going navigation and for shipbuilding at China's two maritime colleges. Captains, chief engineers and first mates have been graduated from the Talien Maritime Navigation College. Founded in 1953, it boasts an alumni of more than 2,000.

An Example of Modern Revisionism in Art

— A Critique of the Films and Statements of Grigori Chukhrai

by CHANG KUANG-NIEN

Following is an abridged translation of an article published in the November issue of "Wenyi Bao" (Literary Gazette) this year. The author is a noted critic. The same number also carries a Chinese translation of Chukhrai's article "Keeping the Old on Their Toes." — Ed.

I. Raising the Question

A YEAR ago, Grigori Chukhrai, a representative figure in the Soviet film world, wrote an article called "Keeping the Old on Their Toes" for the October 1962 number of the British magazine *Films and Filming*. In this article Chukhrai champions the philosophy of "humanism" and "humanity" and sings the praises of a class-transcending humanity and human sentiment. What he does is to attack Marxist-Leninist ideology as "dogmatism" because "there is a difference between ideology and humanity"; he wants ideology and humanity to be "synonymous"; before the British public he accuses the Soviet proletarian dictatorship of lacking humanism, saying that "we were to experience communism without humanism which should never be so." He lashes out at past Soviet socialist art, saying that "there were many barriers between the real life of people and the interpretation of that life in art." He maligns his artistic elders, charging that "the old group of directors were so soaked in dogmatism" that "they will die thinking the same things in the same way." He says that he wants to "fight for new conceptions of cinematography" and thus raises the banner of a "Soviet new wave" following the precedent of the "Western new wave." He indicates that he wants to renovate the Soviet cinema with these "new conceptions" and "influence other socialist countries." He expresses strong dissatisfaction with the fact that his much paraded "new wave" has not been able to exert any influence on the Chinese cinema and makes a wanton attack on New China's cinema, slanderously saying that "the Chinese films are the example of the dogmatic and anti-artistic way of thinking," that they do not portray "emotions," that "with dogmatism and logic alone the Chinese artist cannot make good films," and so on.

It is not difficult to see that the political, philosophical and artistic viewpoints expressed in Chukhrai's article are opposed to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian artistic thought. That an artist of a socialist country who calls himself a Communist Party member should publish in a Western bourgeois journal an article openly vilifying Marxism-Leninism, the socialist system and proletarian artistic thought is a matter deserving serious attention.

In order to diminish the revolutionary influence of Marxism-Leninism among the peoples of the world the modern revisionists curse it as "dogmatism." Thus it is not surprising that Chinese films should be here stigmatized as "dogmatic." We would like now to take this opportunity to discuss three films of Chukhrai's and the substance of his so-called anti-dogmatist "new wave," to

see whether it is that others are "soaked in dogmatism" or whether it is that he himself has gone too far along the political line of modern revisionism and the artistic path of the modern bourgeoisie, and also to see what political ends are served by the "new conceptions" he has advocated for cinema art.

In this article we shall confine our discussion to the question of how a work of art deals with the question of war and peace. We do so because Chukhrai's three films, *The Forty-First*, *Ballad of a Soldier* and *The Clear Sky*, all deal with the subject of war and themes concerning war, and his political, philosophical and artistic viewpoints are most clearly shown in his approach to this subject. What is even more important is that the odour of bourgeois humanism and pacifism, which these films on war emit, is precisely a reflection of the political line of modern revisionism in the spheres of art and ideology and of the political aspirations for "peaceful evolution" from socialism to capitalism. All this is so comprehensively and clearly embodied in Chukhrai's films that they can well deserve the honour of being regarded as an example of modern revisionism in art. Much can be learnt from analysing and studying them; nor will the benefit be confined to the artistic field.

II. A Confession About Revolutionary War

FILMS of the "Soviet new wave" championed by Chukhrai, his own films in particular, always reiterate the same message: the revolutionary wars the proletariat and the revolutionary people were forced to wage were incompatible with the individual happiness of the masses, while the collective interest of the revolution was incompatible with the individual interest. The formula that war destroys personal happiness and love is most clearly demonstrated in these films.

The Forty-First came out in 1956. Chukhrai himself has proclaimed it as a product of his struggle with "dogmatism" and "prejudice," and we must take it as the forerunner of the "Soviet new wave." Maryutka, the heroine of the film, is the only girl soldier in a Red Army guerrilla detachment. Born in a poor fisherman's family, she has become a crack shot since joining the army and has killed 40 of the enemy. But when she aims her rifle at her forty-first, fate seems to trick her and she misses. A blue-eyed White Guard lieutenant raises a white flag and surrenders. (This lieutenant is on an important secret mission as an emissary of the White commander-in-chief Kolchak to the rebel government of General Denikin.) Maryutka is entrusted with guarding this important prisoner. During the journey the small boat they are in is hit by a storm and they are both cast ashore on an uninhabited desert island. "Human nature" overcomes class nature, and the enemies become lovers. The blue-eyed lieutenant who "was to have been the forty-first name on Maryutka's death list becomes the first name on her list of a maiden's happiness." The Red Army

heroine becomes the nurse and mistress of the White officer. "She is in his power, and will do anything he asks." On their desert island they forget about everything and lead a "happy life" in which there is no war and no class struggle. But when the lieutenant hails a White boat which comes to the island and runs along the shore towards it Maryutka's illusions are shattered. She takes up her rifle and kills her lover, then runs along the strand to his body and embraces it in tears. This is the plot of the film.

The director prettifies the love of the Red Army fighter for her class enemy. It is exactly this that has met with the approval of certain cinema critics. A Soviet woman critic has explained for our benefit that "Maryutka is a simple girl who cannot feel that this lieutenant, sick and ragged like herself, is an enemy. She forgets this point. The situation is that now they are—only human beings, and precisely at this moment they are more than ever—just two human beings." (A man and a woman!) How "touchingly" true! "They are only human beings!" "They are more than ever—just two human beings!" If you want to distinguish between which of them is proletarian and which bourgeois, or which of them is a revolutionary and which a counter-revolutionary, are you not then "soaked in dogmatism"? Are you not then under the spell of your own "dogmatic and anti-artistic way of thinking"? The "humanism" and "humanity" Chukhrai wants amount to: "forget who are your enemies" and "love your enemies." Later on that critic becomes entranced by the "beautiful romance" between the partisan girl and the White Guard officer, saying, "the hero and heroine agree that had there been no war their relationship would have been possible, but the audience feels that it actually already exists. The beauty of love is shown with all the freedom of poetry."¹

"Had there been no war their relationship would have been possible." This is the political and ideological message stressed by the film. If, in other words, there had been no October Revolution and civil war these two "human beings" would have been able to love each other and be happy. Thus the film not only seriously distorts life but also, in effect, curses the inhumanity of the revolution and the revolutionary war. Chukhrai once said that his intention in making the film was to show how "the revolution has divided people into opposing camps."² That is to say that it is possible to avoid class antagonisms and revolutionary struggle in life and that it is the revolution (the October Revolution) that has forced people to oppose each other as enemies: the purpose of *The Forty-First* is to demonstrate this "inhuman" phenomenon. Maybe it is precisely for this that this film has been regarded by certain persons as being "original, humanistic and highly poetic" and has been greatly encouraged and treated as being of special importance.

HOW does the film *Ballad of a Soldier* show the contradiction between war and individual happiness and the tragic clash between war and love? During the period of the anti-fascist war Alyosha, a 19-year-old soldier in the signals corps, flees in terror from enemy tanks and then by a very lucky coincidence is able to destroy two of them, for which deed he is made a "hero." He does not want this honour and would much rather have a few days' leave to go home to see his mother and take the chance to repair the roof of her cottage. His superiors

grant his request. On his way home he sees the many miseries that the people suffer as a result of the Patriotic War, and he uses the little time he has to help those whose happiness has been destroyed by the war. In the train he gets to know Shura, a beautiful girl, and though each of them falls in love with the other they find no opportunity to express their feelings. Before the sprouts of love have pushed their heads above the soil they are crushed. Because of all the delays on his journey Alyosha's leave is already over by the time he gets home. The brief moment of joy as he meets his mother at the edge of the village becomes a tragic parting. Without being able to mend the cottage roof he has to rush back to the front. He never comes home again. For months and even years afterwards his mother stands waiting and watching on the village road, but her son's bones are already mouldering in a distant grave. How many other mothers have wept till they could weep no more! How many other youngsters have lost their lives in the Patriotic War! This is the "poetry" that the director takes such pains to play up.

The scriptwriters and the director of *Ballad of a Soldier* ingeniously use the opportunity of Alyosha's journey home to introduce a series of episodes in condemnation of the war, to show how the anti-fascist Patriotic War wrecked people's happiness and how Alyosha sympathizes with these unhappy and suffering people, although he himself is also a victim of this "inhuman" war! At almost every step he comes up against the tragic effects of the war on the Soviet people. Perhaps this explains the high praise given this film by one critic: "*Ballad of a Soldier* is the very poetry of humanism which fills every episode and accompanies each step the hero takes!"³

The Clear Sky describes the misfortunes of Sasha Lyova, a young working girl, and her husband Alexei Astakhov, a pilot. War destroys Sasha's happy life and snatches both her father and her husband from her. The news of her husband's death in action is a still heavier blow which redoubles her sorrow. After the war Astakhov unexpectedly turns up from a German P.O.W. camp. This unexpected joy leads to new misery and tribulation because as a prisoner he had at one time worked on a German airfield and thus fell under suspicion. The film describes with great emphasis the "dogmatism" and "inhumanity" of the Communist Party organization during the Stalin era which grounded this pilot. Astakhov gets very depressed, takes to drink, and tries to kill himself. Sasha has to bear her share of all this suffering. When Stalin dies "the ice melts" and "the sky clears" and Astakhov is trusted and well looked after. He is rewarded the Gold Star for his heroism and soars freely through "the clear sky" at the controls of a modern aircraft.

The Clear Sky is not limited to depiction of the irreconcilable conflict between the revolutionary war and individual happiness; nevertheless, the first half of the film describes this conflict very vividly. This is what a Soviet film critic had to say about the ideological content of this first half. His remarks take the form of a question and an answer: "Why do they—Sasha and Alexei—grip us so? Because—as with the heroes of Chukhrai's first two films—they have the capacity for happiness." This critic referred especially to the happy moment when this young

couple retreat for a time from the revolutionary storm to their own cosy little nest: "This is just like *The Forty-First*. A moment of tranquil happiness amid the storms of the age, a little island in a cruel sea. . . ."⁴ These words which I have italicized undoubtedly reveal Chukhrai's idea of happiness. In his view the turbulent times of revolution stand in the way of the quest for happiness; only by escaping from the violent and cruel revolutionary storms can a moment of happiness be achieved; and even this happiness is liable to be smashed by the revolutionary storm! In *The Forty-First*, the only happy moment is when the Red Army girl and the White officer flee from the class struggle and coexist for a while in peace on the desert island. In *Ballad of a Soldier* the only moment of happiness is the fleeting moment when Alyosha and Shura fall in love with each other in the railway carriage! In *The Clear Sky* too happiness can only be found on the "little island," the temporary refuge from the heat of revolutionary battle. Apart from this, misfortune is the inevitable lot in every situation bound up with the revolutionary struggle.

Chukhrai makes quite clear what is his idea of happiness. He has said, "I believe that there are three essential elements to happiness—love, peace and truth."⁵ His works and his statements help us to understand the implications of this sentence. Love, for him, is a love which flees from the "storms of the age" to a "little island." Peace, for him, is a peace undisturbed by the storms of revolution and the sea of the people. And truth, for him, lies in substituting bourgeois humanism for communism "without humanism." Thus his three essential elements of happiness, translated into our terms, are bourgeois individualism, pacifism and humanism; at their core lies extreme individualism diametrically opposed to revolutionary collectivism. This extremely individualist idea of happiness constitutes the main content of Chukhrai's philosophy of life.

According to the views of Chukhrai and his group, to stress revolutionary collectivism or the revolutionary spirit and heroism of the masses of the people in works of art is "dogmatism" and utterly inadmissible. Instead one should preach individual happiness, individual interest and individual ideals that are opposed to collectivism. One should stress how the collective revolutionary cause "smashes" individual happiness, "mortifies" individual ideals and creates individual "tragedies." This alone is the "completely new humanism"!

TO be sure, individual happiness must be valued, but it should fit in with the revolutionary collective interest and not clash with it. Socialist revolution and construction provide the surest guarantee of a happy life of the hundreds of millions of the worker and peasant masses. From slaves suffering every form of destitution they have become the masters of the world. Thus all the labouring people who are awakened consciously safeguard the collective interest of the revolution, merging their personal interests with the great common cause and, if necessary, sacrificing their all to obey its needs. This is because they know that without the revolutionary collective there can be no question of individual happiness. Of course they realize that war can destroy one's happiness and snatch away precious lives. That is why they unflinchingly oppose all unjust and aggressive wars. But when imperialists and reactionaries force a counter-revolutionary war on

the people, they know, too, to beg for peace from the enemy is of no avail. The only way to safeguard the interests of the revolution and win happiness is to take to arms and wage the revolutionary war to the end. To them the extremely individualist view of happiness that tires of revolutionary struggle, flees from the revolutionary storm and seeks only "a moment's tranquil happiness amidst the storms of the age, a little island in the cruel sea" is a shameful, philistine philosophy. If this philosophy were allowed to spread among the workers and peasants and to "grip" the minds of young men and women in all spheres of socialist endeavour the results would not bear thinking about.

