

# PEKING REVIEW

52

December 27, 1960

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# BRIGHT SKIES

by Tsao Yu

**BRIGHT SKIES** is the latest work of Tsao Yu, one of China's well-known playwrights. Dealing with the changing ideology of the doctors and professors in a certain medical college after liberation, the play reflects how, with the help of the Communist Party, Chinese intellectuals are shaking off their old views of life and the world.

The play opens on the eve of liberation when the doctors and professors at Yen Jen Medical College, which was founded by U.S. imperialism, adopt two entirely different attitudes towards the coming liberation. While, with Communist Ho Chang-chuan at their head, the progressive doctors such as Sung Chieh-fang and Ling Mu-lan do all they can to greet the liberation of their country with high enthusiasm, a handful of professors, headed by a U.S. imperialist named Jackson and his deputy the dean of the medical college Chiang Tao-tsung, plot to keep the "American tradition" intact.

Six months after liberation, the people take charge of the medical college. Jackson had already left for the United States. Shortly before his departure he had a Chinese worker's wife, who was suffering from rickets, ruthlessly murdered, because he wished to acquire her bones as pathological specimens.

Part of Jackson's influence, however, survives his departure. The tremendous efforts made by the Party to unite, educate and remould the intellectuals in the medical college are obstructed by Chiang Tao-tsung. The death of the worker's wife attracts the Party's attention, but the real cause cannot be quickly brought to light while the masses are still unable to see U.S. imperialism in its true colours.

The Resist America and Aid Korea Struggle begins. Learning from many concrete experiences and with the help of the Party, the doctors and professors become more and more aware of the true facts regarding U.S. imperialist cultural aggression and Jackson's atrocity. Who murdered the worker's wife is finally understood. Thus, educated by the Party and influenced by its great policy, the intellectuals at the medical college are eventually able to make a line of demarcation between the enemy and themselves, rectify their erroneous ideas and set out on the road to becoming people's scientists.

The play is in three acts (with six scenes). The English translation has several illustrations.

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## *My Childhood*

by Kao Yu-pao

**MY CHILDHOOD** is an autobiographical novel by Kao Yu-pao, a soldier-writer from a poor peasant family. It tells how as a child the author and his family were oppressed and exploited by the Japanese imperialists, the Chinese collaborators and landlords, and of the child's unquenchable spirit. They became bankrupt because of the inhuman oppression and the whole family fled to Talien, only to encounter added difficulties under the Japanese occupation there. Yu-pao's mother and new-born brother died miserably while the surviving members of the family were forced to return to their old home in the village.

The terrible suffering of the Kao family reveals the deplorable conditions in both urban and rural areas under which the Chinese people lived during the Japanese occupation. The fighting spirit of the Chinese labouring people, under the guidance of the Communist Party, is vividly portrayed.

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## ROUND THE WEEK

### Steel Victory in Sight

As 1960 drew to a close, the battle for more iron and steel reached its peak. In China's mines and mills, on rivers, roads and railways, hundreds of thousands of workers went into a final, all-out effort to fulfil and overfulfil the target for steel this year.

Came December and in north and northeast China the mercury column of the thermometers dipped way below zero. Snow and freezing winds threatened to snarl up transport and raised other problems. Yet, despite everything, iron and steel output continued to soar and quality improved.

Anshan, China's steel capital, sent word that in the first half of December it achieved an increase of 4.9 per cent in average daily steel output compared with last month. In the Wuhan Iron and Steel Works, average daily steel output shot up 14 per cent during the first ten days of December compared with November, and in the second ten days rose by still another 14.5 per cent! In Paotow, the new Inner Mongolian steel centre, the greater part of which is still under construction, average daily iron output jumped 22.4 per cent and steel, 41.8 per cent in the second ten days of December as compared with the first.

These figures are all the more spectacular because month by month throughout 1960, output has been rising hand over fist.

In Shanghai, where new records are being chalked up all across the board, hundreds of baby-sized steel-making units are making an indispensable contribution along with the bigger plants to boost the city's flow of steel. Established by the city's many engineering plants, shipyards, electrical machinery plants and other factories during the famous 1958 steel drive, they make use of scrap from their own plants and other local sources to make quality steel. By steadily introducing new techniques and operational methods, they too are doing wonders. By the end of November, they turned out 2.8 times as much steel as they did in the same period last year.

These signal victories are first of all the result of communist co-operation among the workers. The mass campaign for increased production and economy launched this year in response to the call of the Chinese Communist Party has mobilized everyone on the steel front. Leadership and staff, workers and technicians, the men before the furnaces and ovens and those in the power, transport, maintenance, welfare and other departments—all have joined in a concerted effort to keep up the tremendous tempo required for the continued sharp rise in iron and steel production.

In the Taiyuan Iron and Steel Works, the year ended in the midst of an emulation drive under the slogan: "One more push from everyone to greet 1961!" That could well characterize the spirit of the whole industry at the turn of the year.

### More Machines for Agriculture

While big news is breaking on the steel front, the machine-building industry is making an extra special effort to aid farm production by boosting the supply of farm tools and machinery. Along with the traditional sickles and hoes and other small farm tools (many of improved make), diesel-run threshers, irrigation pumps, tractors and spare parts are coming out of the plants in ever larger numbers.

Shanghai, for example, now makes more than 40 key types of farm machinery, including motors, drainage and irrigation, and insecticide-spraying equipment. Before the autumn harvest this year, it produced and rushed to the countryside ten times as many diesel and electrically run rice threshers as last year. The city has also turned out much machinery for livestock breeding farms, for fisheries and forestry and for use in side-occupations.

Many factories in this metropolis have sent groups of technicians and workers to the rural people's communes to get the peasants' ideas on how to improve the quality of their products. Workers of one engineering plant recently made several trips to the surrounding countryside to see

that the new types of irrigation machinery it is making really suit conditions in the rice-producing areas.

Teams of workers and technicians continue to go to the rural people's communes to help overhaul and repair farm tools and machinery; they also take a hand in helping the latter set up their own machine shops and train technical personnel.

### Commune Farm Tool Works

At the same time, the many commune-run farm tool works which have grown up in the countryside in the course of the last year or two are also playing a vital role. They are not only turning out large numbers of small hand-implements such as spades, hoes, harrows and sickles, but rice transplanters and spare parts for tractors, cable-towed machines and irrigation pumps. Small farm tools still occupy the dominant place in farmwork in China today, but as more machines are being used on the farms it is becoming increasingly important to have a handy supply of spares. Shantung got around 1,700 new tractors (in terms of 15 horsepower units) this year. Many as soon as they reached the farms went right into operation during the autumn ploughing.

In many areas, the commune-run farm tool works have also become key links in the repair networks which are spreading out to serve every corner of the countryside. Each of the 430-odd people's communes in Liaoning Province, for example, has its own

farm tool plant, while the separate production brigades and production teams of the communes have their own repair stations or teams. Many people's communes today can handle the repair of tractors and other modern farm machinery.

### Mechanizing the Ranches

Livestock farms are also going in for mechanization in a big way as part of the nationwide drive for the technical transformation of agriculture. Recent figures show that this year, alone, the herdsmen of Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang and other pastoral areas received nearly 40,000 universal food crushers, green fodder crop cutters and a number of grass mowers, electric shears, milkers, cream separators and other mechanized or semi-mechanized equipment. In Inner Mongolia, 50 per cent of the grass cut on the pasturelands is now done by machinery. For the first time, many Huis in Ningsia and Tibetans in Chinghai are using electrically run fodder crushers, tractor-drawn hay cutters and cream separators. All this means a big reduction in manual labour.

### Winter Irrigation

What with the collecting and making of fertilizer, the manufacture and repair of farm tools and side-occupations of various kinds, winter's cold hand fails to freeze the lively productive activities of the peasants. Par-

ticularly in north and northwest China where there is generally a lack of rainfall during the spring, commune members have gone all-out to irrigate as much of their winter wheat crops and fallow land as possible before the ground freezes hard.

This vital measure to conserve soil moisture is aimed to help the winter crops develop a strong root system. It is a necessary precaution against possible spring drought next year.

In the area producing wheat extending from north China to Sinkiang in the northwest, where a larger acreage has been planted to wheat than ever before, an emulation drive was organized for winter irrigation. Commune members, zealous for a good summer harvest, are marshalling every source of water—reservoirs, ponds or wells—for the purpose. Pumping equipment flowing to the countryside in large amounts has been put to immediate use.

Winter irrigation on the scale it is now practised is something new in China. Experiments carried out over an extensive area since the big leap forward in 1958 have proved its worth in boosting wheat output. It is possible to popularize it now because with the formation of the people's communes, there has been a large-scale levelling and pooling of fields and construction of reservoirs, dams, wells and irrigation ditches.

### On Ice

The peasants and herdsmen of Inner Mongolia and the northeast provinces have mobilized even Father Winter to serve socialism. Since the cold season set in, they have hauled hundreds of thousands of tons of freight every day across their snow-bound countryside and over frozen rivers and lakes by means of sleighs or sleigh-trains.

In China, the sleigh-on-ice is a method of transport with a long tradition behind it. Yet it is only this year that it has been planned and organized on the present large scale.

Drawn by lorries, tractors, animals or propelled by men, a sleigh-on-ice is an effective and economical means of transport. Labour saving, it assures quick delivery of goods in areas where other regular transport facilities are immobilized during the winter months. These sleighs have surprisingly high loading capacities.



Making Baby Tractors

Sketch by Lo Tsung-hat

They range from hand-drawn half-tonners made of frozen mud to tractor-drawn sleigh-trains capable of carrying as much as 50 tons.

Initiated in the forests of the Greater Khingan Mountains, modern ice transport lines soon spread to many other parts of the northeast. Where there is no river, the people have made ice slides by digging shallow ditches and filling them with water which immediately freezes in the severe cold.

In the Hulunbuir League of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, a total of more than 1,000 kilometres of ice transport lines has been organized. With some 20,000 horse and motor-drawn sleighs at their command, local herdsmen and peasants can handle some two to three hundred thousand tons of goods daily. In the neighbouring province of Heilungkiang, ice routes have been established on all its 1,800 big and small rivers to slide raw materials for industry as well as consumer goods between city and countryside. Over 370,000 sleighs are being used. Felled timber from the distant forest areas is also brought out by this novel but very simple means of transport.

### General Turned Peasant

One of the most stirring stories to be told in the national press these days is that of Major-General Kan Tsuchang who, despite his age and bad health, took up farming again and helped his production brigade in a successful campaign against nature.

General Kan left his home village as a peasant lad in 1927 and joined the Chinese Red Army. He took part in the famous Long March, fought in many battles and was wounded several times. He was head of logistics in the Sinkiang Military Area Command when in 1951 he had his head seriously injured in a car accident. Years of hospitalization followed and he was finally ordered to lead a retired life. His doctors strongly advised him against any work involving mental strain. A quiet place was arranged for him to convalesce in. But he stoutly refused to be "retired." "With the whole nation hard at work in socialist construction am I going to idle away the rest of my life? If I can't do any other work, let me go home to farm," he argued.

Finally, after many applications, his request was granted.

So one day in the autumn of 1957, the general, then already over 50, brought his wife and children back to his home village in Lierhua County, Kiangsi Province. The village folk gave him the sort of welcome that befitted a veteran revolutionary with a distinguished record. There was considerable speculation however: Would the general take things easy as a demobbed invalid or would he assume some important local post? Kan soon settled the question. The third morning after his arrival, he rolled up his sleeves and joined in the field work. In the remaining months of that year he collected over 30,000 jin of manure for the farm co-op (which later became part of a people's commune).

Nor did the general limit himself to just day-to-day farmwork. Faithful to his pledge to do his share for socialist construction in the countryside, he looked around to see where best he could direct his energies to help his home village. The first thing which came to his attention was the extensive poor red-soil wastelands of the locality. Coming across an article by the provincial Party secretary on how to ameliorate them, he decided to give its recommendations a try. He picked a plot of wasteland near his home to experiment on. There were difficulties aplenty. The soil lacked humus and didn't hold moisture well. He himself was far from strong physically. The local folk were sceptical. An old peasant came to him. "Look here," he said, "you are a general, so there's nothing I can tell you about military affairs. But as for farming, I think I know more about it than you. Don't waste your energy, this soil's not worth the working." General Kan's reply to this was: "Let me try. If nothing good comes of it, the experience at least will be useful."

Gen. Kan persevered and worked harder than ever. He studied the attempts other peasants had made. He got his sons to help him in their spare time. He tried deep ploughing and various types of ditches to prevent loss of water. His steadfast efforts soon moved the peasants. One seasoned farmer made the valuable suggestion that he try green manure

to improve the soil. Hard work and collective effort finally raised a good harvest on the red soil reclaimed. After this convincing demonstration his fellow villagers also set to to reclaim a large area of the formerly despised red-soil wasteland. As to the general, he went on with his experiments, planting peaches, pears, apples, chestnuts, beans, *kaoliang* and other crops the seeds of many of which he received from his old comrades-in-arms scattered in various parts of the country.

While all this was going on, Gen. Kan did not forget his other social responsibilities. He made many useful proposals to the commune and county Party organizations for improving the farmwork. When the Party issued a call to transform the low-yield lands, he was the first to go around the village studying every empty knoll and scrubby plot, getting and exchanging ideas with his fellow commune members. This year, partly as a result of his experiments to improve drainage systems, his production brigade successfully took to double-cropping and got a good harvest.

From the first day of his return, General Kan has led the simple life of the country. Time and again he has refused the special privileges offered him on account of his bad health. To make the double-cropping experiments he spent a lot of his own personal savings to buy fertilizer for the commune.

General Kan's example has made a profound impression on his fellow villagers. He has become a popular and respected member of his own commune as well as a nationally known figure whose communist spirit and devotion to the people's cause and socialist construction have inspired countless thousands, young and old.

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### NOTE

Commencing January 1961, *Peking Review* will be published every Friday, instead of Tuesday, as previously. Our next issue, that is, our first issue of 1961, will appear on January 6.

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# Joint Statement of Chairman Liu Shao-chi And Prince Sihanouk

*Following is the text of the Joint Statement of the Chairman of the People's Republic of China Liu Shao-chi and the Head of State of Cambodia Prince Norodom Sihanouk signed in Peking on December 19, 1960. — Ed.*

**A**T the invitation of the Chairman of the People's Republic of China Liu Shao-chi and the Premier of the State Council Chou En-lai, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, arrived in the People's Republic of China on December 15, 1960, for a state visit.

In response respectively to the invitation of the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Chou En-lai and of Vice-Premier Chen Yi, His Excellency Samdech Penn Nouth, Vice-President of the High Throne Council of Cambodia, His Excellency Pho Proeung, Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia, and His Excellency Nhiek Tiouloung, First Deputy Prime Minister, accompanied His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk in this state visit.

Also accompanying the Head of State of Cambodia on the visit were Madame Sihanouk and Prince Sihanouk's daughter Princess Soriya Roeungsi as well as certain high-ranking officials of Cambodia, an economic mission and artists of the Royal Corps de Ballet of Cambodia.

His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and the other distinguished guests from Cambodia were accorded most solemn and warm reception by the Chinese people, which fully demonstrated the Chinese people's respect and profound friendship for His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and the Cambodian people.

During their visit, His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and the other distinguished guests from Cambodia were received by Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and a cordial and sincere conversation was held.

Talks were held between the Chairman of the People's Republic of China Liu Shao-chi, the Premier of the State Council Chou En-lai, and Vice-Premier Chen Yi and His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, His Excellency Samdech Penn Nouth, Vice-President of the High Throne Council of Cambodia, His Excellency Pho Proeung, Prime Minister

of the Royal Government of Cambodia, and His Excellency Nhiek Tiouloung, Deputy Prime Minister. Taking part also in the talks on the Chinese side were: Vice-Premiers of the State Council Li Hsien-nien and Ulanfu, Minister of Foreign Trade Yeh Chi-chuang, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Chi Peng-fei, and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the Kingdom of Cambodia Wang Yu-ping; and on the Cambodian side were: Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Cambodia to the People's Republic of China His Excellency Leng Ngeth, Inspector-General of the Ministry of Planning Sonn Voeunsai and Assistant Secretary-General of the High Throne Council Phuong Margain.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of full understanding and perfect harmony. The two parties exchanged views on questions of common interest to both countries and on the international situation.

