

PEKING REVIEW

24

June 16, 1961

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

Selected Works of

KUAN HAN-CHING

Kuan Han-ching, China's greatest and most outstanding playwright in the latter half of the 13th century, was among the world's cultural giants commemorated in 1958 by people the world over.

Living among the people as he did, Kuan Han-ching was familiar with their life and understood their sufferings and hardships. Standing by their side and using dramatic art as his weapon, he waged struggles against the feudal ruling class. He was skilled in portraying the life and character of women and urban "petty figures." Through artistic imagery, he depicted the Chinese women as being kind, firm and steady, clever and full of feeling, and showed their resistant and rebellious character. While singing praises of the honest and noble qualities of urban "petty figures" at the same time he castigated the dark, ruthless and detestable social forces, giving vent to the wrongs and anger of the people.

Kuan Han-ching was a dramatist whose art showed good, all-round development. He not only wrote dramas, was conversant with phonology and stagecraft, but also gave performances himself. Of the 67 works accredited to him, only 18 remain. All these are first-class dramas of immortal artistic value. The eight plays selected in this book give some idea of his remarkable range. Here are tragedies with persecuted women as protagonists, historical plays depicting heroic figures, plays with famous cases as their themes and tragic-comedies both on certain families and society at large.

Illustrated with traditional woodblock prints and facsimiles from early Chinese editions.

The Runaway Maid

Edited by the Kwangtung Opera Company

The Runaway Maid is an outstanding comedy of Kwangtung opera, one of the most popular types of local opera in China. It is adapted from a fascinating and intricate story of the Ching dynasty well known on Hainan Island.

Green Lotus, a servant girl in the garrison-commander's house, is so cruelly treated that, disguised as a man she runs away to the local academy, where a young scholar named Chang Yi-min takes care of her. When the commander goes to the academy to demand the return of the girl, the tutor, Hsieh Pao, is so touched by the young people's love that he takes their side and thinks of a clever way to save them.

The play possesses the simple imagery of a folk song; is lyric in character, and through comedy expresses the opposition of the people to the ruling class and ridicules them. It vividly depicts the fighting spirit of Green Lotus who rebelled against tyranny, and Hsieh Pao, the tutor, a righteous man of undaunted spirit and a sense of humour.

For the purpose of helping readers to better understand the stage setting and costumes of Kwangtung opera, this edition is illustrated with stage photographs of a performance presented by the Kwangtung Opera Troupe.

66 pages

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PEKING REVIEW

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

June 16, 1961 Vol. IV No. 24

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ROUND THE WEEK

Keeping Cool

The mercury column keeps on rising. In most parts of the country, it's summer already. In Chungking, one of three notorious "ovens" on the Yangtse (the others being Wuhan and Nanking), the man on the street may be railing at the scorching sun, but the steelworkers before the furnaces of the Chungking Iron and Steel Works are cooler than they ever were before: a continuous current of cool air comes to them from electric fans and a welcome drizzle falls from a high-speed sprayer installed in their shop. These are among several ventilation and cooling devices recently re-installed in many shops of the works to improve summer working conditions.

Ventilation and air-cooling equipment is now being installed in factories and workshops throughout the land. Iron and steel works naturally head the priority list. In addition some steel plants, like those in Wuhan, Chungking and Peking, have "water curtains" to absorb the heat radiated from the furnaces, as well as air conditioners, and asbestos heat shields.

Cooling and air-conditioning devices are also installed on a wide scale in the cotton mills, engineering and enamelware plants. Needless to say methods of internal cooling are popular.

In many factories equipment for making ice cubes and cooling soda water and other cold drinks is being added. These will be offered to workers in high-temperature shops free throughout the summer. Iron and steel works in Chungking and Peking have already laid on a supply of free cold drinks. On May 1 the Chungking Iron and Steel Works started to supply its workers regularly in high temperature shops with green bean soup, blueberry juice and iced lemonade.

As part of the service to keep workers fit during the hot days, medical personnel are touring factories and workshops giving the workers medical

checkups and advice on summer hygiene. In Shanghai special inspection teams organized by the city's health committee and local government bodies are making the rounds of the factories to check up on their summer-time working conditions. By last week, more than 500 factories, construction sites and docks had been inspected. The general situation was found to be satisfactory.