THE war films of the "Soviet new wave" typified by Chukhrai repeatedly propagate just such an extremely individualist view of happiness; they play up in every way the "tragic clash" between individual and collective interests; they do their utmost to obscure the nature of war, vilify the Soviet people and condemn revolutionary war for being "meaningless" and "inhuman." In these films you cannot understand why the Soviet people went to war or what sort of wars they fought; you cannot sense any revolutionary indignation against the class enemies, the enemies of the people and the enemies of peace. *Ballad of a Soldier* and these other films are all evidence of this. But it is just this point that has received the high praise from some film critics. In praising Chukhrai's "great and complex art" a Czechoslovak film critic wrote: "*Ballad of a Soldier* is an indictment of war and an exposure of its ruthless cruelty. Alyosha with his pure, boyish soul, Shura and her naive, childlike love—they are a protest and outcry against the disasters inflicted by this meaningless war." This writer has openly dismissed the anti-fascist Patriotic War waged by the Soviet people (and which helped the people of the lands of Eastern Europe to freedom from the fascist yoke) as "meaningless," as something to be condemned and protested against! And the "great" thing about Chukhrai is that he condemns the "disasters inflicted by this meaningless war" and protests against them.

The war films of the "Soviet new wave" typified by Chukhrai are nearly all recantations and confessions of guilt about revolutionary wars. They give the impression that these wars should never have been waged, that by leading the Soviet people to destroy the White armies and the fascist invaders the Soviet Party and Government committed some terrible crimes, and now is the time to admit mistakes to the world through these films. In discussing *The Cranes Are Flying*, *A Man's Fate* and other films in his article "The Responsibilities of an Artist," Chukhrai said, "it will be hard to make the people of Western countries who have seen these films believe that the Russian people want war. When a people have been through such severe trials and shed so much blood for peace, how could they dream of anything else but to build a happy and peaceful life?"

Everyone knows that war is the product of imperialist policies. The Soviet people want peace. The Chinese people want peace. The people of the whole world want peace. This is their common wish. The responsibility of an artist is to use the artistic weapons in his hands to expose untiringly the evil designs of U.S. imperialism, the enemy of peace, and to summon up the revolutionary vigilance and the revolutionary heroism of the masses

for the struggle against the policies of war and aggression of U.S. imperialism and in defence of world peace. He must certainly not curse and regret revolutionary struggle and just war in order to prove that the Soviet people want peace. Indeed, does the fact that the heroic Soviet people took to arms to resist invasion and oppression prove that "the Soviet people want war"? It thus comes as no surprise that the heroes of modern revisionism should maliciously slander the Chinese people who uphold the revolutionary line and resolutely oppose imperialism as "wanting war" when they slandered and vilified the revolutionary Soviet people in this way too! In order to absolve the war-thirsty imperialists, these heroes do their utmost to slander the Soviet people of yesterday and the Chinese people of today as "wanting war." At the same time in order to beg for mercy from the imperialists, they do their utmost to prove that the Soviet people of today seek nothing but their own individual happiness. It follows that although these remarks of Chukhrai's seem to be addressed to "the people of the Western countries," they are in fact professions of good faith addressed to the ruling classes of the Western countries. Chukhrai believes that "the great obstacle today between different nations is that they do not believe each other." This is why he adopts this very odd method to gain the trust and understanding of the monopoly bourgeois bosses of the Western countries who control the machinery of war. But what else can he achieve other than showing his own capitulationism in the face of U.S. imperialist nuclear blackmail policies?

WHAT odd "fighters for peace" are these artists of the "Soviet new wave" as typified by Chukhrai! In their view the obstacle to peace is not imperialist policies of war and aggression but the fact that the nations "do not believe each other"! They do not oppose imperialism but want the popular masses to establish trust and understanding with imperialism. They do not condemn the aggressive wars of imperialism and fascism but instead attack the Soviet people's just wars against the bourgeoisie attempting to stage a comeback and against imperialist intervention and fascist invasion! They do not expose the crimes of imperialism and the bourgeoisie but instead reveal the "crimes" of socialism and the proletariat, alleging that proletarian revolution and revolutionary war are "inhuman." They not only fail to help summon up the revolutionary vigilance of the popular masses of the socialist countries, but actually undermine from within the foundations of socialism, sap the people's revolutionary militancy and weaken their fighting strength! They not only fail to help arouse the sacred wrath of the peoples of all countries against U.S. imperialism and against new and old colonialism but, to quote Lenin, "use a saccharine hymn of peace to soothe and calm the too fiercely angered masses." They frighten the masses with the "terrible image" of revolutionary war and spread base propaganda about the "great antagonism between man and war" to divert the masses from the objectives of the struggle! Artists of the "Soviet new wave"! You have completely abandoned the revolutionary standpoint, and pious as you are in your prayers for peace, you must be warned that your actions exercise a demoralizing effect on the people's struggle for peace and clear the way for imperialist war policies! To be frank, you are not fighters for peace

at all! You are playing the role of defenders of imperialism!

III. A Voice Raised Against Revolutionary Heroism

THE modern revisionists are divorced from the masses and lord it over them. They do not in the least trust the great power of the masses to transform the world. They despise and vilify the people and negate the heroic actions of the masses and revolutionary heroism. This is another salient feature of the films of the "Soviet new wave" represented by Chukhrai. These film-makers do their utmost to avoid giving a positive picture of the Soviet people's revolutionary, patriotic and heroic spirit; instead they concentrate on looking for and exposing the seamy side of things. Sometimes the Soviet people are portrayed as little people, numbed and passive, who are at the mercy of some kind of fate. At other times they are disparaged as being pitiful creatures totally lacking in class awareness and patriotism, who care for nothing but the pursuit of personal happiness. On seeing these films one cannot help wondering how victory was ever won in these just, people's wars if the situation at the front and in the rear was in such a mess.

Any number of examples could be cited. We have already pointed out how, in *Ballad of a Soldier*, Chukhrai created a series of such miserable images of the masses. Let us now take a truly unusual scene involving the masses in *The Clear Sky*. Soldiers' families are crowded on to the platform of a small station, hoping to see their loved ones as they pass through in a military train; but the train rushes past them. The soldiers in the carriages call out desperately. Those on the platform shriek in despair. The agitated crowd surges towards the train, but the train hoots angrily and carries off their loved ones. The director and the cameramen racked their brains to bring out in bold relief the expression of shock and the agony of separation. The soldiers seem to have been snatched away to die at the hands of their enemies, instead of setting out voluntarily to hit back at the invaders. Such distorted pictures as this can only distress the friends of the Soviet people and delight their enemies.

Chukhrai pays lip service to "heroism" and asserts that his films are "heroic tragedies." Let us see then what sort of heroes and what sort of heroism it is that he praises.

In the case of *The Forty-First*, is not the image of that girl soldier who is so disgracefully depraved politically and in spirit an insult to the revolutionary people and the revolutionary heroes of the Soviet Union? The director shows her at first as being even firmer than her heroic comrades, but then he goes on to denigrate her recklessly. The film puts her in the position of being a renegade to the revolution while it makes the White officer out to be a good fellow who had looked forward to the coming of the revolution "as if it were his betrothed" and who "had never in all his officer's career ever laid a finger on any of his men"; it makes big play with the superior qualities of his mind and spirit. Thus it shows positive things as negative and sings the praises of the bad as if it were good.

Chukhrai believes that of all his works "*Ballad of a Soldier* is the most successful. I expressed myself as an artist most clearly and fully in this film."⁶ We can see that in this film he created the Alyosha-type of hero

as the antithesis of the Matrosov or the Young Guard type of hero. This hero is scared out of his wits by the enemy tanks; he covers his head and bawls on the battlefield. It is only when he huddles up prepared to die that he discovers an abandoned anti-tank gun which fortunately happens to be loaded. Thus by sheer coincidence he is changed from a coward to a "hero." Of course, soldiers often have to go through a process of changing from being scared to being fearless, but this depends on the strength of their mental equipment and tempering in battle, not on mere coincidence. The director completely eschews showing this young soldier being awakened politically or growing up mentally but does his best to bring out vividly his state of terror and his instinctive search for ways to survive in desperate situations. This is to mock at the fair word "hero." The director does indeed also show his goodness and simplicity, his sympathetic heart and other good qualities, but these are not enough to show that he has the basic qualities of a revolutionary or a heroic fighter; and it must also be remembered that these good qualities are portrayed at the cost of emphasizing by contrast the numbness of the masses and the confusion in the rear and condemning a just war as "inhuman." The whole film is filled with feelings of repentance for the great anti-fascist Patriotic War and with mockery of it. If progressive West German artists had made a film of this type about the aggressive fascist war as an indictment of its tragic effects on the people and the young men and women of their country then such a work would have had a certain positive meaning. But for such a film about the Patriotic War to be made by Soviet artists can only mean that the scriptwriter and the director are deliberately smearing the great anti-fascist Patriotic War and the great Soviet people.

CHUKHRAI asserts that "in my opinion heroes and heroines . . . are Sashenka [Sasha Lyova] in *The Clear Sky* . . . or Astakhov and young Sergei. . . ." Let us see what sort of heroes and heroines these are.

Sasha Lyova appears on the screen to be innocent, good and pure. But what exists in her mental world apart from her personal happiness and her husband and child who are essential to it? Film critics stress her "capacity for happiness." Then she is at best no more than an heroic seeker after personal happiness! But there is much more to the question than that. If the director has created the image of Alyosha in *Ballad of a Soldier* to attack the "inhumanity" of the Patriotic War, then the same director in *The Clear Sky* created Sasha and Astakhov not only to attack the Patriotic War but also to censure the "inhumanity" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the proletarian dictatorship during the Stalin period. For one must realize that this couple in *The Clear Sky* are images of victims of the Patriotic War and the "personality cult."

The inner world of Astakhov is more "complicated" than that of Sasha. When his behaviour in the German P.O.W. camps brings him under suspicion he goes through a period of severe tribulations in his personal life. He takes to drink and tries to kill himself, and the resentment that rankles within him finds no outlet. He forces himself to repress his indignation at the Party organization. When, speaking to his brother-in-law Sergei, he says certain things that are apparently correct he is maliciously mocked by this "angry young man" who cruelly jeers at the "aims in life, the ideals and the justice"

that are always on Astakhov's lips and at the "Communist Party" and "communism" that he is always talking about. After the quarrel with Sergei, he and his wife have to admit secretly that "much of what Sergei said is right." "He is better than us! He is more honest than us!" This is how a Soviet film critic analyses Astakhov's inner world: "He is sincere in his confusion when he tries to deceive himself by saying these things which seem to be true but are in reality false."⁸ But he was not able to keep up this self-restraint or this deception of himself and of others for long. "Stalin is dead!" "Times have changed!" "The heroes have awoke!" Their "inner revolt" had "matured"!

A BULGARIAN critic has written: "The logic of life quite naturally forced Astakhov and [Sasha] Lyova to draw the correct conclusion. They condemn the inhumanity and the dogmatism of the formulas governing morality and Party behaviour, the formulas which have been forced on them as the one and only possible and correct Party line. To understand this was no easy matter. The discipline of the Communist Party . . . completely overcame the revolt that was brewing in their hearts and minds. . . ." This Bulgarian critic openly states that morality, Party spirit, the Party line, Party discipline and so on were all so many "inhuman and dogmatic" "formulas"! What so delighted him was that Sasha and Astakhov were finally able to "understand this" and that they both in the end "awoke" from their "superstitious belief" in the Communist Party! This critic could well be called the bosom friend of Astakhov and Sasha, and also of Chukhrai. We are indebted to him for giving us such a penetrating explanation of the "inner revolt" of Chukhrai and his heroic characters.

The character Sergei [in *The Clear Sky*] is suspicious of everything about socialism and communism and is full of anger. A Polish film magazine has rightly said that he is "a rebellious young beatnik." This anti-socialist "hero" who comes on the screen only infrequently is worth our attention. He is the reflection of a certain social phenomenon. He is the reflection of the "inner revolt" of Astakhov; he puts into words what Astakhov wanted to say but did not say. In addition to this the director has embodied his own "ideals" in him. Chukhrai has said: "He is a hero typical of the youth of that period. He has his own philosophy. . . . He is ready to struggle for the truth no less than Astakhov. He is the hero of the future."¹⁰ What great responsibilities for the Sergeis who are, you see, both "typical of that period" and "the heroes of the future"! According to this line of argument the today and the tomorrow of a great socialist country actually belong to an anti-socialist "beatnik generation." Isn't this startling?