The two parties pointed out with satisfaction that the many mutual visits in the recent years between the leaders of the two countries, especially the visit of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk to China in August 1958 and the visit of Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi to Cambodia in May 1960 played an extremely important role in further strengthening the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries. The economic and trade ties between the two countries have become closer, their cultural and art exchanges more frequent and the friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the spirit of the Bandung Conference have stood the test of time, won extensive praise internationally and provided a good example of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

The two parties consider that the signing of the Sino-Cambodian Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression not only has ushered in a new stage in the friendly relations between China and Cambodia, but also constitutes an important contribution to the safeguarding of peace in Indo-China and Asia.

During the talks, Chairman Liu Shao-chi expressed his admiration for the determination and courage of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and the Cambodian Government and people in safeguarding the national in-

dependence and sovereignty of the country. The Chinese side fully respects and supports the peaceful, neutral, independent and sovereign policy implemented by the Royal Government of Cambodia. The Chinese side considers that the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Royal Government of Cambodia has an important significance in stabilizing the situation in Indo-China and defending world peace.

His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk reaffirms the stand of the Kingdom of Cambodia for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its full sympathy for the Chinese people's struggle in defence of the territorial integrity of their country. The Cambodian side praises the constant efforts of the Chinese Government in upholding world peace and supporting all the oppressed peoples.

Both parties point out with emphasis that to strive for a peaceful international environment is an imperative need for China and Cambodia in the construction of their respective countries and that China and Cambodia are willing to establish and develop friendly relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence with all countries having the same desire.

The two parties condemn the acts of certain countries designed to create tension in Southeast Asia and to interfere in other countries' internal affairs. They express their sympathy and support for the Laotian people in their just struggle against foreign intervention and for the peace, neutrality, national independence and unity of their motherland.

The two parties note with pleasure that the development of the present international situation is unprecedentedly favourable to the struggle for world peace and against colonialism. They firmly believe that so long as all the peace-loving countries and peoples unite themselves and persist in struggle, they will certainly defeat the forces of war and aggression and maintain world peace. They consider that general disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons constitute an important task in the present struggle for world peace. They point out that the Chinese Government's proposal for the signing of a peace pact of mutual non-aggression by the countries in Asia and around the Pacific and the turning of this whole region into an area free of nuclear weapons, if realized, will be an important contribution to the struggle of the people of the whole world for a lasting peace.

The two parties hold that the complete elimination of colonialism is a common demand of the peoples of the whole world, and also an important condition for the defence of world peace. They resolutely support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle against colonialism and in defence of national independence.

They warmly greet all the countries which have won independence in the recent period. They hold that the peoples of these newly independent countries should have the right to choose freely their own political and economic systems and ways of life, free from all foreign interference.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi warmly praised the remarkable successes achieved by the Cambodian people under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk in the development of their independent national economy and expressed the belief that the Cambodian people will achieve still greater successes in implementing the Five-Year Plan (1960-64) named after Prince Sihanouk. His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk warmly congratulated the Chinese people on their extraordinary forward march in all the fields of construction under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and wished the Chinese people continuous new successes.

With a view to helping the Kingdom of Cambodia develop more rapidly its independent national economy, the Governments of China and Cambodia signed new agreements on technical and economic aid, particularly for the further development of Cambodia's agriculture and its industry for the processing of natural resources as well as for contributing to the construction of the railway from Phnom-Penh to the city of Sihanouk.

Both parties solemnly declare once again that the Governments and peoples of the two countries will always take the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the principles guiding the relations between the two countries. They express the conviction that the peoples of the two countries will live in friendship from generation to generation. The two parties are deeply convinced that the visit to China by His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and the other distinguished guests from Cambodia and the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression between China and Cambodia will open a new page in the development of Sino-Cambodian friendly relations.

His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, on behalf of the Royal Government and the Khmer people and in his own name, invited the Chairman of the People's Republic of China Liu Shao-chi to pay a state visit to Cambodia. Chairman Liu Shao-chi has accepted this invitation with pleasure and expressed his desire to effect this visit at an appropriate time.

Peking, December 19, 1960

(Signed)

**LIU SHAO-CHI**

Chairman of the  
People's Republic of China

(Signed)

**NORODOM SIHANOUK**

Head of State of Cambodia

# A New Page in Sino-Cambodian Friendly Relations

*Following are excerpts from a "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on December 22. — Ed.*

**T**HE Joint Statement issued on the talks between Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Prince Sihanouk and the signing of the Sino-Cambodian Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression have, says the editorial, ushered in a new stage in the friendly relations between China and Cambodia. This is not only a great and happy event in the political life of the peoples of the two countries that deserves our warm congratulations; it is also a new victory for the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which will certainly be welcomed by all who cherish and uphold peace in Indo-China and Asia.

The signing of the Sino-Cambodian Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression fully embodies the peaceful foreign policy of the Chinese Government and the policy of peace and neutrality of the Royal Cambodian Government; at the same time, the editorial states, it expresses the common, strong confidence of our two countries in the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

China is a socialist country. Its socialist system determines the fact that China cannot, does not need to and will not commit aggression against any foreign country, the editorial declares. Moreover, it continues, because the people of our country ardently love peace, we need a peaceful international environment in which to build our motherland. This is why we have always attached great importance to peaceful co-operation with peace-loving countries and peoples throughout the world; we are willing to live in peace with all countries in the world having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles. At the same time, as a loyal friend of the peoples striving for liberation or who have freed themselves from imperialist enslavement and oppression, China not only resolutely opposes acts of interference in the internal affairs of young national countries by the use of force or any other means, but also gives energetic assistance and support to these countries in developing and consolidating their national economies and their forward march along the road of progress, and co-operates with them in the struggle for world peace and against imperialist aggression. The above-mentioned is the basis of the friendly relations between China and Cambodia and other national countries.

The Chinese people have always shown a deep admiration for the firm stand taken by Prince Sihanouk and the Royal Cambodian Government in pursuing a peaceful, neutral, independent and sovereign policy, the editorial continues. We see clearly that precisely because of Prince Sihanouk's outstanding activities and contributions to the cause of upholding national independence and

safeguarding peace in Asia and the world, and precisely because of the unswerving efforts of the Cambodian people — a people who cherish independence — to safeguard national sovereignty and oppose foreign intervention under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, the Kingdom of Cambodia's international status rises with each passing day and its role in international affairs steadily increases. Firm adherence to the policy of peace and neutrality has opened the road for the Kingdom of Cambodia to become rich, strong and prosperous.

**T**HE steady growth of the friendly relations between China and Cambodia, the editorial points out, conforms to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries and is beneficial to the consolidation of peace in Asia and the world. The past few years have witnessed a rapid development in the friendly intercourse and mutual help and co-operation in the economic and cultural fields between our two Governments and peoples; the reciprocal support of our two countries in international affairs has also been strengthened day by day. The friendly relations and sincere co-operation between our two countries have given powerful proof to the world that countries having different social systems should and can coexist peacefully. Some people have expressed doubt whether large and small countries, as well as strong and weak countries, in the world can achieve genuine peaceful coexistence. The friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Cambodia now provide the most effective answer — that is, that it is entirely possible for countries, large and small, to coexist peacefully so long as they strictly abide by the Five Principles. It is for this very reason that the leaders of the Governments of China and Cambodia have, in the Joint Statement, emphasized that "China and Cambodia are willing to establish and develop friendly relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence with all countries having the same desire."

Obviously, the editorial continues, if all countries in the world base their mutual relations on these principles there would be no threats, intervention or aggression by one country against another. But imperialism, headed by the United States, is bent on pursuing its policies of aggression and war designed to enslave the peoples of various countries and threaten world peace, and uses every possible means to sabotage and obstruct the realization of peaceful coexistence. Imperialist countries not only brutally suppress the national liberation movement in various parts of the world, but also use every conceivable means to interfere in, subvert and strangle those countries which have won independence. The present grave situation in Laos, a neighbour of China and Cambodia, is



typical. It is precisely because U.S. imperialism and its henchmen have arrogantly interfered in Laos' internal affairs, given open support to the Laotian rebel group and instigated and extended the Laotian civil war that the independence and sovereignty of Laos and peace in Indo-China have been seriously jeopardized. This situation cannot but arouse the indignation and anxiety of all peace-loving countries and peoples.

From the Joint Statement of the leaders of the Chinese and Cambodian Governments and the signing of the Sino-Cambodian Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-

Aggression, says the editorial, we realize all the more profoundly that the peoples of China and Cambodia help and support each other whether it be in the cause of the development of their national economies or in the cause of opposing colonialism, safeguarding national independence and defending world peace.

It is our hope and our conviction that such friendly co-operation between the Chinese and Cambodian peoples will unquestionably develop steadily on the new basis, making ever greater contributions to the defence of peace in Indo-China and Asia, the editorial concludes.

## China and Indonesia

# Arrangement for the Implementation of the Treaty Concerning the Question Of Dual Nationality

*Following is the text of the Arrangement, signed in Djakarta on December 15, 1960, for the Implementation of the Treaty Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality. — Ed.*

### PREAMBLE

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, in the spirit of friendly consultation and in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, hereby implement the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality and consider this to be in the interests of the peoples of the two countries.

Both Parties agree to take all necessary measures and provide all facilities to make it possible for all persons holding dual nationality to choose their nationality according to their own will.

For this purpose, the two Parties have, on the basis of the provisions of the Treaty Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality signed on April 22, 1955, and of the notes exchanged between the Prime Ministers of the two countries on June 3, 1955, made the following Arrangement for the Implementation of the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality:

### CHAPTER ONE SCOPE OF PERSONS TO CHOOSE NATIONALITY

#### Article I

1. According to the provisions of the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality, those entitled to declare their choice of the nationality of the People's Re-

public of China and their renunciation of that of the Republic of Indonesia or their choice of the nationality of the Republic of Indonesia and their renunciation of that of the People's Republic of China are persons who, at the time when the Treaty comes into force, hold simultaneously the nationality of the People's Republic of China according to the laws of the People's Republic of China and the nationality of the Republic of Indonesia according to the laws of the Republic of Indonesia.

2. The two Parties agree that, in accordance with the principle of respect for one's own will, those who had not come of age between December 27, 1949, and December 27, 1951, and had renounced their nationality of the Republic of Indonesia along with their parents or had it renounced by their parents on their behalf are considered as still holding dual nationality and consequently enjoying the right to choose their nationality.

#### Article II

1. Among those who hold simultaneously the nationality of the People's Republic of China and the nationality of the Republic of Indonesia, one category of persons are considered as having already implicitly renounced the nationality of the People's Republic of China and holding only the nationality of the Republic of Indonesia.

2. The scope of the category of persons referred to above in Paragraph 1 shall be determined by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia which will provide a list of names of such persons to the Government of the People's Republic of China for its information.

3. To the laws of the Republic of Indonesia determining who shall be considered implicitly as holding only the nationality of the Republic of Indonesia shall be added those citizens of the Republic of Indonesia of Chinese

origin who are proved by certificates issued by the Indonesian Election Committees or other evidence to have taken part in elections of the All-Indonesia People's Congress or local people's congresses.

## CHAPTER TWO ORGANS RECEIVING DECLARATIONS ON THE CHOICE OF NATIONALITY

### Article III

Any of the persons referred to in Article I of the present Arrangement desiring to retain the nationality of the People's Republic of China must declare his renunciation of the nationality of the Republic of Indonesia before the following organs:

1. In the People's Republic of China: the Public Security Bureaus of the counties (or cities) where the declarants reside;
2. In the Republic of Indonesia: the Embassy, Consulate-General and Consulates of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Indonesia and the temporary offices established by them;
3. In places outside the territories of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia: the diplomatic or consular missions of the People's Republic of China stationed there or nearby.

### Article IV

Any of the persons referred to in Article I of the present Arrangement desiring to retain the nationality of the Republic of Indonesia must declare his renunciation of the nationality of the People's Republic of China before the following organs:

1. In the Republic of Indonesia: judges of the local courts of the administrative districts where the declarants reside;
2. In the People's Republic of China: the Embassy and Consulate of the Republic of Indonesia in the People's Republic of China and the temporary offices established by them;
3. In places outside the territories of the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China: the diplomatic or consular missions of the Republic of Indonesia stationed there or nearby.

### Article V

The temporary offices of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia shall, on the basis of equality and reciprocity, enjoy proper protection and all facilities in carrying out their tasks; the personnel of the temporary offices shall, according to their status, enjoy the immunities and privileges due to similar personnel of the Embassy or Consulate.

### Article VI

The number and location of the temporary offices to be established by the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia shall be specifically discussed by the Joint Committee and approved by the Governments

of both Parties before their establishment, in the light of the number and distribution of persons simultaneously holding the nationality of the People's Republic of China and that of the Republic of Indonesia and in accordance with the principle of facilitating their fulfilment of the procedure of declaration on the choice of nationality.

## CHAPTER THREE PROCEDURE FOR THE CHOICE OF NATIONALITY

### Article VII

Declarations on the choice of nationality made by persons referred to in Article I of the present Arrangement within two years after the coming into force of the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality shall be valid. Declarations may be made orally or in writing. The procedure of declaration may be fulfilled by the declarant personally at an organ receiving such declarations or by mail. In fulfilling the procedure of declaration on the choice of nationality, the declarant may also receive the assistance of local public organizations concerned.

### Article VIII

In fulfilling the procedure of declaration, persons referred to in Article I of the present Arrangement shall fill in a simple form of declaration. The organs receiving declarations shall provide the declarants with every assistance and facilities. No taxes or fees shall be imposed on the procedure of declaration.

### Article IX

1. After receipt of the form of declaration, the organ receiving declarations shall, as quickly as possible (not exceeding three months at the most) sign and stamp on it and return a copy of the form to the declarant as his certificate of nationality. The organ receiving declarations may, if it deems it necessary, ask the declarant to furnish evidence of his holding two nationalities; if the evidence furnished by the declarant is accepted, the date on which he first submits his form of declaration shall be counted as the date of declaration.

2. Detailed administrative and technical regulations concerning declaration on retaining the nationality of the People's Republic of China and renouncing that of the Republic of Indonesia, or on retaining the nationality of the Republic of Indonesia and renouncing that of the People's Republic of China may be laid down, made public and implemented by the Governments of the two countries respectively, so far as those regulations are not in conflict with the relevant provisions of the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality, the notes exchanged between the Prime Ministers of the two countries and the present Arrangement.

### Article X

1. If the organ receiving declarations considers that a declarant is not within the scope of persons referred to in Article I of the present Arrangement, it shall reply in writing to the declarant explaining the reasons and reject his declaration.

2. The declarant, however, is entitled to apply to the Joint Committee for an examination of his case. If the Joint Committee considers the case well grounded, it shall forward the same to the Government concerned and suggest that the rejection be re-examined and the case be dealt with anew.

#### Article XI

Declaration on the choice of nationality by persons referred to in Article I of the present Arrangement shall be free from any interference or obstruction which will affect his choice of nationality according to his own will. Should such a situation occur, the Joint Committee shall recommend that the Government of the country concerned adopt effective measures to stop it.

#### FINAL PROVISIONS

#### Article XII

Questions requiring specific discussion, that is other matters concerning dual nationality not provided for in

the present Arrangement, shall be settled by the Joint Committee through consultation, and supplementary arrangement made public by it.

#### Article XIII

The present Arrangement shall come into force upon the date of its publication.