The Clear Sky was said to have been made "to combat the personality cult"; but it is just those people who make such a big outcry about "opposing the cult of the individual" who inflate the role of the individual till it really does become a cult. When in the film Sergei says "Stalin is dead" the sky at once clears, and the ice thaws. New equipment is immediately installed in the factory and the whole production process takes place on an automatic line; all the workers have to do is to press buttons. Sasha "becomes even more beautiful," and the Party becomes "human," and for this reason the papers on physics of a Soviet scientist can be published in

English in London. "To be honest, I'm too lucky. . . . We've all been lucky." This is how the scientist in the film sums up the happy life after the "thaw." This method of using such crude, schematized illustrations caused one French film critic to voice suspicions: "Would one death have been enough to make everything so easy and everyone so happy?"¹¹ This question is not, in fact, hard to understand. In *A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement* the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party pointed out that: "While loudly combating the so-called cult of the individual, certain persons are in reality doing their best to defame the proletarian party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, they are enormously exaggerating the role of certain individuals, shifting all errors on to others and claiming all credit for themselves." This is precisely the political end served by *The Clear Sky*. This is why this artistically crude and sloppy film was given such veneration and attention. The highest leader of the Soviet Union has actually praised this film as "a work which truly illuminates from the Party's point of view the Soviet reality of those years" for the obvious reason that he approves of the role the film plays in painting black white and misleading the public. This is yet another proof of the objective law of artistic criticism pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung: "...all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second."

NOW everyone can see what sort of heroes and heroines Chukhrai really extols in his films. They are Maryutka who falls in love with her class enemy and "becomes the prisoner of her prisoner"; the "good" reactionary hero, the blue-eyed lieutenant who once "looked forward to the coming of the revolution as if it were his betrothed"; Alyosha, who, in spite of his cowardice, willy-nilly becomes a hero; Sasha, the heroine who in her country's hour of crisis devotes all her thoughts to the pursuit of her personal happiness; the pilot Astakhov who deceives himself and others and who cannot repress his "inner revolt"; the "rebellious young beatnik," the worker Sergei. . . . All the heroic Soviet workers, peasants and soldiers who appear in Chukhrai's films, believe it or not, are of this stamp. One may ask what other explanation can there be for this than that he is deliberately raising his voice against the heroic Soviet people and true revolutionary heroes and revolutionary heroism? Moreover, the "tragedy" of these "heroes" lies in the fact that they are all decent people with the "capacity for happiness" and all "deserve to be happy" but, as the artists and critics have explained, they either become the victims of "meaningless" revolutionary wars or suffer under a socialist system "without humanism"! One may ask what other explanation can there be for this than that he is deliberately raising his voice against the proletarian revolution, the proletarian dictatorship, socialism and communism?

Chukhrai obliterates the class character and the revolutionary spirit of the Soviet working people in the midst of revolutionary struggle and highlights the dark side of life and the dark thoughts of his worker, peasant and soldier characters. He smears the faces of the revolutionary Soviet people and the revolutionary Soviet heroes with mud while prettifying the individualists, the nihilists and the counter-revolutionary and anti-socialist heroes. Thus in

his films he turns right and wrong upside down and fails to distinguish between friend and foe. But, according to Chukhrai, the reason he adopted this peculiar method of portraying his heroes was to show the "complexity" of the class struggle and to enable young people to "learn a lesson" from the films: "They must learn that everything is complex and things are not so simple. This is true education."¹²

This is real revisionist sophistry. Naturally, the course of class struggle is complicated. If one oversimplifies a complicated struggle one tampers with the realities of life; and the result has no educational value. But when treating of the complexity of class struggle it is possible for people who take different class stands to adopt completely different viewpoints and methods. If one takes a proletarian stand and adopts the Marxist viewpoint of class struggle and the method of class analysis, if one bases oneself on fact in observing, analysing and studying, then it does not matter how complicated, involved and subtle the course of the struggle may be; one will always be able to get beneath the surface and penetrate to the essence of things to know how the struggle begins and where it will end up, give a proper evaluation of its significance and take a clearcut attitude towards the antagonists in the struggle. At a time when revolutionary artists and writers of the proletariat are taking the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as their main theme, this attitude of distinguishing between the enemy and ourselves and of drawing a line between love and hate is completely natural and definitely indispensable. This truth has been repeatedly demonstrated by many fine examples of proletarian literature and art. It is precisely these good works which play a powerful educational role among the masses. But there are also a number of very odd people in the ranks of the proletariat and among its writers and artists. They stress the "complexity" of the class struggle, saying things to the effect that "everything is complex and things are not so simple." Their aim is patently not to help young people get a correct understanding of life and take a correct attitude to life. They want to make everything very confused so that they can obscure and distort the class struggle with the bourgeois theory of human nature (contending that people of different classes have a common human nature, that antagonistic classes should love each other, and so on) and in so doing negate the class struggle. They use the "inner complexity" of extreme individualists (feelings of hopelessness, fear, torment, revolt and so on, in the class struggle) so that they can distort and obscure the clarity of the profound thoughts and sentiments of the revolutionary heroes, and in so doing negate the revolutionary heroes and revolutionary heroism. This, in their view, is "true education"! This reactionary type of education has already played a most pernicious role in corrupting the thoughts and sentiments of people in various countries.

CHUKHRAI has substituted the self-expression of bourgeois thoughts and sentiments for the true description of socialist reality. In his article "The Responsibilities of an Artist" he put forward this formula: "True art is always self-expression."¹³ We have now seen how this artist uses the characters in his films to express himself and thus create "true art." Each of his three films has done this better than the one before. And in *The Clear Sky* he has perfectly "expressed" his anti-Soviet, anti-communist and anti-socialist "self." Through these films he

wishes to tell the world: We have experienced "communism without humanism." In order to do this he represents the entire historical period in which Stalin led the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet people in upholding the proletarian dictatorship, carrying on socialist construction, defeating the fascist invaders and continuing with socialist construction after the war as a period of the "freeze" and "dark skies" and negates it completely. This is to negate completely not only Stalin the individual, but also the heroic feats of the great Soviet Union, the C.P.S.U., and the Soviet people which were closely and inseparably linked with Stalin's life and career. Thus this negator further reveals himself: he has made it clear for all to see that his stand is one entirely opposed to socialism and communism. Can one expect people like him to create heroic revolutionary characters who will give expression to an age of revolutionary heroism? No, it is utterly impossible for them to do this. They are only interested in expressing "themselves"; and the "self-expression" they produce cannot but be the opposite of revolution and revolutionary heroism. "Each tree bears its own fruit,"—there is no truer saying.

IV. This Is No Accidental or Isolated Phenomenon

AFTER critical examination we can now see clearly what Chukhrai's philosophy and his "new wave" really are. His main philosophical concept and the philosophical foundation of the "Soviet new wave" he advocates is abstract humanism which obliterates class, and is in essence bourgeois humanism with extreme individualism at its core. This humanism is to replace "communism without humanism." Based thus on bourgeois humanism, the basic philosophical viewpoint it adopts in investigating life and people is a thoroughly idealistic and bourgeois theory of human nature. This theory has been adopted as a substitute for Marxist-Leninist class theory. It hopes to substitute bourgeois ideology (bourgeois humanism and the bourgeois theory of human nature) for proletarian ideology (the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution) in order to attain its desired end: to make "ideology and humanity . . . synonymous." Chukhrai does not speak the same language as Marxist-Leninists and proletarian revolutionary artists. But he has discovered that in his humanism and philosophy about human nature, his "emotional pathos and human sentiment" and so on "there are many things in common" with the Western "new wave"; he writes: "all this is common to us." Thus he is willing to join the tide of Western bourgeois art, take the example of the "Western new wave" and raise the banner of the "Soviet new wave," proclaiming that these are "new conceptions of cinematography" and that there "is the kind of progress that cannot be turned back."

The "Soviet new wave" as represented by Chukhrai has completely betrayed the revolutionary tradition of the Soviet cinema and gladly trails along behind the "Western new wave"; it has, in fact, become an appendage to modern Western bourgeois art.

Although they both propagate bourgeois thought and sentiments the "Soviet new wave" as represented by Chukhrai and the "Western new wave" are not completely the same. Of course, the fact is not, as Chukhrai has claimed, that he is a "Marxist" and they are not, and therefore "there is a difference of ideology." In fact the extreme individualist, nihilist and pacifist ideology

propagated so energetically in "Soviet new wave" films are all found in the films of the "Western new wave." But some of the more progressive of the "Western new wave" films are at least satirical, though in an insignificant way, about the sickness of bourgeois society and protest, albeit feebly, against imperialism and colonialism. But the artists of the "Soviet new wave" are not even interested in doing this. What Chukhrai and his sort are mainly interested in is to put on their "humanist"-tinted spectacles and concentrate on "discovering" how "inhuman" proletarian revolution and revolutionary war are and how "without humanism" and "inhuman" socialism and communism are. Then they use their films to make their indignant condemnations and accusations; and all this is done from within the ranks of the proletariat and socialist society in the name of "Marxism-Leninism," "socialism," or "communism." These men really wield the sword of "humanism" against the revolutionary classes: this is the "serious strategic stand" they talk about.

IT is most distressing that such a "new wave" should have appeared on the soil of socialism. Socialism has opened the widest horizons for the development of art and literature. But it is extremely dangerous for writers and artists, including those who claim to have "been brought up under Marxism-Leninism" and to have "grown up drinking the milk of socialism," to get divorced from the people and from the life and struggles of the masses and so become aristocrats of the mind lording it over the people. If so, they will be unable to hear the revolutionary demands of the people and resist the various seductions of the bourgeoisie; they will grow increasingly sick of everything proletarian and become ever more attracted by bourgeois things. Finally they will undergo a complete degeneration in thought and feeling and become spokesmen for the reactionary bourgeoisie. When suitable conditions arise they will work in co-ordination with other anti-socialist forces in society to stir up trouble in the ranks of the revolution and sap the bastions of socialism from within. The revolutionary people, revolutionary artists and writers should learn a good lesson from these negative phenomena.

It is not hard to see that the kind of "new wave" in art we are discussing is the artistic reflection of the "new wave" of "peaceful evolution" in politics and that it is one of the vanguard forces of the political "new wave." In other words, revisionism in art is the reflection in art of, and at the same time a prop for, revisionism in politics. Comrade Mao Tse-tung long ago pointed out that art is subordinate to politics and to a given political line which it in turn influences. The malignant development of the "Soviet new wave" in art is the inevitable result of the increasing adverse current of modern revisionism in politics since the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. It belongs to the political line of modern revisionism and is an active supporter and propagator of this reactionary political line. This is the reason why, despite the deep dissatisfaction of very many of the Soviet people and Soviet artists with this depravity in the Soviet cinema, these reactionary works are praised, supported and publicized by the Soviet leaders while correct opinions are suppressed. As one can see, the reactionary waves in politics and art rely on each other to exist. One must also note that whether it is the political "new wave" or the artistic "new wave," their spread in the land of socialism

is also the result of the push they have received from the anti-communist tide of imperialism. Badly battered by the revolutionary storms of the people all over the world, U.S. imperialism vainly hopes for "winds of change" and "tide of freedom" to rise within the socialist countries to join with its anti-communist current; it does not hesitate to use any scheme to help on the emergence of this or that "new wave." In his State of the Union Message to the joint session of the U.S. Congress last January 14, Kennedy said: "We are not lulled by the momentary calm of the sea or the somewhat clearer skies above. We know the turbulence that lies below [read: the revolutionary demands of the peoples of all countries], the storms beyond the horizon [read: the revolutionary storms in Asia, Africa and Latin America]. But now the winds of change appear to be blowing more strongly than ever, in the world of communism as well as our own. . . . Today we still welcome those winds of change—and we have every reason to believe that our tide is running strong." Just listen to the delighted boasts of the chieftain of U.S. imperialism! He quite openly regarded certain "winds of change" and certain "new waves" as imperialism's tide and places the highest hopes in them. This plot was revealed even more clearly in Kennedy's later speeches about his "strategy of peace." But the chieftains of dollar imperialism are rejoicing too soon! What results will they be able to get if they stake their bets on the adverse current of modern revisionism which runs against the will of the people and the laws of the development of the epoch? Imperialists and all reactionaries are all paper ti-

gers, and modern revisionism is no exception. Although the evil wind of modern revisionism may blow "more strongly than ever" for a while, it can never conceal its essential weaknesses. Once the masses of the people see through these reactionary waves in politics and art they will be provoked to boundless revolutionary wrath. Wherever counter-revolutionary waves appear the people will firmly and finally beat them back!

Notes

1. "The Reality of Happiness," *Iskustvo Kino* (Cinema Art) No. 8, 1961.
2. "An Interview with Chukhrai," *Cinéma* 60, No. 47, June, 1960.
3. "At a New Stage," *Literaturnaya Gazetta* (Literary Gazette), Sept. 26, 1961.
4. "The Clear Sky," *Sovietskaya Kultura* (Soviet Culture), April 20, 1961.
5. "Our Way," *Film-wissenschaftliche Mitteilung*, (Scientific Film Correspondence), No. 2, Vol. II, supplement to *Zeitschrift Deutsche Filmkunst* (German Film Art), July 1961.
6. "Discussion in Villepre," *Iskustvo Kino*, No. 5, 1962.
7. *ibid.*
8. "People and Their Times," *Iskustvo Kino*, No. 7, 1961.
9. "The Clear Sky," *Narodna Kultura* (People's Culture), No. 4, 1961.
10. "Discussion in Villepre."
11. "A Film Event," *Les Lettres Françaises*, Nov. 15-22, 1962.
12. "Our Way."
13. *ibid.*

World Council of Peace

Two Different Lines at The Warsaw Session

THE Warsaw session of the World Council of Peace, held from November 28 through December 3, witnessed a sharp struggle between two different lines in the world peace movement. One line stands for defending world peace by conducting popular struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, the arch foe of world peace. It was the line followed by delegates from China, Korea, Viet Nam, Albania, Japan, Indonesia and many other genuine champions for peace. The other advocates begging imperialism for peace instead of fighting tooth and nail each and every imperialist act of aggression and war preparation which threatens world peace. This was the line adopted by the Soviet delegation and its followers.

The True Way to Defend World Peace

Throughout the session the main theme of debate was whether the world peace movement should oppose U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Addressing the session on November 28, Liao Cheng-chih, head of the Chinese delegation, declared that "the true way to defend world peace is to rely on the struggle of the people of the world and the united struggle of the peace forces of our time and to resolutely fight against the policies of aggres-

sion and war of imperialism which is led by the United States (see *Peking Review*, No. 49, Dec. 6). His view was shared by many others.

Exposing U.S. Deceptive Tactics. Kang Ryang Wook, Korean delegation head, said that the Korean people were convinced that peace could be defended only by waging a resolute struggle against imperialism, the source of all wars and the ferocious enemy of peace. He especially mentioned U.S. imperialism which is more frantically than ever manoeuvring to achieve nuclear domination and reinforce its policy of nuclear blackmail. Exposing the U.S. imperialist policy of deceiving the people and committing aggression camouflaged as peace, the Korean peace leader said that genuine peace fighters must expose the imperialists' deceptive tactics and encourage the peoples to wage a resolute struggle in defence of world peace.

Ngyuen Van Hieu, delegate of south Viet Nam and Chairman of the National Liberation Front, in his speech roundly condemned U.S. imperialism for its "special warfare" against his people. He pointed out that its aggression and intervention was the root cause of his fellow countrymen's suffering and of the tense situation in Southeast Asia.

It was necessary to wage an unswerving struggle against imperialism and colonialism headed by the United States in order to attain peace and consolidate and defend it, said Li Dinh Than, Chairman of the Viet Nam Peace Committee.

Albania's Dmitri Shuteriki told the session that the world peace movement should be strengthened on the basis of opposing imperialism. "To put it plainly," he added, "the aggressor is U.S. imperialism."

Yoshitaro Hirano, Japanese delegation leader, told the session that U.S. imperialist war policy threatens mankind with a nuclear war.

After giving an account of the Southeast Asian people's struggle against imperialist aggression, subversion and intimidation, the Indonesian delegate Ibrahim Isa noted that the main task of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples was to fight and liquidate imperialism.

Apologists for U.S. Imperialism. Some people, however, tried to lead the world peace movement astray by denying its anti-imperialist character and by obscuring the source of war. Soviet delegation head A.Y. Korneichuk, for one, came out as an apologist for U.S. imperialism, saying that one should recognize the "positive part" played by the late President of the United States! According to him, Kennedy had "contributed considerably to the exploring of peaceful avenues leading to solutions of outstanding international problems." Spano of Italy in his speech sang the praises of U.S. imperialism, while distorting and attacking the stand for world peace taken by the Chinese delegation.

The main attempt of the Soviet delegation and its followers at the Warsaw session was to put across their line of "disarmament above all" and praise the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty. But their arguments rang rather hollow and were forcefully repudiated by the Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Albanian and Japanese delegations.

Relations Between National-Independence and Peace Movements. The postwar national-independence movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has dealt heavy blows to the forces of imperialist aggression and war; it has also weakened the foundations of imperialist rule. Therefore, the national-independence movement constitutes a great force in defence of world peace. This was the view presented by the Chinese delegation and shared by many delegates from Asia, Africa and Latin America. To defend world peace, said China's Liao Cheng-chih, it is necessary to support the national-independence movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, honestly and not hypocritically, by deeds and not by words.

Dos Santos Marcelina, delegate from Portuguese Mozambique, after describing the heroic national-independence struggle of the people in the Portuguese colonies, pointed out that "the struggle for national liberation and the fight for peace are interrelated," adding that "each of us wages the struggle to defend peace in the realm of his own country. The best way to defend peace is to carry on one's own struggle."

Stressing the need to combine the national-liberation movement with the peace movement, Mexican delegate Montano Guillermo said: "It would not solve the prob-

lems of the Latin American people if only empty, abstract slogans against atomic bombs are put forward to them and if the demands of the broad masses are not taken into consideration. This will mean separation from the masses, and peace would have no concrete meaning. Peace is something concrete for the Latin American peoples. It means opposition to imperialism, national self-determination, non-interference in others' internal affairs, safeguarding national sovereignty and opposition to exploitation and oppression."

The Korean delegate censured the view that the oppressed nations and peoples could wait for the bestowal of national independence by imperialism or achieve it through the United Nations.

A Glaring Contrast

At the closing session, the Chinese delegation, declaring that it could not approve the presidium's general document draft, advanced its own. The gist of the Chinese document was:

- U.S. imperialism is the deadly enemy of world peace;
- the Moscow tripartite treaty is a huge fraud to fool the people of the world and they should be on guard against new political deals by the nuclear powers to further betray their interests;
- the effective way to defend world peace is to rely upon the struggle of the peoples and wage unremitting struggle against imperialist policies of aggression and war;
- it is wrong to consider general and complete disarmament the "overriding task" of the world peace movement;
- the national-liberation struggle is a mighty force for peace and it is a fallacy to describe peaceful co-existence as the prerequisite for national independence.

The Chinese draft called on the peoples to forge a broad united front against U.S. imperialism, strengthen their unity and persevere in their struggle.

The Japanese delegation also submitted to the session a general document draft, which declared that it is incorrect to organize the peace movement on the basis of the Moscow partial nuclear test ban treaty and stressed the need to wage a resolute struggle against the danger of imperialist war. This draft opposed restricting the peace movement to disarmament and peaceful coexistence.

In glaring contrast, the presidium's watery draft appeal for action taboos the mention of U.S. imperialism. It hailed the partial test ban treaty as "the first agreement concluded by the nuclear powers to restrict the development of nuclear weapons." Instead of acknowledging the role played by the national-liberation movement in defending peace, it showed no real intent to support the movement in earnest, merely adding that the "disarmament and national-liberation movement . . . are complementary to each other" and that "together they can help attain independence and security."

Many delegates expressed full support for the Chinese draft and voiced violent opposition to the presidium's draft appeal for action. However, because of the Soviet-controlled voting machine, the Chinese document was voted down and the presidium's draft was carried with many abstentions.

A Disgraceful Session. Once again at the Warsaw session, as on other occasions, the Soviet delegation resorted to wrecking tactics. In an attempt to make the world peace movement serve Soviet diplomacy, the delegation was anxious to impose its erroneous line on others. To attain its ends it sponsored an anti-China chorus in Warsaw as it had done many times in the past. What happened at the Warsaw session is reminiscent of the Soviet delegation's stock-in-trade at the Moscow World Congress of Women held in last June.

When deputy leader of the Chinese delegation Liu Ning-I took the floor to read the Chinese general document draft, Soviet delegates took the lead in pounding the table and letting out cat-calls. With a number of followers playing second fiddle, the Indian delegates shrieked themselves hoarse. This hooliganism aroused disapproval among the majority of those present.

The Korean delegation asked for the floor to explain its opposition to the presidium's draft appeal, but was denied the right to speak. The Vietnamese delegation in a statement deplored the fact that the views and proposals set forth by it and other delegations were not included.

However, throughout the session, there were evidences of unity and solidarity among the genuine forces of peace; more and more people have come to look with favour on the correct line for the peace movement. In particular, with the meaning of the correct

line becoming clear, many people from Asia, Africa and Latin America refused to blindly follow the Soviet baton.

Anti-Imperialist Resolutions Adopted

At the insistence of the Asian, African and Latin American delegates, the session adopted resolutions in support of the anti-imperialist struggles in south Viet Nam, Laos, Korea, the Portuguese colonies, and in opposition to "Malaysia" and racial discrimination in South Africa and on the questions of Palestine, Iraq and the Cameroons. There was also a resolution on Cuba which contained a passage saying that "the U.S. Government must scrupulously respect the late President Kennedy's undertaking of non-invasion, and must not become involved in any form of aggression against Cuba or undermine the legitimate rights of the Cuban people." Many delegates objected to this passage which embellished Kennedy.

The Chinese delegation also placed its own draft resolutions before the commissions on the prohibition of nuclear weapons and disarmament, on national independence, on economic development and culture and on future peace activities. Since the Sino-Indian boundary question was raised in the report of the second commission, the Chinese delegation also issued a written statement on this matter. It condemned the Soviet delegates for colluding with the Indian delegates in their anti-China ballyhoo at the W.C.P. Warsaw session.

International Communist Movement

Ceylon Marxist-Leninists to Convene C.P. 7th Congress to Establish Revolutionary Leadership

ON November 17, 87 Marxist-Leninists of the Ceylon Communist Party from different parts of the country held a meeting and decided to convene the Party's 7th Congress in order to rectify the mistakes of the present Party leadership, to rid it of the deadweight of revisionism, and to give the genuine Marxist-Leninists inside the Party and the proletarian movement in the country a new and revolutionary leadership.

At the meeting a declaration entitled "To All Marxist-Leninists Inside the Ceylon Communist Party" was unanimously adopted. (For full text of the declaration see p.16.)

An organizational committee of 35 with Premalal Kumarasiri, Member of the Party's Political Bureau, as Secretary was appointed to prepare for the congress.

The meeting was presided over by veteran revolutionary and Vice-President of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation A.D. Charleshamy. He said he had joined the Communist Party because he believed in the revolution. He therefore decided, in his old age, to take the side of the revolution and to exert his last endeavours for it.

In his opening address, Kumarasiri said: "Modern revisionism is no longer a deviation inside the communist movement. It is something to destroy communism altogether. It is a treacherous force betraying the proletarian revolution. It is a dangerous foe of the working class. Hence it is the duty of genuine Marxist-Leninists to smash modern revisionism." He emphasized: "It is we who hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Hence let us go forward to hold the Seventh Congress which the revisionists are afraid to convene on account of their weakness and bankruptcy." He added that this congress would be written in letters of gold in the history of the Ceylon revolution.

N. Sanmugathan, Member of the Political Bureau, in his speech, said that what the Left-wing movement needed today was a new revolutionary working-class leadership and that its immediate task was to develop such leadership.

Watson Fernando, Secretary of Ratmalana District Committee of the Party, said: "After 25 years of service

and learning through Marxist education and experience, it was not so difficult to find out which is the correct, developing force today." He announced that he would give his complete support to any move to save the Party from the modern revisionists.

Veteran revolutionary Cyril Kulatunge said: "We are taking these steps to save the Party which we are prepared to defend with our lives. I take part in such a historic meeting as today's because I want to save our Party, which we correctly set up then to serve the cause of Ceylon's revolution, but which today has unfortunately

sunk in the mire of revisionism, and turn it again into a vanguard of the proletarian revolution."

D.A. Gunasekera, another leading revolutionary, said that revisionism suffocated the essence of Marxism-Leninism and blunted the militancy of the working class.

Also speaking at the meeting were D.N. Nadunge, Member of the Central Committee; Higgoda Dharmasena, Alternate Member of the Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation; K. Manickavasagar, Alternate Member of the Central Committee; H.G.A. de Silva, S.S. de Silva, and others.

"To All Marxist-Leninists Inside the Ceylon Communist Party"

The declaration was signed by 118 Marxist-Leninists of the Ceylon Communist Party. They include ten Full Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party (Premalal Kumarasiri, Member of the Political Bureau, N. Sanmugathan, Member of the Political Bureau and General Secretary of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation, D.N. Nadunge, Member of the Central Committee, and others), A.D. Charleshamy and H. Jayawardena, Vice-Presidents of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation; Watson Fernando, Secretary of the Ratmalana District Committee; Victor Silva, Secretary of the former Kotte District Committee; Menike Kumarasiri, Joint Secretary of the Progressive Women's Front; H.P. Amarapala, President of the Ceylon Federation of the Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues; W.A. Dharmadasa, General Secretary of the Ceylon Federation of the Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues; H.M.P. Mohideen, Editor of *Tholilali*; Sarath Cooray, Assistant Editor of *Kamkaruwa*, other leaders of district committees, trade unions, youth and women's organizations and other Communist Party members.

WE, the undersigned Marxist-Leninists inside the Ceylon Communist Party do hereby accuse the present majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party of having destroyed the unity of the Party and brought it to the verge of a split and of undermining its influence by the following actions:—

- (1) Failure to hold the 7th Congress of the Party within two years of the previous Congress i.e. before December 1962, as demanded by the Party Constitution.
- (2) Abandoning the genuine Marxist-Leninist standpoints as embodied in the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 and adopting the false positions of modern revisionism.
- (3) Taking disciplinary actions against Premalal Kumarasiri, N. Sanmugathan and E.T. Moorthy for having advocated revolutionary policies in full conformity with Marxism-Leninism.
- (4) Refusal to heed the request of the majority of the District Committees of the Party and a written requisition by more than half the membership of the Party to summon an immediate Congress of the Party to settle the present dispute in the Party.
- (5) Failure to build a strong and powerful Communist Party; suspending of recruitment to the Party at a time when the most favourable cir-

cumstances existed for the boldest recruitment to the Party; reducing the number of Party members to a paltry figure never reached even under the difficult days of the UNP — thus, objectively, placing the Party organisationally disarmed and weakened so that it loses its independence and identity.