Done in Djakarta on the fifteenth day of December 1960, in duplicate in the Chinese and Indonesian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

(Signed)

HUANG CHEN

Chief Delegate on the side of the People's Republic of China on the Joint Committee of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia

(Signed)

SUSANTO TIRTOPRODJO

Chief Delegate on the side of the Republic of Indonesia on the Joint Committee of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia

# Reasonable Settlement of Overseas Chinese Dual Nationality Question

*Following is a translation of an editorial published in "Renmin Ribao" on December 24. — Ed.*

THE Chinese and Indonesian Governments have reached an agreement on the Arrangement for the Implementation of the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality. This arrangement was signed by the senior delegates of the two parties to the Sino-Indonesian Joint Committee in Djakarta on December 15 and its instruments of ratification were exchanged by the two parties on December 21 in Djakarta. It is scheduled to be published [in Peking and Djakarta] simultaneously and to become effective today. To implement the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality, this arrangement was worked out by the Chinese and Indonesian Governments in a spirit of friendly consultation and in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The publication and coming into effect of this arrangement has made it possible to implement the provisions of the Treaty Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality signed on April 22, 1955, and of the notes exchanged between the Prime Ministers of the two countries on June 3, 1955. It has also opened the way for an overall settlement of the overseas Chinese question existing between China and Indonesia. This is a victory gained by the Chinese and Indonesian Governments in the overall settlement of the overseas Chinese question and a major success in the settlement of international problems through

peaceful consultations. This shows that so long as the parties concerned have a common desire for friendship and co-operation and a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation, any complicated and difficult question between nations can be reasonably settled by means of peaceful consultation. Therefore, the Chinese people warmly welcome the publication and coming into effect of the arrangement and fully support the implementation of the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality.

The question of dual nationality of the overseas Chinese is one left over by history. The Chinese Government has always regarded it as unreasonable for overseas Chinese to hold dual nationality because this is not only detrimental to their vital interests but may also be used by those forces hostile to the friendship between China and the countries concerned, to sow discord and carry out disruptive activities. The Treaty Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality provides that every person holding dual nationality may, of his own accord, choose the nationality of the People's Republic of China or that of the Republic of Indonesia; the arrangement between the Governments of the two countries for the implementation of the treaty lays down all necessary measures and provides every convenience for the implementation of the treaty. This makes it possible for every person holding dual nationality to choose his nationality of his own will, thereby bringing about a satisfactory and reasonable settlement of the question of dual nationality of the overseas Chinese.

We have always noted that the overseas Chinese holding dual nationality in Indonesia have been living and working industriously for generations in that country, and have contributed to its economic and cultural construction, formed close ties of flesh and blood with the Indonesian people and intermingled with them in economic and cultural life. It is perfectly understandable that many of these overseas Chinese want to choose the Indonesian nationality and participate on an equal footing with the Indonesian people in the latter's public life. The Government and people of China understand and approve this desire of theirs and hope that they will choose the Indonesian nationality of their own accord. And once they have obtained Indonesian nationality they naturally should pay allegiance to that country and, at the same time, will naturally be entitled to the civil rights of that country without any discrimination. The adoption by overseas Chinese of the nationality of the country in which they reside, therefore, accords with the interests of the country concerned and also with the interests of the overseas Chinese themselves.

Of course, owing to various circumstances, it is possible that a section of the overseas Chinese holding dual nationality will retain the nationality of the People's Republic of China. This is also welcomed by the Government and people of China. We hope that the proper rights and interests of these overseas Chinese will be respected so that they can continue to reside in Indonesia. The Chinese Government will also continue to urge overseas Chinese residing in Indonesia to respect the laws of the Government of the country of their residence and social customs and habits there, not to take part in the political activities of the country of their residence, to live in friendship with the people there and to continue to contribute positively to the economic development of Indonesia. All those who, of their own free will, either choose the nationality of Indonesia or retain the nationality of the People's Republic of China should in future, in a spirit of friendship and unity, join their efforts in promoting friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia.

**T**HE policy of our Government for the settlement of the overseas Chinese question is perfectly consistent with our peaceful foreign policy. China sincerely wishes to live in friendship with the Southeast Asian countries and advocates that all questions between them should be settled on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The peaceful foreign policy of China is steadfast and unswerving and stands the test of time. Moreover, the unremitting and sincere efforts of the Chinese Government to bring about peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems are on record for all to see. China has signed treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression or of peace and friendship with, respectively, Yemen, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea and Cambodia. We have all along maintained relations of friendship and co-operation with many Asian countries. A new and eloquent proof of this is the reasonable settlement of the question of dual nationality between the Governments of China and Indonesia.

China and Indonesia are two countries friendly to each other and a profound friendship exists between their peoples. There is no conflict of basic interests between the two countries; on the contrary, there are a thousand and one reasons for their friendly co-operation. Both our countries have shared the common experience of imperialist and colonialist aggression and oppression; and today they still face a common enemy and the same task. China's territory—Taiwan and Indonesia's territory—West Irian are still under imperialist occupation. It is absolutely necessary for the peoples of our two countries to strengthen their solidarity and give support and assistance to each other in the struggle against imperialist aggression and intervention and for the safeguarding of their own sovereignty and territorial integrity and in the constructive work of economic development. The Chinese Government has always held that consolidation and development of the friendship between our two countries conforms to the aspirations and basic interests of the peoples of the two countries. Although in the past year and more, some regrettable incidents took place between the two countries on the overseas Chinese question, these, after all, are merely of a temporary nature and are minor difficulties. The Governments of our two countries have all along sought a reasonable solution to this question. As Indonesian President Sukarno has said, difficulties between Indonesia and China in connection with the overseas Chinese question were merely minor difficulties. With goodwill on the part of our two countries, these difficulties can be settled. Anyway, these insignificant difficulties "have not in the least changed our desire and will to maintain the closest relations with the Chinese People's Republic."

**N**OW, with the publication and coming into effect of the Arrangement for the Implementation of the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality and the implementation of the treaty, a new important advance has been made in the settlement of the overseas Chinese question existing between the two countries. The Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality, the notes exchanged between the Prime Ministers of the two countries on the arrangement for the implementation of the treaty and the arrangement for the implementation of the treaty—are all fair and reasonable. In future, so long as the two parties continue to take an attitude of active co-operation, create a good atmosphere and provide facilities for implementation of the treaty, and strictly abide by the provisions of the treaty, the notes exchanged and the arrangement for the implementation of the treaty, we believe that this treaty can be smoothly implemented and that an overall, reasonable solution of the overseas Chinese question can be secured. Our Premier Chou En-lai has emphatically pointed out that "an amicable solution of this question of a temporary nature between our two countries will contribute to the friendship between our two peoples and the further development of relations between our two countries. It will be beneficial to the peoples of both China and Indonesia and also to the solidarity of the peoples of the Asian and African countries." We sincerely hope that the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Indonesia will continue to develop under the guidance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the spirit of the Bandung Conference.

# Support the Struggle for an Independent, Democratic Latin America!

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

IT was on New Year's Day, 1959, that the news came: The U.S.-nursed Batista dictatorship was overthrown in Cuba! The revolution led by Fidel Castro was victorious! It was grand and happy news for the Chinese people as they celebrated the start of the new year. A few weeks later, on January 25, Peking turned out at a mammoth rally to demonstrate solidarity with the Cuban people. In the two years since then, so much has happened to bring the Chinese people and their brothers in Cuba and Latin America even closer together than today, as the oft-quoted Chinese poem puts it, they "feel like next-door neighbours though separated by the oceans."

This popular sentiment of close friendship with the Cuban and other Latin American peoples has lately found new expression in the Friendship Week which is now being observed in China to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the national independence struggle in the Latin American countries and celebrate the second anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. The Week, sponsored by the China-Latin America Friendship Association, started on December 26 and will last till New Year's Day.

## A Stirring Rally

On the first day of the Week, the people of the capital gathered at a rally to commemorate the two anniversaries. It was a manifestation of joy at the victories already gained by the Latin American peoples, an expression of confidence in the ultimate triumph of their cause. There was deafening applause when Chu Tu-nan, President of the China-Latin America Friendship Association, declared: "A new, independent and free, democratic and happy Latin America will certainly be born in the flames of struggle!" and when Cuban Ambassador Oscar Pino Santos said: "The colonial peoples of the whole world will certainly free themselves from imperialism!"

The rally was, at the same time, an impressive demonstration of the militant solidarity between the Chinese people and the Cuban and other Latin American peoples. Unanimously, enthusiastically, it approved a message which declares:

"In the common struggle against U.S. imperialism, the Chinese and Latin American peoples show constant solicitude and support for each other. The Chinese people have always resolutely supported and will always resolutely support the struggle of the peoples of the Latin American countries against imperialism and to safeguard national independence and achieve democracy and freedom."

Vice-Premiers Lo Jui-ching and Hsi Chung-hsun were among those present at the Peking rally. Visiting guests from Cuba, Brazil, Haiti, Bolivia, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Argentina and Colombia were also present.

Speakers at the rally reviewed the protracted and heroic struggle waged by the Latin American peoples. One hundred and fifty years ago, the great fight for national independence was launched from Argentina in the south to Mexico in the north. Years of heroic battle ended in the expulsion of the Spanish and Portuguese colonialists, the ending of an over 300-year-old yoke. That victory wrote a glorious chapter in the history of the Latin American struggle for national independence. But no sooner were the old colonialists thrown out than new aggressors stepped in. For the past one and a half centuries now, the Latin American peoples have been waging a constant struggle against imperialist aggression and intervention and against U.S. imperialism in particular.

Chu Tu-nan, in his speech, severely denounced U.S. aggressive crimes against Latin America. During the past century, the U.S. imperialists have employed armed aggression and intervention against the Latin American countries on more than 100 occasions. They annexed more than half of Mexico's territory; they committed armed aggression against nine Caribbean countries; they sent their troops to invade Cuba on four occasions and occupied Haiti for 19 years. They seized the Panama Canal Zone and are hanging on to it up till now. They have forced their military bases on many Latin American countries, trying to harness them to the U.S. imperialist war chariot. They have propped up military dictatorships as their agents in many countries. In the economic field, U.S. imperialism has exported capital to Latin America to the tune of over 13,000 million U.S. dollars. U.S. monopoly capital controls 95 per cent of Chile's copper, 90 per cent of

Venezuela's petroleum, 80 per cent of Mexico's mining enterprises and almost all fruit production in Central America. Through rigged trade deals and other tricks of cruel exploitation, U.S. imperialism squeezes out of Latin America "profits" amounting to more than 2,000 million U.S. dollars every year.

### A Brilliant Example

But the Latin American peoples are not to be trampled underfoot with impunity. Heroic Cuba blazed the trail. Two years ago, its people won the great victory in their national and democratic revolution. Hailing the historic significance of this event, Chu Tu-nan declared that it has brought the Latin American peoples' anti-imperialist struggle into a new stage and given a brilliant example to them in their fight against U.S. imperialism. Moreover, he pointed out, the victory of the Cuban revolution has made a tremendous contribution to the struggle of the world's peoples against U.S. imperialism's policies of aggression and war and to defend world peace.

Today, Chu Tu-nan noted, the national and democratic movement is rolling forward throughout Latin America with the intensity of a prairie fire. The peoples of Paraguay, the Dominican Republic and Guatemala have unleashed massive struggles against U.S. imperialism and dictatorships. The Panamanian people are struggling to recover their sovereignty over the Canal Zone. The peoples elsewhere in Latin America are battling in defence of their national interests, against plunder by U.S. imperialism and its stooges, and for land reform and extensive social reforms. All these struggles, Chu Tu-nan said, have merged into an irresistible torrent.

U.S. imperialism, as speakers at the rally pointed out, certainly has not taken its defeats lying down. Nonetheless, every speech rang with confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Latin American peoples' cause. Referring to the current excellent international situation in which the East wind continues to prevail over the West wind, Chu Tu-nan said:

"The peoples of the Latin American countries have seen ever more clearly from the repeated defeats of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys that U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries are mere 'paper tigers,' outwardly strong but inwardly weak. At the same time, from the victory and continuous development of the Cuban revolution, the peoples of the Latin American countries will find the correct path to shake themselves free from U.S. imperialist enslavement and control and attain complete national liberation. Of course, future struggles will still be tortuous, complex and arduous. U.S. imperialism will hatch new plots and try new tricks. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out, 'Disrupt, fail, again disrupt, again fail, and so on till doom — this is the logic followed by the imperialists and all reactionaries in the world in countering the people's cause, a logic which they will never violate.' As long as the peoples of the various Latin American countries strengthen their unity and persist in their struggle, the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war will assuredly meet with utter defeat. U.S. imperialism certainly cannot escape from the road of shameful failure traversed by the Spanish and Portuguese colonialist rulers in the Latin American countries. The just struggle of

the peoples of the Latin American countries will assuredly win final victory!"

### Militant Voice

The rally heard the militant voices of the Latin American peoples determined to press ahead in their struggle. In his speech, the Cuban Ambassador said that the Latin American peoples' victory in the last century had been the first success in the struggle for independence and that this century will see Latin America's second victory in the struggle for independence — independence from U.S. finance capital. The U.S. colonialists, the Ambassador said, are trying to strangle the Cuban revolution so as to wipe out the example of victory and struggle which the Latin American peoples admire and support. But, the Ambassador stressed, the U.S. colonialists cannot prevent the Latin American peoples from seeing and following this example; the Latin American peoples will certainly win their second independence.

Addressing the rally, the poet Rene Deperstre of Haiti denounced U.S. imperialism as more greedy, more monopolistic and more aggressive than its European predecessors. He said that U.S. efforts to isolate the Cuban revolution — the pioneer of the liberation movement in Latin America — have met with utter failure. Tens of thousands of oppressed Indian, Negro and white people have come out in support of the Cuban revolution. They take it as the realization of their own national aspirations and a source of inspiration. The victory of the Cuban revolution, he said, presaged the victory of all Latin America.

Another speaker at the rally, General Secretary of the Students' Federation of Argentina Jorge Weiskind, said that the defence of the Cuban revolution has now become the watchword of Latin American students. If the Wall Street imperialists try to invade Cuba, he said, they will arouse the fury of all Latin America. "More and more people are joining the ranks fighting imperialism," he declared.

### Powerful Solidarity

The rally in Peking was only one of the many and varied activities of the Friendship Week. Lectures, concerts and film shows are scheduled to give wide publicity to the glorious traditions of struggle of the Latin American peoples against imperialism and colonialism as well as their present victorious fight. Get-togethers will be held by people of various walks of life in the Chinese capital with visitors from Latin American countries. Newspapers are carrying articles and travel notes on Latin America. Bookstores are featuring many translations of Latin American literary works. Filmgoers are hurrying to book tickets for the eagerly expected colour documentary *Fighting Cuba* which was made by Chinese film workers in that country and will be generally released on New Year's Day.

This Friendship Week is a manifestation of how deep and broad is China-Latin America friendship; in its turn, it will further deepen and broaden that friendship and nourish the mighty solidarity between the 650 million people of China and the 200 million people of Latin America.

# Victory Will Certainly Go to the Latin American Peoples Who Have a Rich Tradition in Revolutionary Struggles

*Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on December 26.—Ed.*

**T**HIS year is the 150th anniversary of the Latin American peoples' struggle for national liberation. Today, when the tide of national and democratic revolution in Latin America is surging to unprecedented heights, it is of particularly great significance for us to commemorate this great, historic and festive occasion. Beginning from today the Chinese people are holding a "Friendship Week Commemorating the 150th Anniversary of the Latin American Countries' Struggles for National Independence and Celebrating the Second Anniversary of Victory of the Cuban Revolution," to express their profound friendship for the peoples of the Latin American countries and demonstrate support for the heroic Cuban people and the peoples of other Latin American countries in their struggles against U.S. imperialist aggression, in their struggles to achieve or to protect their national independence, and in their defence of world peace.

A hundred and fifty years ago, a storm of struggle against Spanish colonialist rule and for national independence swept Latin America. After more than a decade of unremitting and arduous struggles, the peoples of Latin America finally succeeded in driving away the Spanish colonialists and formed a number of independent countries on this new continent, thereby opening a new chapter in the history of Latin America.

What new inspiration can people derive from a review of this period of the history of the Latin American peoples' struggle for national independence?

Firstly: ruthless national oppression and colonial exploitation will inevitably arouse the resistance of the oppressed peoples. The Spanish colonialists ruled their colonies in Latin America with the utmost cruelty, plundered their riches by every possible means, monopolized their trade, levied all sorts of taxes and subjected the people to all kinds of extortions and ruthless exploitation. It is estimated that in the three hundred years from the 16th to the 19th centuries the Spanish colonialists extorted from their Latin American colonies 2.5 million kilogrammes of gold and 100 million kilogrammes of silver. The people of those colonies lived in utter poverty and backwardness. This inevitably aroused violent hatred and resistance among the Latin American peoples. Once they were awakened, their struggle for independence inevitably developed into an irresistible tide.