- (6) Opposition to and refusal to lead workers' struggle, particularly the betrayal of the CTB strike of January-February 1963 and the present reluctance to organise a national struggle around the 21 demands approved by the All-Island Congress of Trade Unions.
- (7) Exclusive reliance on the parliamentary method as the means of winning power peacefully for the working class and a refusal to prepare the working class and gather all revolutionary forces for a possibility of the non-peaceful transition to socialism.
- (8) Failure to organise the peasantry.
- (9) Failure to provide Party members and the working class with Marxist education; failure to translate sufficient number of Marxist classics into Sinhalese.
- (10) Failure to produce a daily working-class newspaper.
- (11) Attempting to disrupt mass organisations and fronts under the leadership of the Party.

- (12) Resorting to communal propaganda to discredit and isolate comrades fighting for revolutionary principles.

We, hereby, declare that these charges are sufficiently serious to warrant a loss of confidence by the rank and file in the leadership of the Party. We, further, declare that the present Central Committee is unconstitutional in as much as it has outlived its constitutional span of life and that it has no right to speak on behalf of the Party.

Desirous of rectifying the mistakes of the present leadership of the Party and of ridding the Party of the deadweight of revisionism; deeply conscious of the necessity to give a new leadership to the revolutionary and genuinely Marxist-Leninist elements inside the Party, who are in a majority and thereby provide a revolutionary leadership to the proletarian movement in our country and, convinced that the present leadership will never convene a democratically constituted Congress, we hereby decide to convoke the 7th Congress of the Ceylon Communist Party at an early date. We call upon all genuine Marxist-Leninist groups inside the Ceylon Communist Party to accept this invitation and to nominate delegates

to this Congress and also to give us their full support for the summoning of this Congress.

We hereby appoint an Organising Committee consisting of Premalal Kumarasiri, N. Sanmugathasan, D.N. Nandunge, D.K.D. Jinendrapala, Higgoda Dharmasena, K. Manickavasagar, N.L. Perera, K. Wimalapala, K. Kula-veerasingham, W.S. de Siriwardene, A.D. Charleshamy, Watson Fernando, W.A. Dharmadasa, S.M. Wickremasinghe, A. Jayasuriya, D.A. Gunasekera, Cyril Kulatunge, Victor Silva, K.A. Subramaniam, Susima, K.V. Krishnakutty, S. Janapriya, Kanti Abeyasekere, E.T. Moorthy, Dharmadasa Jayakoddy, H.G.A. de Silva, S.M.P. de Silva, H.M.P. Mohideen, D.M.J. Abeyagunewardene, O.A. Ramiah, D.B. Alwis, C.S. Manohar, S. Sivadasan, Samarasiri de Silva, P. Wijayatilleke with Comrade Premalal Kumarasiri as Secretary to make the necessary organisational and political preparations for summoning such a Congress.

We hereby affix our signatures to this declaration to signify our complete support for these proposals.

November 17, 1963.

Japanese Communist Party's Views On the "International Dispute"

On November 10, "Akhata," (Sunday edition), organ of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, published an article "How the Japanese Communist Party Looks at the So-called 'International Dispute.'" The full text follows:

Akhata (Sunday edition) Editor's Note — Readers of Akhata (Sunday edition) have put to us the following questions: What is the nature of the so-called "Sino-Soviet dispute"? How will the dispute develop? What are the Japanese Communist Party's views on this dispute? and other questions. Here we give our answers to these questions:

Dispute Concerning Questions of Principle

Q: The commercial press is now talking a great deal about the "Sino-Soviet dispute." What is the correct approach to this dispute?

A: Some people, in common parlance, call it a "Sino-Soviet dispute," while others describe it as the "Sino-Soviet struggle for power." But these views are not correct. The present dispute within the international communist movement is going on not only between the Soviet Union and China; many other Parties are also taking part. It centres round the common policy of the Communist Parties of all countries as well as theoretical questions. The main contents of the dispute, therefore, include questions of strategic and tactical principles of the international communist movement which concern all Communist Parties. It is of great importance to all those interested in the development of the revolutionary movements of the world and of Japan.

Q: Some people say that one party to the dispute wants war while the other party wants peace. Is this true?

A: This is the view of the Japanese commercial press. Shojiro Kasuga and Tomochika Naito, who were expelled from our Party, and their group also say so. Some people in Communist Parties abroad also put it that way. We consider, however, that these views cannot hold water.

For instance, some people say that the Chinese Communist Party "wants war." But it is common knowledge that the Chinese Government and people are indomitably struggling for peace in Asia and the world. It is the Chinese Government which initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Chinese Government and people consistently stand for the restoration of diplomatic relations with Japan. (U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the people of the world, has built military bases and stationed troops in Japan and has equipped it with nuclear weapons.) Moreover, the Chinese Government and people are working for friendly relations with the Japanese people. It is the Chinese Communist Party which leads such a government and people.

On the basis of the facts mentioned above, the Japanese people who are earnestly working for peace and independence cannot give credence to the allegation that the Chinese Government and Chinese Communist Party are "warlike."

Rather it should be said that the dispute has unfolded around the question of what place should be given to the struggle for peaceful coexistence in the international communist movement and that it is linked with the ques-

tion of how to fight U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries who are using violence to obstruct world peace, national liberation and revolution.

The main point of the dispute is: What should be the main reliance in the struggle against U.S. imperialism: diplomatic negotiations with the U.S. Government or the peoples' struggle? From the formulation of this question, others arise: How to appraise U.S. imperialism and the Kennedy Administration, and what attitude is to be taken towards the developing national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The most fundamental issue in the dispute is differences in attitude towards such basic principles as the Marxist-Leninist theories of the state, and of imperialism and revolution.

Thus, the contents of the dispute are important.

Japanese C.P.'s Consistent Attitude

Q: What is the attitude of the Japanese Communist Party towards this dispute?

A: People often say that "the Japanese Communist Party is either pro-Soviet or pro-Chinese." However, putting the question this way is incorrect. Such formulation by the reactionaries is designed to attack our Party.

Behind this formulation lurks the insinuation that our Party is "subservient either to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or to the Chinese Communist Party."

All Communist Parties are friendly parties, independent and equal, so our Party naturally takes an independent attitude towards the dispute within the international communist movement.

When the Albanian Party of Labour was publicly denounced at the Moscow meeting in 1960 and at the 22nd C.P.S.U. Congress in 1961, and when the Sino-Indian boundary question and the "Cuban crisis" occurred, our Party invariably took an independent attitude on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and a study of the facts.

Our Party has never adopted the following irrational attitude: something is correct because it is said by a certain Communist Party or by a certain person; disapproval of a certain individual's words would be to our disadvantage. As a Party responsible for the Japanese revolution, our attitude is one of clarifying questions and of distinguishing right from wrong on the basis of theory and fact. Our Party has from beginning to end taken an independent attitude on the basis of theory and fact and will continue to do so in the future.

In forming its views and policies with regard to all questions, the Japanese Communist Party bases itself on Marxist-Leninist principles, on its own platform which defines the fundamental line for the Japanese revolution and on the principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement unanimously laid down by the Communist Parties of all countries.

The fundamental stand of our Party in viewing all things and formulating all its policies is one for the liberation of the Japanese people from domination, oppression,

and exploitation by U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, and one of support for and closer unity with progressive and revolutionary forces throughout the world. We endorse whatever helps such struggles and disapprove what does not.

Q: In what documents are the views of the Japanese Communist Party on the questions about the dispute in the international communist movement to be found?

A: From before the 7th Congress of 1958, our Party, in the course of its struggle against the Japanese revisionists, has published its independent views on the appraisal of U.S. imperialism, on the questions of war and peace, peace and independence, peace and disarmament, peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition and non-peaceful transition in a revolution, structural reform, the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Cuban question and the question of the attitude towards the Albanian Party of Labour.

The major portions of the views on these questions have been included in a symposium entitled *The International Communist Movement and the Japanese Communist Party*, which is distributed by the Publishing Department of the Japanese Communist Party.

In the future we will clear up these controversial issues in a more comprehensive and profound way and make known our Party's own views.

Can't Discussions Be Conducted in a Comradely Way?

Q: I take it that the differences of opinion over policies and theories within the international communist movement can be discussed in a communist and comradely manner and an unanimity of view reached. But why have things come to their present state?

A: Differences of opinion may occur among the various Communist Parties. This in no way differs from disagreement among brothers.

Guiding principles have been laid down on the question of how to resolve the differences of opinion among Communist Parties as they come up. The Moscow Statement unanimously laid down by 81 Communist Parties in November 1960, says:

"The Communist and Workers' Parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to exchange experience, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultations and co-ordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals.

"Whenever a Party wants to clear up questions relating to the activities of another fraternal Party, its leadership approaches the leadership of the Party concerned; if necessary, they hold meetings and consultations."

These are the guiding principles for all Communists. It is regrettable that these principles have been violated and open polemics have occurred.

Readers are probably aware that this state of affairs arose even before the 1960 Moscow meeting. But we are not going to discuss these things here. In a word, a

statement was unanimously adopted by the Communist Parties of various countries at the 1960 Moscow meeting. However, scarcely had this meeting ended when the leaders of some Communist Parties began to denounce publicly those Parties which did not agree with their views at the meeting. This practice is wrong.

At the Party congresses in a number of countries, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Chinese Communist Party were publicly denounced. This practice is also wrong.

What is more, in dealing with differences of opinion in policies and theories, measures have been taken to stop economic and technical co-operation and even to worsen to the utmost relations between the socialist countries. Such a practice, we believe, is absolutely incorrect.

Concerning Proposals for Holding an International Conference

Q: It is reported that there are now people who have proposed that an international conference be held to resolve the dispute immediately or as promptly as possible. What is the opinion of the Japanese Communist Party?

A: Many such reports made the rounds for a time but now they are fewer. However, if this implies the holding of an international conference, and if the form of an international conference is insisted upon to settle the dispute by a majority vote or other means while conditions which would help bring about a correct solution and achieve unity are lacking, then we cannot agree to the proposal.

Inside a Communist Party, decisions can be made by a majority vote when identical views cannot be reached after thorough discussion. But no decisions can be made by a majority vote at an international conference held by Parties which stand independently and on an equal footing.

The above-mentioned Moscow Statement also stipulates that the Communist Parties acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, and work out common views through consultations. This is the principle of unity of fraternal Parties.

If an international conference is held in the present situation to settle the dispute by a majority vote, then the disunity of the international communist movement will probably become irrevocable. A split in the international communist movement and in the socialist camp will be a tremendous loss to the peace of the world, national liberation, and revolutionary cause. Furthermore, to us Communists, there can be no "unity" not based on principle.

Our Party maintains that an international conference be held after full and necessary consultation has been held beforehand in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and when conditions are ripe for such a conference.

Correct Unity Is Sure to Come

Q: How does the Japanese Communist Party appraise future prospects?

A: We sincerely hope that all Communist Parties will make joint efforts to resolve the differences of opinion in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism, that is, in line with the spirit of seeking truth, strengthening militant unity and according to correct principles. Furthermore, our Party will make positive efforts to attain this objective.

By taking advantage of the widening of differences of opinion and the dispute in the international communist movement and the socialist camp, the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries, Right-wing social democrats and anti-Party revisionists have colluded in attacking our Party. The anti-Party revisionists, in particular, such as Shojiro Kasuga, Tomochika Naito and others, have intensified their efforts to work in collusion with the international revisionist trends of thought in attacking our Party to undermine the Japanese revolutionary movement.

But our Party firmly believes that we will certainly be able to smash their foul manoeuvres, attain a complete victory on an international scale in the struggle defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and bring about correct unity in the international communist movement.

The international communist and revolutionary movement in the past hundred years has also experienced several international struggles against opportunism and revisionism. Each time the movement seemed to have encountered serious difficulties. But, as a result of those struggles, ideology was strengthened constantly and a higher degree of unity achieved. It may be said that this is also true of our Party's history in the past 40 years.

At present it seems that the international dispute is giving rise to various kinds of difficulties, but the national-liberation movement and revolutionary movement are advancing in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In Japan, the people's movement is growing steadily and the strength and influence of our Party are expanding with each passing day. This is powerfully demonstrated by the fact that thanks to the efforts of all of us, the readership of *Akahata* (Sunday edition) has jumped to almost 600,000.

The differences of opinion and the dispute within the international communist movement are a process by which the world revolutionary movement will develop to the phase of a correct unity.

As a result of this new trial and test, Marxism-Leninism and the international revolutionary movement will become still stronger.

Japan's revolutionary movement is certain to surge forward and triumph whatever the temporary difficulties, if we defend the basic line of our Party's programme, are loyal to Marxist-Leninist principles and stick to the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement.

The important thing is that we must be fully confident of the future, develop the struggle against the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and overcome difficulties one by one.

The Burning Fire of the Equator

Kenyan People's Heroic Armed Struggle

by KAO LIANG

ON December 12, the Kenyan people will celebrate their independence. On this red-letter day, the history of their past glorious struggles naturally flashes back to mind. It is these struggles, particularly the Mau Mau movement, a large-scale armed struggle launched in 1952 to lead the peasants in seizing land, which laid the foundation for the country's independence. The flames of these struggles are still burning on both sides of the Equator in East Africa. A recent trip to the heartland of Kenya enabled me to grasp the significance of the Kenyan people's anti-colonial struggle in the past for the independence of their country today.

Westward from Mount Kenya sprawl the towering Aberdare Mountains. Between the area south of the Aberdare and Nairobi lies a vast plateau, the heartland of Kenya across the Equator, which is the home of the Kikuyu tribes.

Driving over the plateau, we saw, stretching all the way west of Nairobi, a great expanse of land enclosed within a barbed wire fence. My African driver told me they were enclosures occupied by the colonialists, each having a circumference of scores of miles. He also pointed out to me barracks and huts which were used as prisons and concentration camps for Mau Mau nationalists.

Mau Mau Fighters Everywhere

My driver, who joined the Mau Mau movement 10 years ago, told me with open pride that one could meet Mau Mau fighters like himself in every part of Kenya, especially in areas inhabited by the Kikuyu tribesmen.

Some nationalists who took part in the Mau Mau movement reported that in the early days the Kenyan national movement resorted to peaceful means with a view to boycotting and delaying the application of reactionary measures by the colonial authorities. But the British colonialists rejected all demands for reform and resorted to armed repression. They proclaimed a "state of emergency" in October 1952 and arrested Kenyatta, leader of the Kenyan national movement.

Within a few months, nearly 90,000 people were thrown into prison or concentration camps. Pressed beyond endurance, the Kenyan people, the Kikuyu tribesmen in particular, rose in revolt and started the Mau Mau movement.

The term Mau Mau in the Kikuyu language has a double meaning. When the Kikuyu people took an oath in secret for the seizure of land, children were posted as guards outside the hut. If the enemy came near, the children would give warning by shouting "Mau Mau." Besides this, the term means "taking an oath for unity," which was quite common among the tribes in Kenya.

The oath runs:

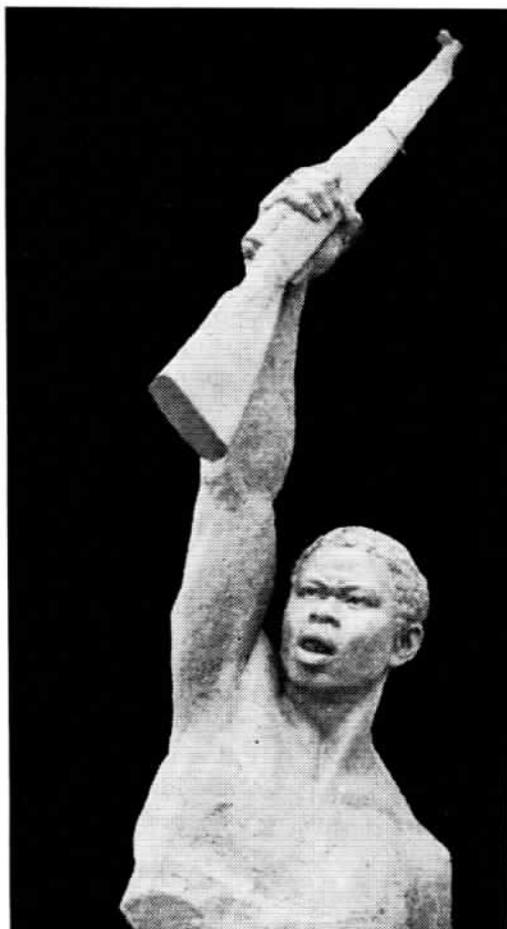
"I march forward courageously in the struggle
To free the land seized by the Europeans;
To free the land of Mother Kenya which

We have tilled from generation to generation. . . ."

This oath has become the Kikuyu people's programme for struggle; they organized their own guerrillas, the Land Freedom Army. The men in this army were landless peasants, handicraftsmen, the employed urban poor and patriotic intellectuals. Also found in its ranks were large numbers of African soldiers in World War II who were unemployed after their army discharge.

Commanders of the guerrillas were retired patriotic officers in World War II. Among them was the well-known Kenyan national hero Kimathi, founder of the Land Freedom Army.

The first shot of the insurrection was fired in Kimathi's hometown in the forest at the foot of the Aberdare Mountains. From the villages on the plateau Kikuyu parents and wives sent their sons and daughters and husbands to the Land Freedom Army which fought in the mountains and bamboo groves and on the vast expanse of the plateau where their battle songs resounded.



Awakening Africa

Sculpture by Su Hui

The struggle was extremely arduous. The colonialists dispatched well-equipped troops supported by bombers and mechanized units to suppress the insurgents. Every adolescent settler in the plateau was armed. The British colonialists laid off large numbers of Kikuyu farmhands and sent them under armed escort to remote areas. They also bribed reactionary chieftains to keep a close watch on all tribesmen. The Land Freedom Army fighters who were active in the forests were short of grain and arms, using spears and cutlasses as their main weapons. But the masses of people supported them in every possible way.

Disciplined "Terrorists"

This contingent of armed peasants who were labelled "terrorists" by the colonialists had strict discipline. The oath they took called for sheltering their comrades-in-arms in every way possible, obeying orders, refraining from rape and treachery. They had to hit hard at the enemy and maintain amicable relations between the officers and the rank-and-file fighters.

The insurgents had their own intelligence network and means of communication. They worked in co-ordination with underground organizations in the urban areas and their men were to be found in various government departments.

The Land Freedom Army fighters kept up their fight from 1952 to 1956. The panic-stricken colonialists dispatched large numbers of troops from Britain and other colonies who immersed the Kenyan people in blood, slaughtering tens of thousands of innocent Kenyans. In the four years, the British Government spent 60 million pounds sterling in its war of suppression. It bought off many traitors to infiltrate the ranks of the guerrillas, and organized "bogus Mau Mau" forces to encircle the guerrillas in the forests. In a battle at the foot of the

Aberdare Mountains, Kimathi was surrounded, putting up heroic resistance until his men were dispersed. He fell into the hands of the enemy when he fainted away as a result of a serious wound.

The colonial authorities sent Kimathi to a prison near Nairobi, trying to force him to yield. But the unyielding and courageous Kimathi rejected the enemy's coercion and offer. Shortly before he was hanged by the neck, he declared, "I am innocent. It is you who are guilty. You oppress us and grab our land. My followers should never forget that it is our sacred duty to fight for Kenya."

Armed Struggle Leads to Independence

The grief-stricken people of Kenya cherished the memory of their national hero and *The Song of Kimathi* was sung everywhere in the country. The oppressed people of the world must not forget that out of the 6 million inhabitants in this African country, more than 100,000 were arrested or massacred by the colonialists. Following in the footsteps of their martyrs, the people of Kenya have shouldered the task of national liberation and fought relentlessly for it. The very year the colonialists jubilantly announced that the Mau Mau had been wiped out, a party represented by all national patriotic forces—the Kenya African National Union—came into being. It rallied the people of the country around it and launched large-scale popular struggles in various forms.

Many Kenyans now tell me: "There would be no independence today had there been no Mau Mau struggle." Their consensus is that in a colony like Kenya, the colonialists kept their own "paradise" and maintained a powerful army and military bases to suppress the people. Concessions from the colonialists would be unthinkable if there was no protracted popular armed struggle.

Pen Probes

The American Way of Death

BURYING the dead is big business in the United States of America. The undertaker's aim is to turn a grief-stricken bereavement into a spending spree with himself as chief beneficiary. With enough dollars he undertakes to make any corpse a "beautiful memory picture." All this today is an established part of *The American Way of Death*, which happens to be the title of a recent U.S. best-seller exposing the practices of the American "cemeterians." As of now, says Jessica Mitford, author of the book, funeral expenses are so high that the overwhelming majority of people in the country just can't afford to die! With funerals now the third or fourth largest expense faced by a family, the U.S. Department of Labour has decided to include the cost of dying in its cost-of-living index.

The men who foist elaborate funerals on persons too grief-stricken by bereavement to protest and so make the



Vulture

Cartoon by Miao Ti

money in the \$2,000 million-a-year funeral business, profess not to regard themselves as mere tradesmen. They like to be called "grief-therapists." And they are good psychologists as well. Every funeral salesman is taught to "work on the emotions . . . pride of ownership, love of family, fear, need." And every man in the business is versed in how deep he can dig into his victim's pockets by gauging the amount of his cash and sorrow. Often, reports *Life*, he begins by checking the family's credit rating and casting an appraising eye on the clothing and car of the bereaved.

The American funeral director is an expert at embellishing the corpses he gets hold of. They are "sprayed, sliced, pierced, pickled, trussed, trimmed, creamed, waxed, painted, rouged and neatly dressed" all in the interest of robbing the bereaved to line the mortician's pockets. The latest fashions for the dead are displayed at undertakers' conventions. A great array of caskets are enticingly touted for the bereaved to choose from. They range from "The Rembrandt," which has springs "the same as on one's couch at home" to "The Sportsman," which features a painted lid of horses, hunting dogs, golf fairways or pheasants.

The American "grief therapists" angrily reject the accusations in Mitford's book. "A funeral," says the *American National Funeral Service Journal* piously, is "an opportunity for the display of a status symbol, which by bolstering family pride, does much to assuage grief"; it is also "an occasion when feelings of guilt and remorse are satisfied to a large extent by the purchase of a fine funeral." To justify their practice of cosmetizing bodies whether survivors order it or not, one mortician pleads that this American way of death is essentially part of the American way of life. He asks: "How many Cadillacs are sold to people who can't really afford them? Why should we funeral directors be criticized for doing the same thing?"

Jessica Mitford has incurred the special ire of the morticians and their backers because her book has revealed how with their ghoulish practices, they are preying on the dead and many living who find it hard enough without them to keep body and soul together.

Meanwhile the magazine *American Cemetery* stuck to the main point: "Cemeterians must be more forceful about collecting past due bills." And it raised a new slogan for the dead: "Paid in full!"

Self-Reliance in Action

Machine-Building Industry Grows

by YEN CHIU

CHINA is building a modern, comprehensive machine-building industry to produce machinery and equipment needed for the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology. She has already made much progress.

After liberation China's machine-building industry first advanced from assembling imported parts and components and servicing imported equipment to manufacturing machines itself. It then went on from manufacturing ordinary and auxiliary equipment to making large machines, precision machinery and complete sets of equipment. Now the industry is making further efforts to base its production on the latest technology. Today it supplies 85 per cent of the equipment needed for China's economic growth as against 55 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57). All this has been attained under the guidance of the policy of "working energetically to achieve prosperity by relying primarily on China's own efforts" laid down by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Stages of Growth

From Repair and Assembly to Manufacture. At the time of liberation in 1949, China scarcely had a machine-building industry worthy of the name. Engineering plants, small and poorly equipped, could only handle repair and

assembly jobs. After three years of rehabilitation from the ravages of long years of war, New China began to build her machine-building industry in a planned way. During the First Five-Year Plan a number of key engineering plants were constructed and the initial foundation was laid for building machine tools, metallurgical and mining equipment, power machinery, electrical machines and appliances, motor vehicles, farm implements, equipment for light industry and general machinery.

In this way China's engineering industry accomplished its first qualitative leap—from repair and assembly to independent manufacture. But the industry's technical level still was rather low; it chiefly turned out small and medium-sized equipment and auxiliary items to go with imported major equipment. In addition, the plants were still unevenly distributed with most of them located in the coastal regions.

From Small Machines to Big, Precision Equipment. The Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) witnessed a tremendous growth in China's engineering industry under the guidance of the general line for building socialism. The rapid advance of the national economy as a whole demanded that more machines and equipment be supplied from domestic sources. The initiative of machine builders was brought into full play. Construction went ahead on a large scale and both the productive capacity and the technical level of the industry were greatly enhanced.

Rapid growth was followed by the implementation of the policy known as "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards," which resulted in a big increase in the variety of products, a further rise in quality and a general improvement in the management of engineering enterprises.

To meet the growing needs of the national economy, new branches of the machine-building industry were set up to produce tractors, equipment for the oil and chemical industries, precision machinery, meters and instruments, agricultural and construction machinery. At this point, China's engineering industry reached a new stage of development.

Since 1958, the industry has added more than 5,000 new types of machinery to its output assortment and accomplished its second qualitative leap—from manufacturing small and medium-sized equipment that require relatively simple techniques to making some large and precision equipment. This includes big blast furnaces each with a useful volume of 1,513 cubic metres, blooming mills with rollers 1,150 mm. in diameter, turbo-generators with a unit capacity of 50,000 kw., hydro-generators with a unit capacity of 72,500 kw., jig boring machines, gear grinders and a dozen other high precision machine tools. In addition, China is making modern aeroplanes, motor vehicles, electric and internal combustion locomotives, tractors, free-forging hydraulic presses in the 10,000-ton class, and up-to-date radio electronic equipment.

About 60 per cent of the 5,000 new types of products added in the Second Five-Year Plan, including big hydro-generators and hydraulic presses, were independently designed in China by Chinese personnel or were improved by them. This means that China's engineering industry has embarked on the road of independent development and accomplished another important advance—from copying foreign models in the First Five-Year Plan to making independent designs.

Making Complete Sets of Equipment.