Secondly: the oppressed peoples will certainly be victorious as long as they are united and persist in their struggles. Over a century ago, the Spanish colonialist empire was outwardly strong, and it undertook a bloody suppression of the national independence movement in its Latin American colonies. But the Indians, Negro slaves and the Creoles rallied together with the common aim of striving for liberation and independence, steadfastly waged their war of liberation for more than a decade with persistent and increasing effort and, after a tortuous advance, finally overthrew the dark rule of the Spanish colonialists.

Thirdly: the Latin American peoples have a tradition of revolutionary struggle. Ever since the time at the end of the 15th century when they fell into colonial enslavement, the Latin American peoples have never ceased their struggles against the colonialists. The large-scale revolution that broke out in 1815 and the new revolutionary high tide that rose again a few years later fully demonstrate that the Latin American peoples are unconquerable and invincible in their fight for independence and freedom.

That revolutionary storm of 150 years ago, however, failed to bring genuine liberation to the Latin American peoples. British, American, French, German and other imperialist forces stepped in following the collapse of Spanish colonialist rule. U.S. imperialism, in particular, vigorously stepped up its expansion, and, in an attempt to turn the Latin American countries into semi-colonies under its own control, did its utmost to squeeze out the other imperialist forces. The history of Latin America in the past century and more is the history of U.S. imperialist aggression, oppression and enslavement of the peoples of the Latin American countries. U.S. imperialism supplanted the Spanish colonialists and became the foremost oppressor and exploiter of the Latin American peoples. In the last 50 years alone, U.S. imperialism despoiled Latin America of profits amounting to about 10,000 million dollars (equivalent to several million kilogrammes of gold). The history of Latin America in the past century and more is at the same time the history of struggles waged by the peoples of the Latin American countries to free themselves from the fetters of a new enslavement. The glorious tradition of the revolutionary struggles against the Spanish colonialists in the past has been carried forward by the successors of such revolutionaries as Bolivar, Hidalgo, Juarez, San Martin, O'Higgins, Sucre, Jose Marti and others, who resolutely demand that the Latin American peoples be the masters of their own destiny.

Latin America today is again in the midst of a new revolutionary period. The storm of the national and democratic revolution is sweeping across the whole continent. The Latin American peoples call the struggle which they wage today the second great historic revolution for the liberation of Latin America. They look upon it as a continuation of the anti-colonial struggle of 1810. A hundred and fifty years ago, the Latin American peoples waged a common struggle against Spanish colonial rule and to achieve their national independence. Now they are again confronted by a common enemy, their new enemy—U.S. imperialism. The basic objective of their present revolution is to free themselves from every kind of U.S. imperialist domination and control, and to achieve complete victory in their national and democratic revolution by safeguarding their national independence and sovereignty and developing a prosperous economy in their respective countries and improving the livelihood of their peoples. This powerful national and democratic revolutionary movement is developing on a far more gigantic scale than that revolutionary struggle of more than a hundred years ago. It will inevitably lead to the crash of the rule of U.S. imperialist neo-colonialism in Latin America.

The present situation of the national and democratic revolution in Latin America is excellent. The Cuban revolution has blazed a trail for the Latin American peoples. The political consciousness of the Latin American peoples stands at an unprecedentedly high level. More and more they recognize that their deadly enemy is U.S. imperialism and the dictatorial regimes in its service. They also recognize that in the fight for national liberation victory can only be achieved by resolute struggle. In many countries, the patriotic people of various social strata are becoming more and more united, forming broad national united fronts. Moreover, unity and mutual support between the peoples is being strengthened increasingly in their common struggle. The international situation marked by the East wind prevailing over the West wind is also very favourable to the development of the national and democratic revolution of the Latin American peoples. In recent years, there has been a further upsurge in the revolutionary movement in Latin America. Waging a resolute struggle against U.S. intervention, the Cuban people have pushed ahead with their revolution; the peoples of Nicaragua, Paraguay and the Dominican Republic persist in their armed struggles against dictatorial rule; the U.S.-propped dictator Lemus of Salvador has been overthrown; in Guatemala where U.S. control is tightest, armed resistance also broke out against the puppet regime there; the struggle of the Venezuelan people in defence of democracy is surging forward; anti-U.S. demonstrations have developed on an unprecedentedly big scale throughout Ecuador; in Argentina, Chile, Brazil and especially in various Central American countries big strikes have broken out one after another, strikes which are in fact directed against the plundering activities of U.S. monopoly capital. All these facts demonstrate that the national and democratic revolution of the Latin American peoples is rising to a new height. No wonder a deeply worried correspondent of the Associated Press predicted that in 1961, the revolution will spread throughout the continent like a prairie fire.

We cannot fail to see, however, that U.S. imperialism is still doing its utmost in its attempts to curb the growth of the national and democratic revolutionary movement in Latin America. The United States is still keying up its schemes for armed aggression against Cuba. Information from U.S. news agencies reveals that the U.S. State Department has of late tried to sell its four-point plan of subverting the Cuban revolution to the rest of the Latin American countries, including measures to force these countries to collectively sever diplomatic relations with Cuba, to carry out a trade blockade against Cuba and to organize an "inter-American security force" to engage in armed intervention against Cuba. Although U.S. warships have been forced to withdraw from the Caribbean Sea, the United States has not given up its intrigues to interfere in the domestic affairs of Guatemala, Nicaragua and other countries. The U.S. authorities are secretly building a large airfield in Guatemala as a base from which to invade Cuba and other Latin American countries. In short, all these facts show that the United States is not reconciled to giving up its "backyard." In other words, to win victory in their struggle, the Latin American peoples still need to wage arduous struggles. But there is no doubt that just as the Spanish colonialists failed to preserve their colonial rule in Latin America 150 years ago, U.S. imperialism will certainly not be able to block the advance of the wheel of history in Latin America.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out as early as 1947 that "the Latin American peoples are not the obedient slaves of U.S. imperialism." Now, the Latin American peoples have heroically stood up. Supported by the whole socialist camp and all the peoples of the world, the Latin American peoples will certainly accomplish what their forefathers failed to do 150 years ago: they will create a genuinely free new Latin America.

*Read*

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# Fifth Anniversary of Sino-German Treaty Of Friendship and Co-operation

**F**IVE years ago, on December 25 in Peking, the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic signed their Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation. Warm congratulations were exchanged on the fifth anniversary of this occasion by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and Government and of the German Socialist Unity Party and the G.D.R. Government.

In their message to Comrade Walter Ulbricht and his colleagues, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese leaders hailed the Treaty as a milestone in the development of relations of friendly co-operation between the peoples of the two countries. It has made and will continue to make important contributions to the enhancement of friendship, unity, mutual assistance and co-operation between the two peoples, to the consolidation of the unity of the socialist camp and to the cause of preserving world peace, the message declared.

The fraternal friendship between the peoples of China and the German Democratic Republic is established on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism and is everlasting and unbreakable, the message said. The Chinese Communist Party, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people highly cherish the profound friendship of the two countries and will continue to exert every effort to strengthen and develop this friendship, it continued. In conclusion, the message expressed the wish that the fraternal friendship between the peoples of the two countries will be ever green.

On December 25, G.D.R. Ambassador to China Paul Wandel gave a reception in Peking celebrating the anniversary. Vice-Premier Hsi Chung-hsun was among those present. In their speeches at the reception, both Ambassador Wandel and Vice-Premier Hsi pointed out that the conclusion of the Sino-German Treaty has further consolidated and developed the fraternal friendship between the peoples of the two countries—a friendship built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; that it has strengthened the mutual support and close co-operation between the two countries in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields; and that it has promoted the common cause of the peoples of the two countries in building socialism and played a positive role in cementing the unity of the socialist camp and in defending world peace.

## Press Hails Anniversary

Hailing the anniversary, *Renmin Ribao* declared editorially on December 25 that in the past five years, the peoples of China and the German Democratic Republic have, in accordance with the spirit of the Treaty, made joint efforts to develop and strengthen the relations of friendly co-operation between the two countries and to

defend world peace and the security of Europe and Asia. "We are confident," the paper wrote, "that in the future the Governments and peoples of our two countries will certainly make still more efforts in accordance with this Treaty."

The editorial continued: "The People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic are fraternal countries of the great socialist camp, with the one standing on its eastern and the other on its western outpost. The peoples of the two countries have always supported and closely co-operated with each other in their joint struggle against imperialism and for safeguarding world peace. The Government and people of China have always firmly supported the people of the German Democratic Republic in their struggle against West German militarism and in their efforts for the unification of their motherland on the basis of peace and democracy, and supported the G.D.R. Government's proposal to convert West Berlin into a free city. The Government and people of the German Democratic Republic have also actively supported the Chinese people in their struggle to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We express our heartfelt gratitude for such brotherly support and the help given us in our socialist construction."

The editorial declared: "The Statement of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties emphatically points out the especially big part played by the German Democratic Republic in the struggle against the aggressive designs of the West German militarists. The participants in the Meeting regard it as the duty of all the countries of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving peoples to defend the German Democratic Republic—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe and the true expression of the peaceful aspirations of the German nation. The Statement further points out: 'The experience of development of the socialist countries is added evidence that mutual assistance and support, and utilization of all the advantages of unity and solidarity among the countries of the socialist camp, are a primary international condition for their achievements and successes.' The Chinese people highly cherish their friendship and unity with all the fraternal countries of the socialist camp, including the German Democratic Republic. This is because the unity of all brothers in the socialist community is the main guarantee of the might of the socialist camp, of the invincibility of the socialist system and of the defence of world peace."

"The Chinese people," *Renmin Ribao* concluded, "are willing to work in common and march hand in hand with the people of the German Democratic Republic for strengthening the friendship between the peoples of the two countries, for fortifying the unity of the socialist camp and for victory in their common cause of opposing imperialism, defending world peace and of socialism."

# Greetings to Fraternal Communist Parties

**F**RANCE. Greeting the 40th anniversary (December 29) of the founding of the **Communist Party of France**, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent a message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France on December 22. The message reads:

"On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of France, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on behalf of all members of the Party and the Chinese people, extends fraternal congratulations to the glorious and valiant Communist Party of France, the French working class and the French people.

"The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people have always with profound sympathy followed your struggle against monopoly capital, against individual autocracy, for democracy and social progress, in support of the national liberation movement, against West German militarism, in defence of world peace and for peaceful coexistence. We wish you further victories and achievements in your struggle.

"Long live the Communist Party of France and the French working class!

"Long live the friendship between the Chinese and French peoples!

"Long live the unity of the international communist movement!

"Long live the invincible banner—Marxism-Leninism!"

**C**EYLON. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on December 23 sent a message of greeting to the Sixth Congress of the **Communist Party of Ceylon** through its Central Committee. The message reads:

"On behalf of all our Party members, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China extends warm fraternal greetings to the Sixth Congress of your Party.

"The Ceylonese people waged protracted and heroic struggles to shake off imperialist colonial rule and to realize the independence of their motherland. Since Ceylon attained independence, the Ceylonese people have further carried on unremitting struggles against the imperialists and colonialists to safeguard peace in Asia and the world, for complete national independence, to build the national economy and to further social progress. In these struggles, the Communist Party of Ceylon has made inspiring and important contributions.

"In recent years, friendly relations between China and Ceylon based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have developed further. The traditional friendship between the Chinese and Ceylonese peoples has also been further consolidated and developed. The Communist Party of Ceylon has always actively promoted

the friendship between the Chinese and Ceylonese peoples, striven to strengthen the internationalist unity between the Chinese and Ceylonese Parties, and has shown interest in and supported the Chinese people's cause of socialist construction. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people highly treasure the results of these efforts of the Communist Party of Ceylon.

"Comrades! Your Congress is taking place in an extremely favourable international situation. This means the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the speedy disintegration of the colonialist system under the blows of the national liberation movement, the steady intensification of class struggle in the capitalist world, the further decline and decay of the world capitalist system, and the increasingly marked superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, in the world arena. The Statement and the Appeal to the Peoples of All the World unanimously adopted by the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the reinforcement of the unity of the international communist movement through this Meeting have brought new and great inspiration to the struggle of the international working class, the labouring people of various countries and all peace-loving people. We are deeply convinced that in this situation and through the efforts of your whole Party, you will certainly gain new and greater achievements in carrying out the tasks put forward by the current Party Congress, namely, in the struggles to defend peace in Asia and the world, oppose colonialism, safeguard national independence, democracy and freedom, consolidate and broaden the national and democratic united front, develop and consolidate the ranks of the Party and bring about the unity of the working class of Ceylon."

**L**UXEMBURG. Greeting the 40th anniversary (January 2, 1961) of the founding of the **Communist Party of Luxemburg** and the convocation of its 16th Congress on December 24, 1960, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent a message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Luxemburg and, through it, to the 16th Congress. The message, dated December 20, reads:

"On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Luxemburg and the convocation of its 16th Congress, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on behalf of all members of the Party, extends warm fraternal greetings to all comrades of the Communist Party of Luxemburg and to its Congress.

"The Communist Party of Luxemburg, the vanguard of the country's working class, has, for 40 years, waged a consistent struggle in defence of the vital interests and democratic rights of the working class and labouring people of Luxemburg and for the safeguarding of national

independence and for socialism. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people have always shown fraternal concern for your struggles and rejoiced over your achievements.

"In the present excellent international situation in which the world capitalist system is declining and decaying with each passing day, the strength and influence of the socialist camp grow daily stronger, the liberation move-

ment of the oppressed nations develops vigorously and the forces of peace have increasingly surpassed the forces of war, we are deeply convinced that by your efforts, the struggle in defence of world peace and for a socialist future is bound to win final victory in Luxemburg as elsewhere."

In conclusion, the message wishes the Congress of the Communist Party of Luxemburg complete success.

## The Only Way to Save Laos from Its Current Crisis

*Following is the text of an editorial of "Renmin Ribao" published on December 25. — Ed.*

A NOTE concerning the situation in Laos was sent to the British Government by the Soviet Government on December 22. In it the Soviet Government strongly condemns U.S. imperialism and the SEATO for their intervention and aggression against Laos; recognizes the Souvanna Phouma government as the only legal government in Laos; and appeals to all peace-loving countries of the world to give active support to the Phouma government. The Soviet Government emphatically points out that the present grave situation in Laos has stemmed from crude intervention by U.S. imperialism and certain member countries of the SEATO military bloc. The Soviet Government holds that in order to straighten out the Laotian question and normalize the situation in this area, it is necessary to convene a meeting of the participants of the 1954 Geneva Conference to discuss the Laotian situation, and revive the activities of the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Laos. The Soviet Government proposes that the Soviet Union and Britain as co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference call on all the Geneva Conference participants to fight against U.S. imperialism's intervention and aggression, create conditions to secure implementation of the Geneva agreements and for the resumption of the activities of the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Laos. The Soviet Government also proposes that the Soviet and British Governments jointly demand that the U.S. Government cease its aid to the Phoumi Nosavan rebel group in Laos, recall the U.S. military personnel, withdraw the munitions and weapons which the United States has shipped into Laos and exert its influence upon the other countries which together with the United States have provided military personnel and equipment to the rebel group, thereby making concerted efforts for the relaxation of the Laotian situation.

The just stand taken by the Soviet Government concerning the solution of the present Laotian question and its proposed measures are undoubtedly in keeping with the interests and aspirations of the Laotian people and conducive to the maintenance of peace in Indo-China and Asia. The Chinese people express their resolute support for this stand.

The Chinese Government and people have always firmly held that the Laotian question should be settled by the Laotian people themselves and that no foreign country be allowed to interfere. Our Government has repeatedly made it clear that the deep-going origin and immediate cause of the current grave situation in Laos is frenzied interference in the internal affairs of Laos by U.S. imperialism and its vassals, the reactionary authorities of Thailand, and the attempt of U.S. imperialism to turn Laos into a U.S. colony and military base. In order to quench the flames of war kindled in Laos and stabilize the situation there, we hold that the aggressive acts of armed intervention, subversion and splitting activities undertaken by U.S. imperialism and its vassal Thailand against Laos must be stopped at once and the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Laos must be respected. The Government of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic has also repeatedly stated that the only way to save the current Laotian situation is to check U.S. imperialist intervention in Laos and let the Kingdom of Laos freely embark on the path of peace and neutrality chosen by its people. The stand taken by the Soviet Union, Viet Nam and China on the Laotian question is clear and firm, we are participants of the 1954 Geneva Conference and are signatories or guarantors of the Geneva agreements, and we have an inescapable responsibility to make common efforts for safeguarding the Geneva agreements and restoring peace in Laos. We are all socialist countries and true and loyal friends of all peoples who are striving for liberation or who have already freed themselves from imperialist enslavement and oppression, we have a sacred international obligation to support the struggles of the peoples to win and consolidate their national independence.

The current Laotian situation is very dangerous. U.S. imperialism and its lackey, Thailand, as well as the SEATO are preparing large-scale intervention against Laos. U.S. State Department spokesman White said openly on December 19 that the United States would continue "to offer its fullest support" to the Boun Oum-Nosavan rebel group and "is giving every consideration" to its request for aid. White admitted frankly that the United States, together with the SEATO member countries, particularly Thailand, using Bangkok as a base, is now airlifting so-

called "emergency aid" to the Nosavan rebel group so as to add fuel to the flames of the Laotian civil war. At the same time, the U.S. Government dispatched its armed forces to the South China Sea, waiting for a chance to engage in direct armed intervention in the Laotian situation. The U.S. Department of the Navy formally declared on December 15 that "nine units" of the Seventh Fleet were being deployed on the South China Sea. Two aircraft carriers, several destroyers and an amphibious unit of 1,400 marines have recently engaged in prolonged manoeuvres in the South China Sea with the purpose of strengthening the "state of readiness" of these units. Having held three successive emergency meetings in Bangkok between December 12 and 15, the U.S.-controlled SEATO met again in Bangkok on December 19 to make further preparations for armed intervention in Laos. The Sarit Thanarat reactionary ruling clique in Thailand, while flagrantly taking part in the Laotian civil war, asked that the United Nations send representatives to Thailand to "investigate" the so-called "losses" it suffered as a result of the Laotian civil war; it sought to use the United Nations as a cover for its crimes of intervening in Laotian internal affairs and plotted to use this measure as a pretext for the United Nations to butt into Laotian internal affairs.

Obviously, should U.S. imperialism and its stooges succeed in their schemes, the flames of war in Laos will inevitably continue to spread, bringing more calamities to the Laotian people and facing the countries of Indo-China and Southeast Asia with the danger of an extension of the war. At this critical moment, it has become all the more imperative that the participants of the 1954 Geneva Conference should meet again and that the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Laos be reactivated so as to seek ways of checking U.S. aggression and safeguarding the basic national rights of the Laotian people.

The Geneva agreements are the foundation of peace and security in Indo-China. It was precisely in accordance with the Geneva agreements on the Laotian question that peace in Laos was restored on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Laos. The Geneva agreements clearly provide that Laos should not join any military bloc; they prohibit the introduction into Laos of foreign military personnel, arms and munitions; they prohibit foreign countries to establish military bases on Laotian territory.

In the past six years, in order to turn Laos into its colony and base for preparing new wars, U.S. imperialism has been using its military "aid" and the Laotian reactionaries and its lackeys in SEATO for continuous sabotage of the Geneva agreements on the Laotian question. The patriotic and progressive forces of Laos and the broad masses of the Laotian people, as well as all peace-loving countries and peoples, have been waging sharp and repeated struggles against U.S. imperialism, for the implementation of the Geneva agreements in Laos and for safeguarding peace in Laos and Indo-China.

At present, the large-scale armed intervention engineered by U.S. imperialism against Laos not only constitutes a gross violation of the sovereignty and independence of Laos but also gravely threatens peace in Indo-China and Asia and directly affects our country's security. This cannot but arouse the keen vigilance of the Chinese people. We demand that the participants of the 1954 Geneva Conference meet again and the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Laos be reactivated so as to find ways of checking U.S. aggression and create conditions for the implementation of the Geneva agreements in Laos. We appeal to all countries and people who are concerned about peace in Indo-China to take immediate and effective measures and actions and make joint efforts to safeguard the Geneva agreements and restore peace in Laos.

# The Party's Policy Is the Guarantee of Victory in the Revolution

by HSIAO SHU and YANG FU

*Following is a translation of an article published in "Hongqi," No. 22, 1960. — Ed.*

THE fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* devotes a great deal of space to the question of the policies and tactics of the Chinese Communist Party. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Policy is the starting-point of a revolutionary party in all its actions and is expressed in the process and result of all its actions. A revolutionary party, when it takes any action, is carrying out a policy. If it is not carrying out a correct policy, it is carrying out a wrong one; if it is not carrying out a policy consciously, it is doing so blindly."\* He also said: "Only when the Party's policies and tactics as a whole are placed on the

correct path will it be possible for the Chinese revolution to win victory. Policies and tactics are the life-blood of the Party, and leading comrades at all levels must give their full attention to these matters and must on no account neglect them."\*\* Throughout his leadership of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always paid great attention to questions of policy. He has creatively applied the Marxist-Leninist method of class analysis in analysing the class relations at the various periods and stages in the Chinese revolution, correctly laid down the lines and policies of the Party for those various periods and stages and guided us from victory to victory. In the spring of 1948, on the eve of the nationwide victory of the Chinese revolution, he particularly reminded all comrades of the

\* "On the Policy Towards Industry and Trade."

\*\* "Briefs on the Situation."

Party to give serious and earnest attention to questions of policy and vigilantly and carefully guard against mistakes in policy. He said: "All comrades in our Party should know that the enemy is now completely isolated. But his isolation does not mean that we have won victory. We still cannot win victory if we make mistakes in policy. To put it specifically, if, with regard to any of the five policies—our policies for the war, the consolidation of the Party, agrarian reform, industry and trade, and the suppression of counter-revolution—we make mistakes involving principle and do not correct them, we shall court failure."\* The practice of the revolution has fully proved the correctness of this viewpoint of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It was precisely because our Party adhered to correct lines and policies and rectified mistakes and shortcomings in the actual execution of policy that we not only ensured but also accelerated victory in the Third Revolutionary Civil War.

## I

The policies of the Chinese Communist Party are based on a scientific analysis of the mutual relations between the various classes. In leading the revolutionary struggles in China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in formulating our policies and tactics, has always adhered steadfastly to the stand of analysing class relationships, based himself on an analysis of the nature of the various classes in society and of their mutual relationships, made a strict distinction between the enemy and ourselves and distinguished between the different conditions and attitudes of the different classes and strata within the enemy ranks and among the people, and has changed our policies and tactics in accordance with the changes in class relationships and the conditions of the classes, thereby enabling us to achieve the aim of developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the reactionary forces.

In accordance with an analysis of the overall situation in class relationships throughout the entire stage of the democratic revolution, the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid down the general line and general policy for the democratic revolution: "the revolution of the broad masses of the people, under the leadership of the proletariat and against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism."\*\* This general line and general policy indicated that: (1) Our democratic revolution was a democratic revolution of a new type and not of the old type; to be victorious it could only be and had to be led by the proletariat and the Chinese Communist Party. (2) The broad masses of the people joining the revolution—including workers, peasants, self-employed handicraftsmen, professionals, intellectuals, the national bourgeoisie and the section of the enlightened gentry which had broken away from the landlord class—constituted more than 90 per cent of the total population of the country while the working people were the main force of the revolution and the worker-peasant alliance formed the basis of the revolution. (3) The enemies to be overthrown in this revolution could only be, and had to

\* "On the Policy Towards Industry and Trade."

\*\* Mao Tse-tung, "Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area."

be, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; they could only be the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class (the big bourgeoisie); the revolution was not intended to abolish capitalism in general and to eliminate the upper petty bourgeoisie or the middle bourgeoisie. This shows that this revolutionary stage could only be new-democratic and not socialist in character.

Again taking this general line and general policy as the starting-point, our Party, in the light of the changed and changing class relationships and conditions of the various classes in various periods, formulated its various specific lines of work and specific policies.

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung has placed the fundamental point of our policy on "boldly rousing the masses to action and expanding the people's strength." The people's strength mentioned here refers mainly to the strength of the worker-peasant alliance. China was a big, backward agricultural country. The rural population made up more than 80 per cent of the country's total population; the peasant question was the central issue of the democratic revolution in our country. Feudalism, which stood in opposition to the peasants, was the ally of imperialism and bureaucrat-capitalism and was the foundation of their rule. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: ". . . agrarian reform is the main content of China's new-democratic revolution."\* After the Japanese surrender, the peasants urgently demanded land. "If we can solve the agrarian problem universally and completely, we shall have obtained the most fundamental condition for the defeat of all our enemies."\*\* Therefore, the carrying out of agrarian reform and the correct handling of rural class relationships in the course of the agrarian reform were a very important task.

In reforming the agrarian system, our Party's general line and general policy was to rely on the poor peasants, unite with the middle peasants, eliminate the feudal system of exploitation step by step and in a discriminating manner, and develop agricultural production. Concerning the question of whom we should rely on, whom we should unite with and whom we should aim our blows at in the agrarian reform, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "The target of agrarian reform is only, and must be, the system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class and by rich peasants of the old type."† He also said: "The basic force to be relied upon in the agrarian reform can only be, and must be, the poor peasants. They make up, together with the farm labourers, about 70 per cent of China's rural population. The main and immediate task of the agrarian reform is to satisfy the demands of the poor peasants and farm labourers. It is necessary in the agrarian reform to unite with the middle peasants; the poor peasants and farm labourers must form a solid united front with the middle peasants who account for about 20 per cent of the rural population. Otherwise the poor peasants and farm labourers will find themselves

\* "Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area."

\*\* Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks."

† "Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area."

isolated and the agrarian reform will fail".\* Here, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out to us that, in the villages, in the agrarian reform, distinctions should first and foremost be made between the poor peasants, middle peasants and rich peasants. Though the poor peasants (including farm labourers) and the middle peasants both belonged to the peasant class, their economic status was different. Drawing a distinction between poor peasants and middle peasants was for no other purpose than to establish firmly the leading position of the poor peasants in the villages and firmly unite with the middle peasants. Drawing a distinction between the middle peasants and rich peasants in the villages was for the purpose of making a clear demarcation line between the enemy and ourselves and in order not to encroach on the interests of the middle peasants. A section of the middle peasants were relatively well-to-do; they engaged in a slight degree of exploitation. Our Party's policy towards this section of peasants was: As long as that part of their income derived from exploitation did not exceed 25 per cent of their total income, they should be classified as middle peasants and encroachments on their interests should be opposed, so as to achieve the aim of truly and firmly uniting with all the middle peasants. In addition, distinctions were made between old-type and new-type rich peasants; those new, rich peasants who emerged during the period of reduction of rents and interests in the old Liberated Areas were treated as well-to-do middle peasants and their land without their consent should not be distributed. The adoption of these discriminating policies in the agrarian reform solved the extremely important question of uniting with 90 per cent of the rural population and strictly limiting the scope of our attack to the real feudal exploiting classes.

We needed, moreover, to distinguish between the landlords and the rich peasants as well as between the various sections among them, and formulate our tactics of struggle on the basis of these distinctions. Firstly, distinctions needed to be made between the landlords and the rich peasants. Generally speaking, the rich peasants in China engaged in quite heavy exploitation which was both feudal and semi-feudal in nature; their economy did not occupy an important position in the nation's agricultural economy. Like the feudal exploitation engaged in by the landlord class, feudal exploitation by the rich peasants had to be abolished, but the methods employed to achieve this differed. In the case of the landlords, we confiscated their land and properties, while in the case of the rich peasants, we only eliminated their feudal exploitation and, in accordance with the principle of equal distribution of land, requisitioned their surplus land and part of their property. Such distinctions not only isolated the landlords but also dispelled the fears of the middle peasants and prevented vacillations on their part. Secondly, distinctions needed to be made between the big, middle and small landlords as well as between those among the landlords and rich peasants who were local tyrants and those who were not; the struggles against the big landlords and local tyrants had to be more severe and we had first to subdue them through struggle; at the same time, a more lenient policy needed to be followed

\* "Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area."

in regard to the middle and small landlords and those who were not local tyrants among the landlords and rich peasants, so as to bring about a favourable situation for splitting our enemies and defeating them one by one. Thirdly, we needed to distinguish between the enlightened gentry who had democratic leanings and the landlords and rich peasants in general; on condition that they did not obstruct the agrarian reform, we needed to make allowances for the enlightened gentry taking into consideration the merits of each specific case; we needed to draw a distinction between intellectuals of landlord or rich peasant origin and the landlords and rich peasants, and adopt the policy of winning over and educating these intellectuals (excepting the reactionaries among them). Economically, distinctions had to be made between the feudal property of the landlords and rich peasants (as well as the industrial and commercial enterprises belonging to local tyrants and counter-revolutionaries) and their industrial and commercial enterprises; a policy of protection needed to be adopted in regard to the latter. Basing ourselves realistically on these distinctions, we formulated different policies towards different classes and different strata, so as to facilitate the isolation of the handful of feudal reactionaries in the villages who resolutely opposed the agrarian reform, help to develop production and at the same time help to win over the intellectuals of the whole country (most of whom came from landlord and rich peasant families) and the national bourgeoisie (most of the members of this class had connections with the land), as well as to isolate the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, the chief enemy of the Chinese revolution.

WITH regard to China's bourgeoisie, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a concrete analysis of this class in his work "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party." He divided the Chinese bourgeoisie into two sections, that is, the comprador bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. During the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave a further exposition of this question in the light of developing events and drew a distinction between the two component parts of China's capitalist economy, that is, monopoly capital and national capital. He pointed out: "This monopoly capital, tied up with state power, has become state-monopoly capitalism. This monopoly capitalism, closely tied up with foreign imperialism, the domestic landlord class and the old-type rich peasants, has become comprador-feudal, state-monopoly capitalism. Such is the economic basis of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime."\* Comrade Mao Tse-tung's elucidation of state-monopoly capitalism enriched our Party's general line and general policy in the democratic revolution. The bureaucrat-capitalist class (the big bourgeoisie) was the target for elimination in the democratic revolution. Since imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism oppressed and discriminated against national capital, there was the possibility of its representatives joining the revolution or taking a neutral stand towards the revolution. Because the national bourgeoisie occupied an important economic position and because its members could join the anti-U.S. imperialism and anti-Chiang Kai-shek struggles or adopt a

\* "The Present Situation and Our Tasks."

neutral attitude in these struggles, it was therefore both possible and necessary for us to unite with them.

But, politically, the national bourgeoisie was an extremely flabby and unstable class, being both revolutionary and unstable in nature. In the light of this dual character, we adopted the policy of both uniting with and struggling against them and achieving unity through struggle. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "At the present stage most of the national bourgeoisie have come to hate the United States and Chiang Kai-shek more and more; its left wing sides with the Communist Party and its right wing with the Kuomintang, while its intermediate elements sit on the fence, choosing to wait and see. These circumstances make it necessary and possible for us to win over the majority of the national bourgeoisie and isolate the minority."\* With the victorious development of the revolutionary war, as we captured more and more cities, our direct contacts with the national bourgeoisie in various fields also increased. In these circumstances, besides pointing out that it was necessary to unite with the greatest possible number of representative individuals of the urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie as well as their intellectuals and political factions so as to isolate the counter-revolutionary forces, Comrade Mao Tse-tung also pointed out in particular that a policy of protection should be adopted without exception in regard to the economic status of this class, that strict distinctions should be made between bureaucrat-capitalist economy and capitalist economy in general, that it was strictly forbidden to encroach upon enterprises run by members of the national bourgeoisie and to employ in relation to industrialists and business men the methods used in dealing with the landlords and rich peasants, and that the mechanical transplanting of methods used in the countryside to the cities should be opposed. With regard to the handful of right-wing elements among the national bourgeoisie who attached themselves to the Kuomintang and opposed the people's democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that it was necessary to expose and deal blows against their reactionary tendencies; at the same time he pointed out that dealing them blows politically and eliminating them economically were two things between which a distinction must be made and that we would make mistakes if we confused the two.