China made only auxiliary items to go with imported equipment during the First Five-Year Plan. Thanks to an improvement in designing and manufacturing technique as well as in organizational work, her machine-building industry began independently manufacturing complete sets of equipment in the Second Five-Year Plan. During that period, the industry supplied complete sets of equipment to more than 1,000 projects at home and to a hundred projects built with Chinese help in fraternal socialist countries and newly independent nationalist states in Asia and Africa. Complete sets of equipment for large fertilizer plants with an annual capacity of 25,000 tons of synthetic ammonia, equipment for vertical coal shafts with a yearly capacity of 900,000 tons and equipment for hydro-electric power plants with

a generating capacity of 650,000 kilowatts were some of the items supplied.

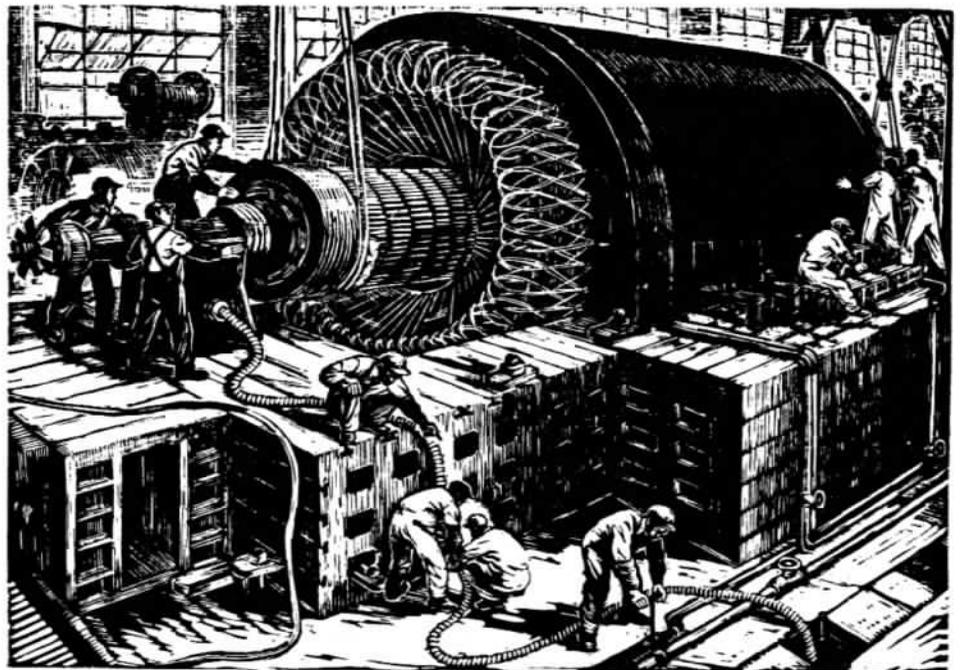
During this period, large quantities of equipment were supplied to the rural areas in a drive to step up the technical reform of agriculture. Between 1957 and 1962 the quantity of irrigation machines on the farms increased 11-fold in terms of horsepower.

Better Distribution, Greater Capacity. During the Second Five-Year Plan, China's industrial map also underwent a radical change. Industry in the better developed coastal areas was reinforced while the less developed regions greatly increased their machine-building capacity. A number of machine-building plants have been built in regions where virtually no engineering industry existed in the past. Today every one of China's provinces and autonomous regions has its own industry capable of turning out some sort of machinery and equipment for industrial and agricultural development.

As a result of the building of production bases and the growth of various branches of manufacturing, the capacity to produce major products rose rapidly. Compared with the end of 1957, China's capacity for building heavy machinery more than doubled by the end of 1962 and that for power equipment increased more than four-fold.

Basic Experience

In forging ahead by self-reliance China's engineering industry has been guided in every sphere of work by the principles and policies laid down by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The makers of the nation's machines have worked with great vigour, confidence and determination to catch up in the shortest possible time with the world's advanced engineering levels. While they have unbounded confidence that they can fulfil this task, they tackle each separate problem with the greatest circumspection—"despising diffi-



Assembling a turbo-generator

Woodcut by Wu Chin-ming, a Shanghai worker

culties strategically while tactically taking them seriously" as they describe it. The masses have been aroused to a keen awareness of the issues involved and to wide participation in solving problems. Technical innovations have been vigorously introduced, but in each case have been popularized only after rigorous testing. Instead of dissipating resources by attempting many projects at once, the industry's efforts have been concentrated in turn on certain key problems. In this way steady progress has been made.

Emphasis on Variety and Quality. In implementing the policy of self-reliance, China's machine-building industry focuses on widening the range of products and improving their quality, and continuously increasing output on that basis. It aims at turning out increasing quantities of machinery and equipment which are technically advanced and economically profitable. It seeks to equip all branches of the economy with complete sets of machinery. While constantly improving the quality and performance of existing models, it strives through planning to produce new ones and replace the out-moded with the latest models. The industry works to master designing and manufacturing techniques, build up and reinforce production bases and bases for scientific experimentation and research. With a view to developing more and more new products and improving their quality, it organizes and co-ordinates its product designing, technology, technical work on materials, scientific research and plant designing in such a way as to bring about an all-round rise in the industry's scientific and technical level with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Planning. In contrast with product development under capitalism which proceeds blindly, governed as it is by competition and the profit motive, China develops machines and equipment in a planned way step by step. The engineering industry works out, together with the departments that use its products, specific policies concerning the development of the technique of the equipment in question in accordance with the country's technical policy for the various branches of the national economy. It maps out the machines to be developed and determines their order of priority. Plans are made to develop a series of basic-type products from which variants and special-purpose machines may be derived in order to meet better the various needs of the economy. In this way, the amount of designing work required is minimized and it is possible to concentrate efforts on attacking major problems one by one.

Catching Up With World's Advanced Levels. China's machine-building industry strives to catch up with the world's advanced levels not as an end in itself but for the sake of satisfying China's own needs. When deciding what models it will make and what techniques it will introduce, it takes into consideration China's specific requirements, the world's advanced level as well as objective possibility. This means that: the machine in question must have such attributes as to meet China's specific demands; the world's advanced techniques are utilized as much as possible in determining the structure and parameters of the machine in question; and it must be possible to make such a machine under existing conditions. Thus China's engineering industry essays to catch

up with the world's advanced levels in major fields in a selective manner.

Independent Research and Learning From Foreign Countries. Another lesson learnt by China's machine-building industry is that while it is necessary to learn from the new techniques of foreign countries, it is also essential to push ahead with one's own experimental and research work; the two must be well integrated. If one refused to learn from foreign experience, one would have to start from scratch and grope forward, and much time would thus be lost.

On the other hand, mechanically apeing foreign achievements without experimentation never enables one to attain technical independence. The important thing is that one must not stop at copying foreign models. Even in reproducing foreign models, it is necessary to take specific conditions into account and adopt a selective and analytical approach. In cases of machinery and equipment urgently needed by the country for which there is no available foreign model to copy from, independent experiment and research are needed as a basis for one's own designs. Only in this way can China move forward by relying on her own efforts.

The Mass Line. In its effort to develop the output assortment much faster than in highly developed industrial countries, China's engineering industry has encountered many difficulties as might have been expected. These difficulties have been successfully surmounted by organizing and co-ordinating the efforts of all concerned and by bringing the initiative of the workers and staff members into full play. An effective way to do this has been for the designing and research institutions, the manufacturing enterprises and the prospective users of the machines to work in close co-operation. They would work out the relevant technical policy and tackle problems of designing together. Another form of "three-in-one co-operation" is for the leading cadres, technical personnel and rank and file workers in an enterprise to work together on problems of manufacturing technique.

As in all other fields, an established practice of China's machine-building industry is to launch mass movements for introducing technical innovations. In these movements, the rank and file workers and staff members are mobilized to make rationalization proposals. They are guided to concentrate on solving key technical problems faced by the enterprise. This is the mass line in action.

A Technical Force. The training of a scientific and technical force that is both "red"—politically conscious—and "expert"—professionally proficient—is of great importance to the steady advance of a Chinese engineering industry which is relying on its own efforts. This has always been the case. Young technicians have been trained on the job with the help of older experts and given a free hand in their work. Many technicians have been trained from among the rank and file.

The growth of China's machine-building industry is closely bound up with that of the national economy as a whole. The advance of the latter gives an impetus to the former, and with more and better equipment supplied from domestic sources, the economy forges ahead under its own steam.

ROUND THE WORLD

Neo-Colonialism in Africa

Double-Dealing

To spread its influence in Africa, Washington pretends sympathy with the freedom cause of the continent. But when the peoples rise in struggle against their colonial oppressors as they do for example against Salazar's Portugal or the racist Verwoerd regime in South Africa, the United States treacherously supports their military suppression with arms and money. This is Washington's neo-colonialist method of holding back the African national-independence movement.

Thus, militarily, Washington not only provides Verwoerd with weapons, but also helps him to set up an arms industry and supplies advisers to train officers. In ten years from 1953, \$500 million worth of U.S. weapons have been sent to Salazar's troops — weapons used to massacre 130,000 Angolans in a bloody colonial war.

On the economic side, the United States is pouring investments into South Africa and also boosting its trade with the Portuguese territories in Africa. Compared with 1961, U.S. imports from Angola rose in 1962 by 41.3 per cent and those from Mozambique by 20.1 per cent. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, U.S. capital in South Africa is now estimated at \$600 million, a 25 per cent increase in two years. Furthermore, "American companies doing business in South African industry are averaging profits of 27 per cent on invested capital."

However, this U.S. game of running with the hares and hunting with the hounds is becoming harder to play. Africans are showing themselves impatient of honeyed words from Washington while the U.S. batters on its neo-colonialist gains. In the U.N. Security Council where apartheid was discussed last week, Ghanaian delegate Quaison-Sackey noted that the U.S. and Britain had the greatest trade with South Africa and declared that every dollar which went to that country was "a vote of confidence in its apartheid system." In Dar-es-

CORRECTION: In last week's "Passing Show," the profits for the 500 largest U.S. industrial corporations for 1962 should read \$13,500 million, not \$135,000 million.

Salaam, Duma Nokwe, General Secretary of the African National Congress of South Africa, denounced the U.S. imperialists for playing a "double game." U.S. and British obstruction of U.N. action against apartheid, he said, "revealed them as protectors of South Africa's fascist regime."

O.A.S.

"The U.S. Ministry of Colonies"

Venezuela, where U.S. stooge Romulo Betancourt's Democratic Action Party has just staged a bayonet election, is being used in Washington's latest conspiracy against Cuba. The Betancourt regime has accused the island republic of supplying arms to the Venezuelan guerrillas.

With this first step taken, the United States acted in predictable fashion. The Organization of American States (O.A.S.), known throughout Latin America as "the U.S. Ministry of Colonies," hurriedly appointed a commission to "investigate." The State Department threatened to invoke the U.S.-contrived Rio de Janeiro Treaty of 1947 to intervene in Cuba and "to work with other governments in this hemisphere . . . to thwart attempts to export arms and men for subversive purposes."

These are cant phrases to cover up Washington's own plotting. Cuban Premier Fidel Castro replied that the arms supposed to have been "discovered" on the coast of Venezuela, actually came from the depots of the Central Intelligence Agency itself. This manipulation of the discredited O.A.S. has a dual purpose — to line up the U.S. trained and controlled military men of the hemisphere for collective armed action against Cuba and to justify sending U.S. Marines to Venezuela. There the mounting revolutionary movement is striking hard at installations of the Yankee oil monopolies valued at 2,400 million dollars.

Lyndon Johnson, the new U.S. President, has already said that the U.S. is determined to continue "the forward thrust of America" begun in the Kennedy Administration. But if this should turn out to be the signal for another armed attack on Cuba, the aggressor will find the Cuban people just as determined as they were three

years ago. At a Havana mass rally last week, Fidel Castro told the U.S. imperialists to think twice before they take the plunge. If there is an invasion, he warned, "the war will not stop as long as there is a single mercenary on Cuban soil."

Italy

"Centre-Left" Government

After weeks of inter- and intra-party haggling, the much talked about "centre-left" government of Italy comprising not only the Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Republicans, but also the Socialists has finally been formed. In a predominantly Christian Democratic cabinet, Aldo Moro, General Secretary of that party, is Premier, while Pietro Nenni, the Socialist leader, is Vice-Premier and Giuseppe Saragat (S.D.) Foreign Minister.

The Christian Democrats have been limping along without a parliamentary majority ever since the last election. Moro was therefore quite willing to take in the Socialists, particularly as he could do so without changing the C.D.'s reactionary programme. All four parties have agreed to a foreign policy of adherence to the NATO pact, support for "European integration" and formation of the "multilateral nuclear force" and to a domestic policy of no more nationalization.

The entry of the Socialists into the government, for the first time in 16 years, has however caused serious differences within both the Socialist and Christian Democratic Parties. Nenni wants to be in at all costs but the Left-wing in his party questions the wisdom of co-operating with a governing party whose star is on the wane. At the Socialists' last central committee meeting, there were bitter disagreements and the dissidents, though outvoted by 59-40, said that they would withhold support from the new government anyway. Among the Christian Democrats, the Right-wing is against the inclusion of the Socialists and former Premier Fanfani has refused a cabinet post because of Moro's monopoly of power.