**S**IMILARLY, distinctions were made between the various cliques and factions within China's big landlord and big capitalist classes. During this period, it was proved that the isolation of the most stubborn reactionaries was facilitated by distinguishing between the central ruling clique and the powerful local factions among members of the big landlord and big capitalist classes, and between the die-hard, bellicose elements among them and those who were relatively unstable in their attitude and generally stood for peace talks.

Our policy towards personnel in the reactionary Kuomintang government and army was that "the chief criminals shall be punished, those who are only accomplices under duress shall be left alone, and those who atone by deeds of merit shall be rewarded." Such a policy

\* "The Problem of the National Bourgeoisie and the Enlightened Gentry."

of meting out different treatment likewise enabled us to bring about successfully the disintegration of the enemy ranks and deal firm and well-aimed blows against the die-hard, counter-revolutionary forces.

**T**HE fact that our Party's policies draw distinctions between the varied conditions of the various classes and various strata as well as between various kinds of people is because objectively there are differences between them. For instance, the poor peasants differed from the middle peasants. The poor peasants were the most exploited and oppressed class in the villages and were therefore most resolute in the struggles against the landlords; we should therefore rely on them during the agrarian reform. Though they were also oppressed by the landlords, the middle peasants were in a better economic position than the poor peasants; politically they were not as firm as the poor peasants, and so, while we must unite with them, we could not regard them as people on whom we should rely. With regard to the well-to-do middle peasants and rich peasants, as that part of the well-to-do middle peasants' income derived from exploitation constituted only a small portion of their total income, they thus actually differed from the rich peasants. China's rich peasants of the old-type generally engaged in quite heavy forms of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation, but after all they differed from the landlords who relied wholly on feudal exploitation, and so should not be treated in the same way as the landlords. Among the various sections of feudal exploiting elements, the degree of exploitation differed, and their political oppression of the peasants differed too. The peasants had great hatred for some of these elements and less hatred for others. Distinctions were made between the left wing, the right wing and the middle-of-the-roaders among the national bourgeoisie because, in reality, they took different attitudes towards the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. Most of the people working in the reactionary Kuomintang government were ordinary public functionaries, and only a minority of them were reactionaries. Among the reactionaries, moreover, conditions also differed. Some were chief criminals, others were only accomplices under duress; some repented fairly quickly and asked for the people's pardon, while others persisted in being reactionary, and so on and so forth. All these required us, while we adhered to the major premise of the revolution, to give different treatment, in a discriminating manner, to people in different conditions, so that each got his due.

Without analysis, there would be no policies. Only concrete and penetrating analyses of the various classes and various strata will enable us to formulate and implement correct policies giving different treatment to different people. In so doing, people will see that all our policies and methods are reasonable. In this way, the great strength of our policies can be brought into play. And only in this way can our policies give true expression to the following fundamental idea of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, which is: With the firm worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat as our basic position, we unite with all the forces that can be united with, isolate our chief enemies to the maximum extent and limit our scope of attack as far as possible to within only several per cent of the population. In other words, we apply the policy of draw-

ing a distinction between varied conditions and giving different treatment accordingly in order to achieve the aim of developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the reactionary forces. This fundamental idea of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is of universal significance in giving guidance; it runs like a red thread through every period of the revolution and every revolutionary movement led by the Party and through all the Party's policies and tactics, becoming richer with the passage of time.

**A** GENERAL line and general policy of the Party is formulated after making a scientific analysis of the overall situation in the relationships between the various classes at a specific stage in the revolution. The general line and general policy during the democratic revolution reflected our overall viewpoint, which took the whole situation into account, and our class viewpoint during the stage of the democratic revolution. In carrying out a specific line of work and a specific policy, we must under no circumstances depart from this general line and general policy of the Party. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: If we "forget the Party's general line and general policy, then we shall be blind, half-baked, muddle-headed revolutionaries, and when we carry out a specific line of work and a specific policy, we shall lose our bearings and deviate now to the left and now to the right, and the work will suffer."\* During this period, Comrade Mao Tse-tung corrected the following deviation: During the agrarian reform, in some areas or among certain comrades, "instead of propagating the line of relying on the poor peasants and farm labourers and of uniting solidly with the middle peasants to eliminate feudalism, publicity has been given exclusively to the line of relying on the poor peasants and farm labourers. Instead of propagating the view that the proletariat should unite with all working people and with the oppressed national bourgeoisie, intellectuals and other patriots (including the enlightened gentry who do not oppose agrarian reform) to overthrow the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and establish a People's Republic of China and a people's democratic government, one-sided publicity has been given to the view that the poor peasants and farm labourers should conquer and rule the country, or that the democratic government should be a government of the peasants only, or that the democratic government should listen only to the workers and poor peasants and farm labourers, leaving the middle peasants, self-employed handicraftsmen, the national bourgeoisie and the intellectuals entirely out of account."\*\* Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that this was a serious mistake in principle.

This mistake lay in the fact that while carrying out the policy of relying on the poor peasants and farm labourers, the Party's general line and general policy in the agrarian reform was forgotten, and the policy that the interests of the poor peasants and farm labourers and the leading role of the poor peasant leagues must be given top consideration was wrongly interpreted as a policy which took into account only the interests of the

poor peasants and farm labourers at the expense of the interests of their allies, and as a policy which brushed aside the middle peasants and other working people and allowed the poor peasants to monopolize everything in the peasant associations and in organs of political power in rural areas. The result would inevitably be that the interests of the poor peasants and farm labourers were set in opposition to those of the other classes within the ranks of the people and that the poor peasants and farm labourers found themselves in an isolated position in the villages. To forget the overall interests of the revolution, taking notice only of the partial and immediate interests of the poor peasants and farm labourers and thereby encroaching on the interests of the other revolutionary classes, was detrimental not only to the overall interests of the revolution but also to both the long-term and immediate interests of the poor peasants and farm labourers themselves. There can be no genuine class viewpoint without an overall, revolutionary viewpoint which takes into account the overall situation of the revolution. Lenin said rightly: "The consciousness of the masses of the workers cannot be genuine class consciousness . . . unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of all aspects of the life and activity of all classes, strata and groups of the population . . . for its [the working class] self-realization is indissolubly bound up not only with a fully clear theoretical — it would be even more true to say not so much with a theoretical, as with a practical understanding, of the relationships between all the various classes of modern society, acquired through experience of political life."\*

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us that "all comrades must have a firm grasp of the Party's general line."\*\* This, in other words, requires that our comrades must, at all times and under all circumstances, make an accurate analysis and estimate of the relationships between all the classes, have an overall viewpoint which takes into account the whole situation and be adept at distinguishing all kinds of specific conditions. Only when the Party's policies and tactics are treated in this way can they embark on the correct path and can victory in the revolution be assured.

## II

The Party's general lines and general policies, as well as various specific policies, form the basis of all our work; we must seriously, earnestly and unswervingly carry them through. But the Party's general lines and general policies can only be realized by carrying out, in the various localities, various concrete tasks one after another, with one concrete step following another. Conditions in the various localities differ in a thousand and one ways; we must take account of these differences and pay great attention to them, doing our work by adopting practicable measures in the light of differences of time, place and condition. In "Agrarian Reform and Party Consolidation in 1948," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Cadres must be taught how to analyse specific situations and, on the basis of local and historical conditions, decide on their tasks and methods of work at a

\* V.I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*, English edition, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, p. 117.

\*\* "Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area."

\* "Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area."

\*\* "Rectify 'Left' Errors in Agrarian Reform Propaganda."



given place and time. Distinctions must be drawn between town and country and between the old Liberated Areas, semi-old Liberated Areas, areas bordering on enemy territory and new Liberated Areas; otherwise mistakes will be made."

As has been said above, during the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War it was a basic task of our Party to reform the agrarian system so as to eliminate completely the system of feudal exploitation. In October 1947, our Party promulgated the "Outline Agrarian Law of China." It was the Party's firm principle to solve the land problem everywhere and thoroughly in all the Liberated Areas in accordance with this Agrarian Law and meet the needs of the broad masses of the peasants. But China is a big country, the revolution developed and spread rapidly to all parts of it within a very short period, and the circumstances, the level of the political consciousness of the masses and the capabilities of the leading cadres differed greatly in various parts of the country. In carrying through concretely this Agrarian Law in various places, therefore, it was necessary to lay down clearly different tactics of struggle, and the simple application of unchanging methods had to be definitely avoided. Comrade Mao Tse-tung emphatically explained this tactical idea in his "Different Tactics for Carrying Out the Agrarian Law in Different Areas," "Essential Points in Agrarian Reform in the New Liberated Areas," "Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area," "Tactical Problems in Rural Work in the New Liberated Areas" and "Agrarian Reform and Party Consolidation in 1948."

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung pointed out that, in carrying out the Agrarian Law, three kinds of areas should be distinguished and different tactics adopted in them.

In the old Liberated Areas established before the Japanese surrender, where land in general had long been distributed, it was not necessary to carry out a distribution of the land for a second time; readjustments were needed only in certain places. In these areas, it was not a matter of artificially and arbitrarily organizing poor peasant leagues to lead the peasant associations but one of organizing poor peasant groups within the peasant associations, with the poor peasants holding leading posts but not to the exclusion of the middle peasants. Because most of the former poor peasants in these areas had risen to the status of middle peasants and because the middle peasants already made up the bulk of the rural population, it was necessary to secure the participation of activists among the middle peasants in the peasant associations and in the leading organs of political power in the rural areas.

In areas liberated in the two years between the Japanese surrender and the time of the general counter-offensive of the People's Liberation Army [against the Kuomintang troops], that is, in the semi-old Liberated Areas, though the agrarian problem had been initially solved, the political consciousness and the organization of the masses had not reached a high level and the agrarian problem was not yet thoroughly solved. Therefore, the Agrarian Law was entirely applicable here and everywhere the distribution of land needed to be done thoroughly. In these areas, the middle peasants were a minority and took the attitude of onlookers; the poor peasants were the majority and eagerly desired land.

Poor peasant leagues therefore had to be organized and their leading position established in the peasant associations and in the organs of political power in the rural areas.

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung paid particular attention to the question of applying flexible tactics in carrying out the agrarian reform step by step in areas newly liberated following the general counter-offensive. He pointed out that since the masses in these areas had not yet been aroused, and the Kuomintang, the landlords and the rich peasants still had much power, all our work there had not yet taken root. Therefore, there should be no haste in trying to carry out the Agrarian Law all at once, and this work should be carried out in two stages. In the first stage the task was to neutralize the rich peasants and deal blows exclusively against the landlords. In this stage, too, there should be several steps, namely, propaganda, initial organization, distribution of the movable property of the big landlords, distribution of the land of the big and middle landlords with some allowance made for the small landlords, and then the distribution of all the land of the landlord class. During this stage, poor peasant leagues should be set up to form the backbone of the leadership, and peasant organizations (which may be called peasant associations) could also be set up, with the poor peasants as the core. The task of the second stage was to distribute the rented-out land and the surplus land of the rich peasants and part of their other property, and to distribute that portion of the land of the landlords which had not yet been thoroughly distributed in the first stage.

Whether in the old and semi-old Liberated Areas or in the new Liberated Areas, whether in the big strategic areas or the counties, the work of agrarian reform, instead of starting at every place simultaneously, needed first to be carried out in specific places by capable cadres especially selected, the experience so gained was then gradually popularized and work in individual places correctly integrated with that in the larger areas, so that the movement could move ahead in a wave-like way. This is also one of the questions to which attention must be paid in carrying through the agrarian reform.

As in the case of realizing the tasks of the Chinese revolution as a whole, the task of carrying out agrarian reform needed a process, involving certain transitional steps, and sometimes advanced by making a detour. To deal with this practical situation, in carrying out the policy of agrarian reform, instead of trying to press forward inflexibly in a straight line, we must also be flexible. During the course of the agrarian reform work, Comrade Mao Tse-tung time and again taught the whole Party that the principle of uniting more than 90 per cent of the rural population (households) must be followed and that the work must be carried out step by step and done in a discriminating way. He said: "The system of feudal exploitation should be eliminated step by step, that is, in a tactical way. In launching the struggle we must determine our tactics according to the circumstances and the degree to which the peasant masses are awakened and organized; we must not attempt to wipe out all feudal exploitation overnight."\*

\*"Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area."

It is a matter of the utmost importance to pay attention to existing circumstances in doing any work and draw a distinction between what is permissible and what isn't at a given place and time. In making arrangements for agrarian reform work in 1948, Comrade Mao Tse-tung specially laid it down that this work should be undertaken only in those areas where the following three conditions were present. He pointed out that no area where one of the three conditions was lacking should be designated for agrarian reform in that year. These three conditions were as follows: Firstly, the area should be one where all the armed forces of the enemy had been wiped out and things had settled down; it should not be a guerrilla zone where things were unstable. Secondly, it should be an area where not just a minority, but the overwhelming majority of the basic masses (farm labourers, poor peasants and middle peasants) demanded distribution of land. Thirdly, it should be an area with enough competent Party cadres who are really able to take firm hold of the agrarian reform work and not leave it to the spontaneous activity of the masses. These stipulations, of course, were not designed to encourage a passive waiting for the necessary conditions to arise but precisely to gain more time and more actively create the prerequisites for realizing agrarian reform. That was why Comrade Mao Tse-tung also laid it down that in the areas where the above-mentioned three conditions did not yet exist, the experience gained during the War of Resistance Against Japan should in the first place be fully utilized to carry out the social policy of reducing rents and interest and properly adjusting the distribution of supplies of seed and food grains, and to implement the financial policy of reasonably distributing the tax burden. Universal implementation of the policy of reducing rents and interest would bring tangible benefits to the peasants; the adoption of the financial policy of reasonably distributing the tax burden would place the burden of military needs on the landlords and rich peasants and not on the peasants at too early a stage. In one, two or even three years, in extensive base areas where the Kuomintang reactionaries had been wiped out, things had settled down, the masses had awakened and organized themselves and the war had moved far away, then the stage of agrarian reform in the form of distribution of land and movable property could be introduced. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the stage of reducing rents and interest could not be skipped in any new Liberated Areas and places bordering on enemy territory in the vast Liberated Areas, and we would make mistakes if we skipped it. Facts proved that only by doing the above-mentioned work well, could we continually enhance the awakening of the masses and on the basis of their own experience enable them to take an active part in the revolution; could we split and isolate the enemy as much as possible, gradually reduce the counter-revolutionary positions and gradually enlarge the revolutionary positions in a consolidated way, thereby laying a good foundation for the next step in the reform, which was the thorough elimination of the system of feudal exploitation.

Following Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking, implementation not only of agrarian reform policy but of all our Party's principles and policies must start from a consideration of the concrete situations existing in the various areas with their different circumstances. This

should apply equally to all policies in the fields of war, production, consolidation of the Party, industry and commerce, urban work, suppression of counter-revolution, etc. For instance, concrete implementation of urban policy must be suited to the differing conditions in the cities and distinctions must be made between cities that could be securely held and those that for the time being could not be securely held. When we had just entered a city that could be securely held, flexible policies suited to the then prevailing conditions needed to be adopted; no slogans going far beyond the practical possibilities could be put forward lightly; we could not hastily organize the urban people to wage various struggles for social reform and improvements in their livelihood before municipal affairs had been put under systematic management, the people had settled down mentally and many things had been clarified and satisfactory solutions had been worked out. To act otherwise would bring no benefit but harm. In leading the work of production, a distinction was made between the cities and the countryside, between areas where the war had ended and agrarian reform had started and areas where the war had not ended and agrarian reform had not started. There are many more such instances.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "To determine the lines of policy in our work according to specific conditions is a most fundamental method of work which all Communists must always bear in mind. If we look into the causes of the mistakes we have made, we shall find that they all lie in our subjectivist formulation of lines of policy in our work which disregard the actual situation at a given time and place."\* The principles and policies of the Party's Central Committee and other higher Party committees are unified; it is not permissible to go against them and they must be resolutely carried out. This is a matter of principle which must be followed in carrying out policy. But the steps and methods adopted in the actual implementation of policy should vary according to place and time. In carrying out the unified policy of the Party, every local leading organ must deeply understand the actual situation existing at the time in the locality and adopt the principles, steps and methods suited to that situation; and these should not all be the same. This is the flexibility that must be adopted in carrying out policy. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "We should be firm in principle; we should also have all the flexibility allowed and needed in carrying out our principles."\*\* Failure to grasp the actual situation at a given time and place and failure to take action suited to the situation and opportunity is a type of one-sidedness and subjectivity in implementing policy. This must be prevented and overcome.

Going against and impairing the Party's unified policy or refusal to carry it out under the pretext of special conditions is another type of subjectivity and one-sidedness. This must also be prevented and overcome. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us time and again that unity and serious attention to principle in regard to the Party's policies and tactics must be maintained, and that it is not permissible to proceed from one's own opinion

\* "Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area."

\*\* "Report at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China."

and without authorization change or go against the policies and tactics adopted by the Party's Central Committee and other higher Party committees under the pretext of special conditions or other reasons and without the approval of the Party's Central Committee and other higher Party committees. In the article entitled "Agrarian Reform and Party Consolidation in 1948," Comrade Mao Tse-tung especially pointed out the danger of this tendency. He wrote: "We must firmly put an end to certain manifestations of indiscipline or anarchy that exist in many places: there are people who without authorization modify the policies and tactics adopted by the Central Committee or other higher Party committees and carry out extremely harmful policies and tactics which violate the united will and discipline and which they subjectively believe to be correct; there are also people who, on the pretext of pressure of work, adopt the wrong attitude of neither asking for instructions before an action is taken nor submitting a report afterwards and regard the area under their jurisdiction as some sort of independent realm. All this is extremely harmful to the interests of the revolution." Our flexibility involves carrying out the Party's policy under the centralized leadership of the Central Committee and other higher Party committees, in accordance with various concrete situations; it is, therefore, a principled flexibility. Any so-called flexibility that goes beyond principle is wrong. In regard to the policies of the Party's Central Committee, Comrade Mao Tse-tung demand that Party cadres "adhere to all of them; they are forbidden to make any unauthorized change. They may and should propose amendments of such parts of the documents as do not suit local conditions, but must secure the approval of the Central Committee before actually making any change."\* Only when there is unity in policy, can there be unity in action and unity of will throughout the Party; otherwise it is meaningless to talk about Party unity. Especially during the period of the victorious development of the revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung called upon the Party committees in various places to give timely reports about their important activities and the content of their policies to their higher Party committees and the Central Committee of the Party; this is precisely for the strict preservation of unity of Party action.

On the question of carrying out the Party's policies and tactics, we should not only strictly abide by the unity of the Party's policies but also pay attention to the differences in the way they are actually implemented in various localities, and see that the two are closely and correctly integrated; we should not only persist in paying serious attention to principle but also show the necessary flexibility in actual work, and integrate the two things closely and correctly. Only by doing so, will it be possible for us to avoid committing mistakes of one kind or another and for our policy to exert its great power.

### III

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has formulated a series of correct policies for our Party. The reason for their correctness lies in the fact that they conform to the actual situation and they stem from practice, in particular from

\* "Agrarian Reform and Party Consolidation in 1948."

that most abundant practical experience gained by the broad masses who engage directly in class struggles and the struggle in production.

**K**NOWLEDGE originates in practice — this is the fundamental principle of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has constantly taught us that the Party's lines, principles, policies, plans and methods can only be a reflection of the objective world; their raw materials or semi-finished products can only come from the practice of the masses of the people; the leading organs of the Party can only act as processing factories playing the role of producing the finished product. In "Methods of Work of the Party Committee," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The leadership of the Central Committee is correct, chiefly because it synthesizes the material, reports and correct views coming from different localities. It would be difficult for the Central Committee to issue correct orders if different localities did not provide material and put forward opinions." When Comrade Mao Tse-tung formulates a policy for our Party, he always makes repeated investigations and studies and asks for the opinion of the masses and the cadres. He said: "Sometimes, documents, though drawn up, are withheld temporarily from circulation precisely because certain things in them need clearing up and it is necessary to consult the lower levels first."\* He pointed out that we must ask the masses and subordinates about things we do not understand or do not know and we should never pretend to know what we do not know. "Be a pupil before you become a teacher; learn from the cadres at lower levels before you issue orders."\*\* However, Comrade Mao Tse-tung adopts a Marxist attitude of scientific analysis in listening to the opinions of the masses and the cadres. The views of the masses and the cadres "may or may not be correct;" "we must heed those that are correct and act upon them"; "give mistaken views from below a hearing, too; it is wrong to give them no hearing at all; do not, however, act on them but criticize them."† Thus, this enables the Party's policy to come from the masses and at the same time to be a thing elevated after processing.

The mass line is the fundamental method by which Comrade Mao Tse-tung leads our Party in formulating policy as well as implementing it. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has again and again taught us that only by relying on the masses of the people and the efforts of everyone can the revolution attain victory. Realization of the Party's policy must depend on the masses. This is our key for doing any kind of revolutionary work well.

It is the Party's organizations and Party cadres at all levels who lead the masses in implementing Party policy. Party cadres therefore must in the first place make a serious study of policy; they must be able to fully understand and grasp Party policy and adhere to it in their work. To translate Party policy into mass action, however, it is also necessary to popularize the policy among the masses, enable the masses to know what that policy is as speedily as possible and on the broadest scale,

\* "Methods of Work of the Party Committee."

\*\* *ibid.*

† *ibid.*

explain it to the masses and get it fully discussed by them, so that it can be understood and grasped by them. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "Our policy must be made known not only to the leaders and cadres, but also to the broad masses of the people. . . . Once the masses know the truth and have common objectives, they will work together with one mind. . . . When the masses are of one mind, everything can be pulled off. It is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism to enable the masses to see their own interests and unite to fight for them."\* Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always opposed relying on a mere handful of people to tackle a job of work in isolation from the masses. He believes that in getting something done, it is impossible to get everybody to go into action and bring their initiative and creativeness into play unless you let them know what is going to be done and how it should be done. Unless things are done this way, you certainly won't get them done well. He said: "Some people in a few local leading organizations are of the opinion that only the leaders need to know the Party's policies and that it is not necessary to let the masses know them. Here is one of the basic reasons why some of our work has not been done well."\*\*

**I**T is only with the guidance of the Party's policy that the masses can have clearly defined objectives and correct directions to follow and move into action in a conscientious way. Without an understanding of Party policy, the masses may depart from that policy and act blindly. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given an extremely profound exposition of this truth. He has said: ". . . there is no practice by any people and, above all, no practice by a revolutionary party or the revolutionary masses that is not related to one policy or another. Therefore, before an action is taken, we must bring home to Party members and the masses the policy that we have laid down in the light of the given circumstances. Otherwise, Party members and the masses will depart from the guidance of our policy, act blindly and carry out a wrong policy."† It is through its policy that the Party leads the masses in waging revolutionary struggles in the correct direction. Herein lies the fundamental reason why Comrade Mao Tse-tung has again and again pointed out the necessity of popularizing Party policy among the masses and transforming it into mass action.

Getting the masses to understand and grasp Party policy and translating it into mass action is a Marxist-Leninist art of leadership. Its most fundamental method lies in proceeding from the level of consciousness of the masses and gradually guiding them to raise their level of consciousness and march to victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that in implementing Party policy we should base ourselves on the level of consciousness of the masses and see to it that they carry out that policy conscientiously and of their own accord; when they have not yet quite understood it, we must do patient persuasion and education among them and wait; only when the

majority of them are willing to go into action, can Party policy really be put into effect. In no case should we rush the masses into action without regard to their level of consciousness, thus falling into commandism. At the same time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also pointed out that in handling the views of the masses we should distinguish between what is correct and what is incorrect. ". . . The Party must, according to circumstances, guide the masses to carry out all their sound ideas and teach them to correct any wrong ideas they may entertain."\* We must in no way depart from the Party's policy and negate the leading role of the Party, emphasizing "what is called 'doing everything as the masses want it done,' thus complying with wrong views among the masses,"\*\* and thereby ending up in tailism. Neither commandism nor tailism can translate Party policy into mass action. Although commandism is subjectively intended to carry out Party policy actually it cannot do so because the views of the masses are not listened to and the level of their consciousness is disregarded. Although there may be a subjective desire in those who fall into tailism to pay attention to considering the views of the masses, under no circumstances can tailism serve to carry out Party policy because it complies with certain wrong views held by the masses and fails to awaken their consciousness and raise its level. To try to carry out policies which go beyond or lag behind the level of consciousness of the masses will equally fail to win their backing and support and to translate Party policy into action.

The reason why Comrade Mao Tse-tung puts the greatest stress on the question of the method of the mass line in implementing policy is because "given correct lines and policies, trouble may still arise if we neglect methods of work."† Policies cannot be correctly carried out if wrong working methods are used and the mass line is not followed. Trust in the ability of the masses to emancipate themselves is a fundamental idea of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Explaining policies to the masses and relying on them to unite to fight conscientiously for their common interests is the embodiment of this fundamental idea. Guided by this idea of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party, during the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, launched extensive mass movements and in particular roused the broadest sections of the peasant masses to action, thus bringing about the people's great revolution, a revolution without parallel in Chinese history.

**O**UR Party policy is derived from crystallization of the views of the masses and is brought back to the masses and is firmly upheld by them. At the same time, "only through the practice of the people, that is, through experience, can we make sure whether a policy is correct or wrong, and to what extent."†† Therefore, when Comrade Mao Tse-tung lays down a policy he often sees to it that it is carried out on an experimental basis first in certain individual areas or in certain localities. It is formally

\* "Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area."

\*\* "Rectify 'Left' Errors in Agrarian Reform Propaganda."

† "Methods of Work of the Party Committee."

†† "On the Policy Towards Industry and Trade."

\* "A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shansi-Suiyuan Daily*."

\*\* *ibid.*

† "On the Policy Towards Industry and Trade."

published and put into effect throughout the country only after it has been experimented with, gone through the test of practice by the masses and been supplemented and revised in the light of their practical experience. Our Party policy is upheld and supported by the broad masses of the people because it has been carefully and scientifically formulated. But Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that in the course of its implementation, it is still necessary to pay attention to listening to the views of cadres at lower levels and of the masses and unceasingly develop and enrich it.

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung has always applied the standpoint of the Marxist theory of knowledge in teaching us. Man's knowledge of a thing, he has said, is gained through a process; it is impossible to get a clear idea of something in one flash. Gaining a knowledge of a complicated thing usually requires a repeated process of exploration in practice, and the drawing of experience from both successful and unsuccessful practice. Only in this way, can erroneous knowledge be corrected and our subjective knowledge brought into correspondence with the laws of objective processes. Even after one has acquired a correct knowledge of a certain process of development of objective things, he still, in the light of new practical experience, has to deepen his knowledge constantly in keeping with new changes in the development of objective things. Comrade Mao Tse-tung therefore particularly stresses that we should make a timely summing up of experience in our work, draw lessons from it, and develop step by step from being inexperienced to being experienced, making our knowledge correspond, gradually and as far as possible, to actual conditions so that we may give correct leadership in work.

In this respect, Comrade Mao Tse-tung gives the best example for us to follow. He is not only adept at using successful experience to teach us but at discovering mistakes that occur in our work and summing up the lessons to be learnt from the occurrence of these mistakes to teach us. From the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* we can see that when Comrade Mao Tse-tung expounded a policy or dealt with a problem he not only used positive experience but also often used negative experience to prove a point. For instance, he said: "Our policy is to give him tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land."\* ". . . Not act like Chen Tu-hsiu. Confronted by counter-revolutionary attacks against the people, Chen Tu-hsiu did not adopt the policy of giving tit for tat and fighting for every inch of ground; as a result, within the space of a few months in 1927, the people lost all the rights they had won. This time we must be on our guard."\*\* He also said: "Our policy is to give tit for tat and fight for every inch of land; we will never let the Kuomintang easily seize our land and kill our people. Of course, to fight for every inch of land does not mean that we will follow the old 'Leftist' line of 'not abandoning a single inch of land in the base area.' "† Both successful and unsuccessful experiences are priceless treasures to

those who are adept at learning things. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always told us that we must adopt an attitude of being adept at analysing and learning from not only successful experience but also unsuccessful experience. In the course of leading the revolution, he has always seriously and earnestly taught Party members and cadres to spot and rectify even the smallest mistakes in their actual work. He said: "Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and mistakes, if they occur, must be corrected — that is what being responsible to the people means."\* At the same time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has never sweepingly repudiated the experience of mistakes which have occurred and the erring cadres but has invariably pointed out that failure is the harbinger of success, that errors are often the precursors of correctness and that making mistakes is often a necessary condition for shaping a correct policy. He invariably asks us to draw lessons from mistakes and thus raise the level of our understanding. He has also often dealt with problems in this way: saying that something must be done in this way and not that way, that this policy and not that policy must be carried out. When he has said that something must not be done in that particular way, it was often because some people had actually done it that way and it had been proved to be a wrong way. When he has said that that particular policy must not be carried out it was also often because some people had carried out that policy and it had been proved that it could never succeed. To make a sharp contrast between wrong and correct things in such a manner helps us to get a deeper understanding of what is correct and avoid repeating mistakes, and to really understand why things must be done this way and not that way and why this and not that policy must be carried out; it helps us to implement Party policy firmly.

WHEN Comrade Mao Tse-tung leads us in formulating or carrying out a policy, he applies the method of the mass line. In his article "On Some Questions of the Methods of Leadership," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "In all practical work of our Party, correct leadership can only be derived from the masses and brought back to the masses. This means that the views of the masses (views scattered and unsystematic) are crystallized (turned into crystallized and systematic views after being studied), brought back to the masses, popularized and explained among them; then they become the views of the masses, are firmly upheld by them and translated into action and moreover, proved to be correct or incorrect by the test of mass action. Then once more the views of the masses are crystallized and once more brought back to the masses and are firmly upheld by the masses. Thus in an endless spiral each time the views become more correct, more lively and richer. This is the Marxist theory of knowledge." It is in this way that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on the basis of the Marxist theory of knowledge, and applying the method of the mass line in the practice of revolution, has constantly developed and enriched the Party's lines and policies and so guaranteed the complete victory of the Chinese revolution.

\* "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan."

\* "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan."

\*\* *ibid.*

† *ibid.*

# CHINA AND THE WORLD

## **Chairman Mao Receives Cuban And Ecuadorian Delegations**

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on December 24 received and had a cordial and friendly talk with all members of the Cuban Women's Delegation led by Elena Gil. Among those present on the occasion was Liu Ching-yang, Vice-President of the National Women's Federation of the People's Republic of China.

On the same day, Chairman Mao received and had a cordial and friendly talk with all members of the Ecuadorian Cultural Delegation led by Diogenes Paredes. Among those present on the occasion were Chu Tu-nan, President of the China-Latin America Friendship Association, and Chou Erh-fu, Vice-President of the Association.

## **Premier Chou to Visit Burma**

Leading a friendship delegation of more than 400 members, Premier Chou En-lai is going to Burma for a goodwill visit at the invitation of Prime Minister U Nu. The Premier will take part in the celebrations of the 13th anniversary of Burma's independence and exchange the instruments of ratification of the China-Burma Boundary Treaty signed in Peking last October. The other Chinese state leaders going on the visit are Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, and Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The friendship delegation includes the Chinese Government Delegation led by Premier Chou, a military delegation, a cultural and art delegation, the Chinese delegation on the Chinese-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee, a delegation from Yunnan Province of China (which borders on Burma), a Buddhists' delegation, a film delegation, a journalists' delegation and a sports delegation.

## **V.P.A. Anniversary Greeted**

Marshal Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, sent the

warmest fraternal greetings to the Viet Nam People's Army on its 16th anniversary (December 22). In a message, dated December 20, to Senior General Vo Nguyen Giap, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Marshal wrote that the Chinese People's Liberation Army — closest comrades-in-arms of the V.P.A. — is overjoyed at the V.P.A.'s great successes in the struggle to achieve the peaceful reunification of its motherland, defend socialist construction and safeguard Asian and world peace.