The new government is dubbed an "opening to the Left." Its viability, and even its stability, are however questionable. A hodgepodge of conflicting interests, it lacks the unity of purpose required to deal with Italy's bad inflation and the fast-growing balance-of-payment deficit.

DRAMA

"Gate No. 6"

In 1950, the year after Tientsin had been liberated from the Kuomintang forces, the ragged, angry transport and dock workers of that industrial and port city began the campaign to end for ever the rule of the gang bosses who had held them in thrall. At "speak out your bitterness" meetings organized by the new people's power, worker after worker poured out their accusations against the gangsters who were still trying to preserve their rackets. Railway porters working at Gate No. 6 of Tientsin's Eastern Goods Station took an active part in the campaign. They overthrew their mortal foe, the gang boss Ma Wen-yuan. It was a memorable victory and they wanted to record the story of their past and the events that led up to it as a living reminder and warning of the abominable system they had cast off.

This was the origin of *Gate No. 6*, the play which today, after 13 years, is a bigger hit than ever. The 36 performances given recently at the Tientsin Workers' Palace had 86,000 people flocking to see it. Two previous runs in 1950 and 1957 in both Tientsin and Peking counted their audiences in hundreds of thousands.

Gate No. 6 is well written and has a dramatic plot, but the special nature of the success it enjoys comes from something immediate and gripping, urgent and poignant, in the way it is acted. It breathes the drama of reality. The writers, with some pro-

fessional help, have dramatized the events they themselves lived through. The actors are re-enacting the tale of their own lives.

The action deals with the life and liberation of the Tientsin railway porters. Hu Erh, an honest, hard-working labourer, is one of those kept in utter destitution by the gangster Ma. Ma pockets 90 per cent of his earnings as a "kickback," and then gets him fired for daring to protest. Desperate, Hu Erh is forced to sell his child to buy medicine for his ailing mother, but when he gets home with the medicine, his mother is already dead. This tragedy sparks the anger of all the porters and they deal with the gangster Ma. Hu Erh is acted by Chao En-lu, a veteran porter himself. In a single year in the old society Chao saw four of his brothers and sisters die of starvation and ill use. Liu Yung-tsai, who acts the role of the workers' strike leader, was a porter for 20 years in the old society. When liberation finally came practically all he owned was the clothes he stood up in including a single pair of trousers, mended and patched with countless layers of rags, the only pair he had owned for 14 years.

Such actors, with memories of the past fresh in mind, bring that experience alive on the stage in all its bitterness and heroic militancy. The play's producers, the Gate No. 6 Amateur Art Troupe of Tientsin, has grown from the handful of workers of the Eastern Goods Station who in 1950 first staged *Gate No. 6* to a seasoned, 70-strong troupe today. Most of them knew little about acting

and the theatre arts when they first joined the troupe. Now, they have over 220 numbers in their repertoire from plays to opera and balladry. All are the fruit of spare-time amateur study. They have taken their shows to a million people in factory clubs and communes as well as to the public theatres.

The backbone of the troupe—40 per cent of its members—are those veteran porters who experienced the old days. They themselves have created all their items, like *Gate No. 6*, out of the dynamic, changing life around them and infused them with a rare sincerity and depth of feeling. Whether it is an act of condemnation of the old or a song of praise for the new society, audiences sympathetically react to their natural and convincing realism reinforced today with a high level of artistry.

FOLK CULTURE

Peasants' Singing Contest

The peasants of Fukien Province, like those in many other parts of China, keep up a lively tradition of "question-and-answer singing contests." A singer will take the floor and sing an improvised pair of couplets with each line a question or a riddle. The singer who takes up his challenge must answer the questions or riddles in a song and then in his turn may pose fresh conundrums. The audience shows by applause whether they think the answers are up to the mark. Wit, aptness, artistry all earn applause. The 1962 film *Third Sister Liu* gives a colourful example of this type of folk-singing in the scene where the heroine takes on three old-fashioned scholars and worsts them in rhymed repartee. Such contests, with a long tradition behind them, are still very popular among the peasants. Several thousand peasants attended one such recent contest in Lungyen County, Fukien Province.

Amidst thunderous applause, Cheng-guan Commune's well-known singer Hung Hsing-po opened the contest with an introductory couplet:

"Who grows the luscious red persimmon?

Who builds the level roads?

Our farms were hit by drought this year;

How come our barns have grain to spare?"

Lungyen County suffered an unprecedented drought this year yet managed to reap a bigger harvest than in 1962—a fair year. Hung Hsing-po was referring to this in his question.

At this, Kuo Chao-feng, a peasant of middle age and a singer from Xipi



Members of the Tientsin railway porters' amateur troupe discussing a new play

Commune, came out from the crowd and sang:

"Our communes grow the red per-simmon.

Communes build the roads.

We fought the drought together:

United efforts carry bigger harvest loads."

Seeing that his rival was quick at improvising answers, Hung Hsing-po put another question to him:

"What is round, with a hole through the centre?

What is hollow, sharp-tongued, thick-skinned?

What tree burns red at blossom time?

What shrinks in rain and wind?"

The audience was silent as all thought hard for the answers. Kuo Chao-feng, however, came first with a solution.

"A coin is round with a hole at its centre.

The bamboo shoot is hollow, sharp, thick-skinned.

The peach tree blossoms red in March.

A small farm shrivels in rain and wind."

Encouraged by the swiftness of Kuo's answers, Hung continued to sing:

"What is strongest?

What is like a bridge?

What lights the way?

What shines like paradise? Please say!"

Kuo was ready with his answers the moment the questions were set:

"Collective effort is strongest.

The people's commune is a bridge.

The general line is a beacon brighter than the light of day.

Communism, a paradise, is on the way!"

Applause and shouts of approval came from the audience in praise of his quick replies. Suddenly someone cried excitedly: "Here comes 'Third Sister Liu!'" Thousands of eyes turned on a slight middle-aged woman who took the floor: Xialao Commune's Tang San-tsai, a singer known far and wide. With a broad smile, she sang to the other two male singers:

"Our life today is happy.

All folk-song-lovers want to sing.

Men are good songsters. Are they less fine

The melodies that women bring?"

Another round of applause followed

this intervention. Forty-one-year-old Tang San-tsai, a daughter of poor peasants, has been an ardent singer of folk songs ever since she was a child. Before liberation, her parents were once unjustly arrested by the Kuomintang police and she had used her folk songs to denounce the Kuomintang.

The singing went on till midnight with everybody in rapt attention and reluctant to leave despite a drizzle. Inspired by the general enthusiasm, Hung Hsing-po improvised a special song:

"Thousands listen to our songs.

The more we sing, our spirits soar.

No matter that it rains; we'll not stop singing till the dawn,

And then — we'll sing some more!"

Hung Hsing-po's family have been farmers and fishermen for three generations. He himself has sung folk songs for over 30 years. Since liberation, he has had a chance to improve his formal education and has made steady progress in his art. He has composed and written many folk-song operas in recent years for amateur theatrical companies.

Mountainous western Fukien including Lungyen County, where the famous *Tea-Pickers' Dance* originated, is known as the "Home of Folk Songs." This year's good autumn harvest has inspired as fine a crop of new folk songs as have ever been heard in these mountains and valleys.

ZOOLOGY

Wildlife Study on Chinghai Highlands

A six-month investigation of wildlife on the highlands of Chinghai Province in China's great northwest has been completed by a field team which included a dozen young scientists. The species, distribution, habits and utilitarian standpoint of the wildlife — including animals, birds, insects, amphibians and reptiles — were studied under the auspices of the Northwest Highland Biological Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

Crossing snow-topped mountain peaks and rivers stretching more than 50,000 kilometres, the team travelled through highlands where the mighty Yangtse, Yellow and Lantsang Rivers

originate and flow on in majestic sweeps. Aided by local Tibetan herds-men who inhabit the area, the team collected 11,000 specimens of 350 different varieties of wildlife. From the finds data will be provided for a comprehensive classification of animals, the study of their geographical distribution and for the exploitation of abundant animal resources.

The investigators roamed through forests, grasslands and rocky regions in warm river valleys and cold uplands. Scientists discovered that large numbers of animals and birds of wide utility inhabit the surveyed areas — wild asses, gazelles, blue sheep, antelopes, musk deer, deer, lynxes, stone martens, various types of pheasants, bar-headed geese and partridges.

An added prize was the capture of a rare male snow leopard, an animal much valued for its skin, in a spruce forest. For the first time such insects as locusts, cicadas and dragon-flies were found in areas 3,700 to 4,000 metres above sea level.

SHORT NOTES

Nahsi Literary Work Translated. The *Tungpa Scripture* — a great 500-volume literary work of the Nahsi nationality in Yunnan Province, southwest China — is now being translated into the Han language. Translation of about 120 volumes has already been completed.

Early in the 8th century, the Nahsi people began settling in the valley of the Kinsha River. Here they developed agriculture, animal husbandry, and fine handicrafts, and developed close relations with the neighbouring Pai, Tibetan and Han nationalities. Their religious beliefs were polytheistic.

Written in hieroglyphic script, the *Tungpa Scripture* runs to 7 million words. It was transcribed bit by bit by scholars over a period of six or seven hundred years following the Tang Dynasty (618-907). A comprehensive record of the myths, legends, tales, poems, fables and other oral works of the Nahsi people from the time of slave society to feudal society, the *Tungpa Scripture* provides invaluable information for the scholars of today on the origins of the Nahsi people, the development of their social life, language and arts, and relations with other nationalities.

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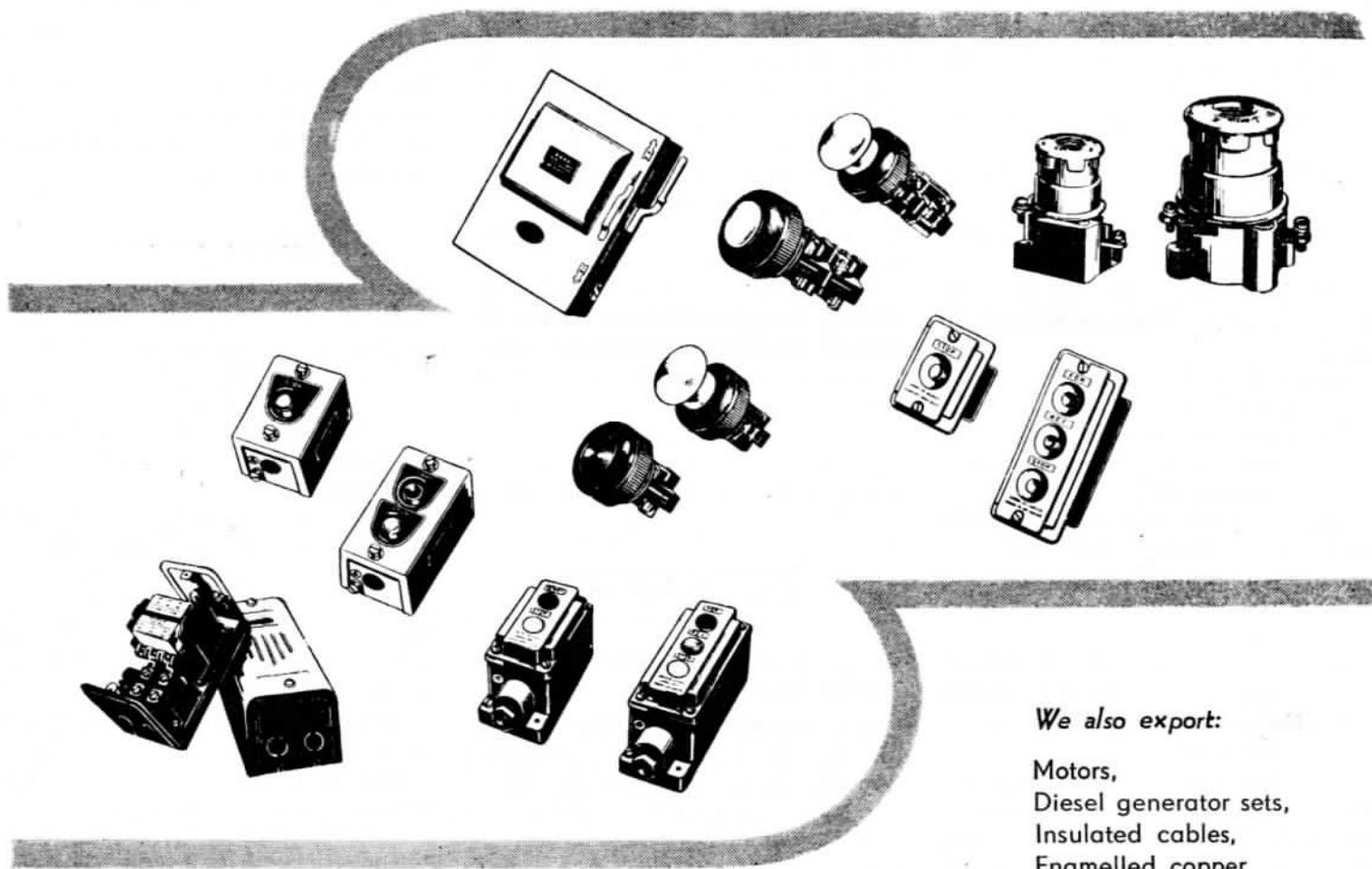
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