Referring to the large-scale civil war which has broken out in Laos as a result of U.S. imperialism's flagrant support and instigation of the rebel group there, Marshal Lin Piao said: "The Government and people of China severely condemn the criminal actions of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys — the reactionary authorities of Thailand — in blatantly intervening by force of arms and fomenting civil war in Laos and menacing peace in Southeast Asia; they fully support the just and solemn stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on the Laotian question and will determinedly exert their utmost efforts alongside the Government and people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to uphold the Geneva agreements and halt U.S. imperialism's intervention and aggression in Laos." "The Chinese People's Liberation Army," Marshal Lin Piao declared, "will stand closely by the Viet Nam People's Army in firmly supporting the just stand of our Governments and, with the sharpest vigilance, will carry on our common struggle to safeguard the security of our respective motherlands and defend peace in Asia and the whole world."

## **Chinese Ambassador Gives Party in Moscow**

Chinese Ambassador Liu Hsiao held a film show and cocktail party in Moscow on December 20 to thank the Soviet organizations concerned for their warm hospitality and assistance accorded to Chairman Liu Shao-chi and the Chinese Party and Government Delegation he led during their recent visit to the Soviet Union. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister A.A. Sobolev and others were present. Both Ambassador Liu Hsiao and Deputy Foreign Minister Sobolev spoke at the

party which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

## **Canadian C. P. Leader's Visit to China**

Tim Buck, General Secretary of the Canadian Communist Party, and his wife left Peking for home on December 23 after visiting China at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

On December 22, Comrade Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met and had a cordial talk with Comrade Buck and his wife, and gave a banquet in their honour.

## **Sino-Cuban Trade**

Economic and trade relations between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Cuba are developing day by day, declared a leading member of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade in an interview given to the Hsinhua News Agency on December 23.

This year, he recalled, government trade and economic delegations of the two countries exchanged visits and the two Governments signed a trade and payment agreement, agreements on scientific and technical co-operation and on economic co-operation, and relevant protocols. These greatly benefit the further development of economic and trade relations between the two countries and the strengthening of friendship between the two peoples, he said.

In 1961, he pointed out, China will buy sugar from Cuba at four Cuban centavos per pound, which was agreed upon through consultations by both sides and regarded as reasonable.

Economic and trade contacts between China and Cuba, he continued, are being conducted in full accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit. China is buying sugar and other export goods from Cuba and supplying her with various goods needed by the Cuban people for production or consumption. All this is helpful both in developing the economies of the two countries and meeting the production and consumption requirements of their peoples. This assumes added importance, he concluded, particularly at a time when U.S. imperialism has imposed an "embargo" on Cuba and stopped buying Cuban sugar in an attempt to strangle Cuba's economy.

# CHINESE PRESS OPINION

## **Colonialism Must Be Abolished**

In its editorial on December 20, *Renmin Ribao* hailed the adoption of the declaration on the independence of colonial countries and peoples at the 15th Session of the U.N. General Assembly. The adoption by an overwhelming majority of this declaration submitted by 43 Asian and African countries is a heavy blow, both politically and morally, to imperialism headed by the United States and to all old and new colonialists; it is a major victory for all anti-colonialist forces throughout the world and a great inspiration to the peoples of all countries still under colonial rule, says the editorial.

*Renmin Ribao* recalls that at the beginning of the current U.N. General Assembly Session, the Soviet delegation submitted a draft declaration on granting independence to the colonial countries and peoples. The Soviet draft called for the immediate abolition of colonialism. It reflected the just demand of all the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and the whole world and won the praise and support of delegates of most Asian and African countries at the U.N. General Assembly. Although the substantive part of the Soviet draft declaration was rejected by the slim margin of three votes owing to obstructions and machinations by the imperialists headed by the United States, the editorial says, the basic principles of the Soviet draft were in fact included in the draft declaration which was submitted by the Asian and African countries and which was later adopted.

Noting that an acute political struggle has taken place at the current U.N. General Assembly Session between the anti-colonialist forces and the imperialist-colonialist forces, the editorial says that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, together with some Asian, African and Latin American countries, have from the U.N. rostrum exposed and condemned the old and new colonialists headed by the United States. They have sharply

pointed out that not only are the old colonialists defending their cruel and barbarous colonial rule over the colonial peoples, but the U.S. imperialists, as new colonialists, are pushing ahead the policy of colonial expansion in an even more sinister and vicious way and becoming the most dangerous enemy of all the oppressed nations.

The imperialist-colonialist forces headed by the United States, the editorial continues, tried by every means to prevent and disrupt discussion of the question of abolishing colonialism at the current U.N. General Assembly Session. But the more they sought to obstruct and disrupt, the more isolated they became before the powerful anti-colonialist forces and the more they revealed their ferocious countenance as colonialists. In the course of discussing the question of colonialism, except for a handful of colonialist countries and their lackeys, the overwhelming majority of the delegates condemned colonialism and demanded the complete and immediate abolition of colonialism. The imperialist-colonialist forces headed by the United States barely managed to round up a so-called "majority" and "voted down" the Soviet draft declaration, but, after all, they failed to obstruct the adoption of the fundamental principles contained in the Soviet declaration and reflected in the draft declaration submitted by 43 Asian and African countries. Facts have shown, the editorial declares, that the movement for abolition of colonialism is a powerful historical trend in the present-day world; no imperialism and reactionaries can resist or block it.

After an intense struggle, the editorial notes, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the anti-colonialist forces of Asian, African and Latin American countries overcame the U.S. imperialist obstructions and machinations and succeeded in making the current U.N. General

Assembly Session adopt the document against colonialism submitted by the Asian and African countries. This, says the editorial, is of course beneficial to the movement of the peoples of all countries striving for and upholding national independence. The turning of the anti-colonialist content of this document into reality will primarily depend on the further resolute struggles of all oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and colonialism. History and the course of the discussion at the current U.N. General Assembly Session, says the editorial, show that imperialism headed by the United States will never give up its colonial policy of its own accord. To win victory in the cause of national liberation, the peoples of all countries must wage a protracted, arduous struggle against imperialism. The development of events in the Congo gives yet another proof of this truth.

The liberated Chinese people have always considered it their sacred international duty to support the struggles of the peoples of all countries against imperialism and colonialism and to win and uphold national independence, the editorial continues. They support the great efforts against colonialism made by the Soviet Union at the current U.N. General Assembly Session. We wholeheartedly sympathize with and support the pressing desire of the peoples of all countries for independence and freedom and for the abolition of colonialism in all its manifestations, as demonstrated in the declaration put forward by the 43 Asian and African countries. The Chinese people are firmly convinced that, in the international situation in which the East wind prevails over the West wind, there is no doubt whatsoever that, by relying on the national liberation struggle now being waged by the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, by relying on the great unity of the peoples of the socialist countries and on the revolutionary masses of the capitalist countries and all oppressed nations, colonialism will finally and completely be abolished. The total collapse of colonialism is inevitable, the editorial concludes.

# WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

— Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc. —

Programmes are subject to change. Where times are not listed consult theatre or daily press.

## PEKING OPERA

▲ **THE RETURN OF THE PHOENIX** A comedy of errors. A young man wins a bride despite the schemes of a wicked step-mother. Produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre.

Jan. 1, 1961, 9:30 a.m. Renmin Theatre

▲ **UPROAR IN HEAVEN** and two other short operas by the China Peking Opera Theatre. Monkey Sun Wu-kung defeats the gods of thunder and lightning and other deities sent to subdue him.

Jan. 1, 1961, 1:00 p.m. Renmin Theatre

▲ **SHE SAI-HUA** A historical opera produced by the Peking Opera Company of Peking. She Sai-hua is the beautiful and clever daughter of She Hung, a high court official in the Sung court. Two of She Hung's colleagues want their sons to marry her; Yang Chi-yeh, one of her suitors, who later becomes a famous general, wins her heart and hand.

Jan. 3, 1961, 7:00 p.m. Renmin Theatre

## PINGJU OPERA

▲ **BITTER HERBS** A play about the Shantung peasants who rose against oppressive traitors and landlards during the War of Resistance Against Japan. Produced by the China Pingju Opera Theatre.

Jan. 1 & 2, 1961, 7:00 p.m. Da Zhong Theatre

## DANCE DRAMA

▲ **LEIFENG PAGODA** A Chinese ballet adapted from the legendary love story *The Tale of the White Snake*. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

Dec. 31 & Jan. 1, 1961, 7:15 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

▲ **RED CLOUDS** It tells how the Li minority people on Hainan Island suffered under Kuomintang oppression and how they gained their freedom. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

Jan. 2 & 3, 1961, 7:15 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

## SONG AND DANCE

Joint performance by the Central Song and Dance Troupe and the Central National

Music Ensemble. Items include *Lotus Dance*, *Phoenix Dance*, *Red Silk Dance*, *Parasol Dance*, choruses, folk instrumental music, etc.

Jan. 1, 1961, 7:15 p.m. Cultural Palace of Nationalities

▲ **FOLK SONGS AND DANCES** of China's many nationalities performed by the Central Nationalities Song and Dance Troupe.

Jan. 2-4, 1961, 7:15 p.m. Cultural Palace of Nationalities

## CONCERT

Performance by the Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra.

Includes:  
Symphonic Poem *Mu Kuei-ying Takes Command*  
Violin Concerto *Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-tai*  
Light music  
Violin solo, etc.

Conductor: Li Teh-lun  
Jan. 1 & 2, 1961, 2:30 p.m. Shoudu Theatre

## THEATRE

▲ **THE MISER** The comedy by the great French dramatist Moliere. Produced in Chinese by the Peking People's Art Theatre.

Dec. 31-Jan. 2, 1961, 7:00 p.m. Shoudu Theatre

▲ **HOLDING THE LONG CORD IN OUR HANDS** A new play in six acts produced by the China Youth Art Theatre. It tells about the militiamen in an old liberated area concentrating on agricultural production while at the same time giving a good account of themselves as militiamen.

Dec. 31-Jan. 3, 1961, 7:00 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

▲ **THE MAGIC ASTER** Adapted from an ancient tale. A happily married young peasant's wife is killed by her envious sister who wants to take her place. The good animals of the valley help to put things right and the magic aster restores her to life. Produced by the China Children's Theatre.

Dec. 31-Jan. 5, 1961, 7:00 p.m., Jan. 1 & 2, 1961, 3:30 p.m. Peking Theatre

▲ **A SERVANT OF TWO MASTERS** Goldoni's famous comedy produced in Chinese by the Experimental Theatre of the Central Drama School.

Jan. 1 & 2, 1961, 1:30 p.m. Shiyun Theatre

## FILMS

▲ **FIGHTING CUBA** A Chinese documentary in colour vividly depicting the stirring struggles waged by the heroic Cuban people to win and safeguard the freedom and independence of their lovely motherland.

Dec. 31-Jan. 4, 1961, Da Hua, Ertong, Shoudu Cinema, Guang An Men

▲ **TWO GENERATIONS** Sinkiang Film Studio production. A feature film which portrays through the life of a mother and her son the sharp contrast in the lives of two generations living under two social systems.

Dec. 30 & 31, Da Hua, Ertong, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema

▲ **RECONNAISSANCE ACROSS THE YANGTSE** A Shanghai Film Studio production about the successful mission carried out by P.L.A. patrols reconnoitering the rear of the Chiang Kai-shek forces just before the People's Liberation Army crossed the Yangtze in 1949.

Dec. 28-31, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema

▲ **NEW STORY OF AN OLD SOLDIER** An ex-serviceman tackles a new job setting up a state farm on the wastelands of northeast China. Produced by the Haiyen Film Studio.

Dec. 28-31, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema

▲ **THE CAPTURE OF HUASHAN MOUNTAIN** A feature film produced by the Peking Film Studio. It tells how the People's Liberation Army annihilated the remnant Kuomintang forces on the famous Huashan Mountain.

Dec. 28-31, Shoudu Cinema, Shengli

## EXHIBITIONS

▲ **FOURTH NATIONAL PHOTO EXHIBITION** Open daily (except Mon.) till Jan. 15, 1961, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

At the Gallery of the Artists' Union

▲ **KIANGSU OIL PAINTINGS** Open daily (except Mon.) till Jan. 15, 1961, 9:00 a.m.-4:30 p.m.

At Beihai Park

## SKATING

The skating rinks at Shi Cha Hai, Workers' Stadium, Beihai, Tao Ran Ting and Zhongshan Park are now open.

Mon.-Sat. 6:30-7:30 p.m.  
Sun. 9:00-11:00 a.m.  
6:00-7:30 p.m.

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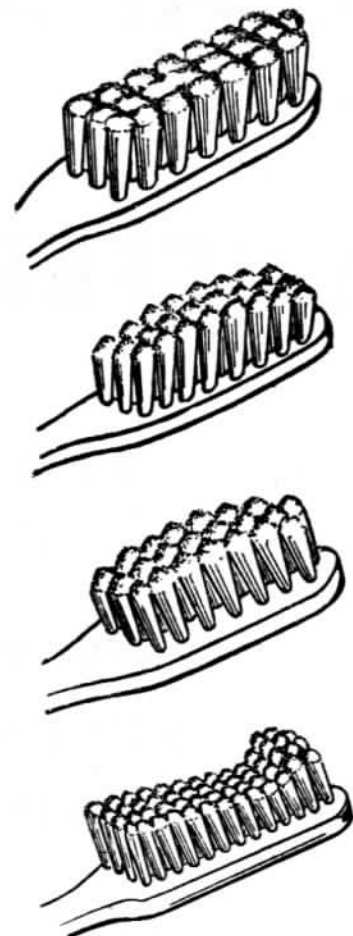


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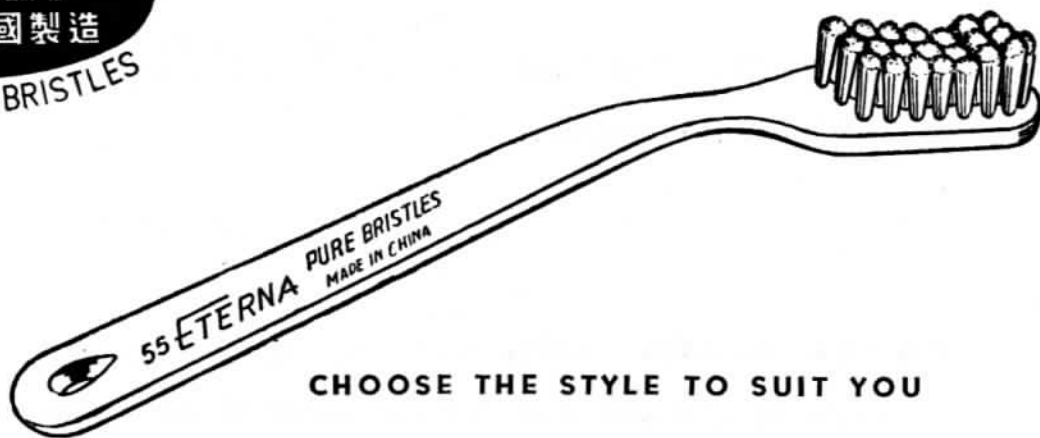
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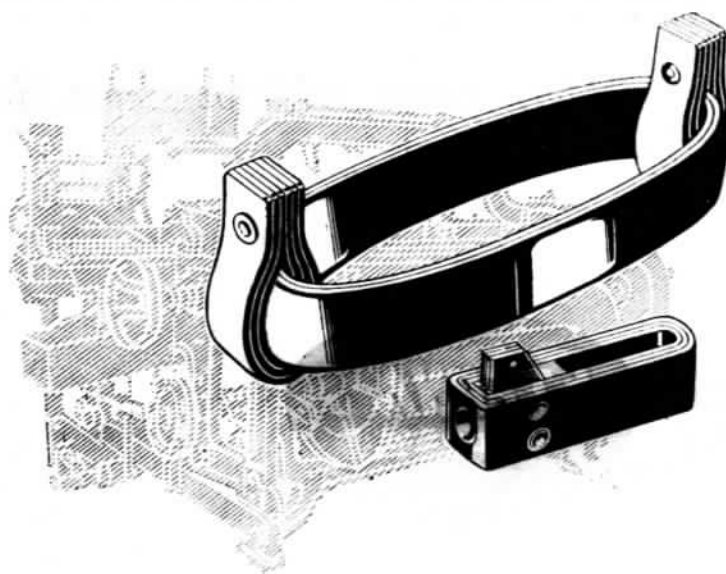
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