200,000 Tons of Steel

Busy with the summer harvesting and planting, members of the rural people's communes throughout the country are better equipped with farm tools than ever before.

In allocating 100,000 tons of rolled steel for the making of small farm tools in the first quarter of this year the Government made a weighty contribution to the national agricultural drive. It has recently followed this up with another 100,000 tons for the same purpose in the second quarter of this year.

Thanks to the co-ordinated efforts of workers in the nation's iron and steel industry, transport and farm machinery manufacturing departments, more than 50 million new small farm implements had been produced in various parts of the country by mid-May. Peking, Shanghai, Inner Mongolia, Kirin, Kiangsu and Shensi have each fulfilled more than 80 per cent of their quotas of farm implements for the second quarter. Large quantities of these new farm tools are already in use in the southern areas including Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Yunnan Provinces where the summer farming season starts earlier than in the northern parts of the country.

Commune members are more than glad to get these extra tools since there is a bigger acreage to harvest and plant this summer and more hands available on the agricultural front.

Though this allotment of 200,000 tons of metal accounts for only a frac-

tion of present national production of steel, it is more than all the rolled steel produced in China in 1949, the year of liberation.

Fukien Turns Back the Tide

For three days a fortnight ago there was a continuous downpour of rain in the coastal province of Fukien. While torrents sluiced down from above, the water in the big rivers of the province kept on rising. By three o'clock in the morning of June 3, the water level of the Min River at Kiangnan Bridge in Foochow was more than two metres above the danger mark—0.32 metres higher than the highest point the waters of the Min have ever reached in recorded history. Tens of thousands of the People's Liberation Army men, workers, peasants, students, in fact, people of every walk of life rushed to the dykes along the river and piled sandbags, rocks and earth on them to keep the water from crashing into the city. Under the able command of the local Party committee the Foochow people carried on a courageous round-the-clock battle with the angry river. After twenty-four hours the water finally began to subside. By early last week, the heroic city could claim victory over the worst flood menace in its history.

The rainstorm which ravaged both Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces last week started on the evening of May 31. It began to abate on June 3. In Fukien, 14 counties and cities got a dousing with 200 millimetres of rainfall in those three days. At the first threat of flood the Party organizations in the province sounded the warning and called on the people to "prepare for the worst and work for the best." The people turned out in full force. At one time in Nanping Special Administrative Region alone 200,000 people were out fighting the flood threat. In those low-lying areas where flood and water-logging did occur, people were brought to safety before the flood could maroon them and the peasants set to draining the land to save or replant their crops as soon as the water ebbed.

The battle in Foochow itself began on June 2. It was a race between the water and man. As the rising water lashed the dykes, the flood-fighters strengthened and built them up. Inch by inch the water rose but the dykes

grew taller foot by foot. Wherever a crack appeared, a hundred hands moved to fill it. Students of Foochow University dived beneath the water to consolidate the dykes. When drifting timber piled up perilously against one of the city bridges, 80 P.L.A. officers and men jumped into the torrent and removed the danger. Students of the Fukien Teachers' College swam out and brought back to safety 17 people marooned in a factory in a low-lying district.

In face of the common danger, everyone pitched in to help. Throughout the battle, Party and government leaders led the fight. Supplies were rushed to the dykes in an unending flow. Private houses were offered for the use of the flood-fighters. Womenfolk provided them with refreshments and first aid services. And the work of rehabilitation got going the moment the danger abated.

At a time of crisis like this, Foochow naturally recalled the flood of 1948, before liberation. Then, save for a few spots, the whole city was inundated. The flood took a toll of a thousand lives and washed away ten thousand homes. One immediate result was a 100 per cent jump in rice prices. Many who survived the flood did not live through the subsequent period of starvation. None of such things happened last week. This is the striking difference between two eras and two social systems.

Village Fairs

There is busy work on the farm these days, but market day is market day and the local village fairs offer members of rural people's communes in every part of the countryside a convenient and enjoyable opportunity to do their shopping and other business. Reports from many areas indicate increased trade at the fairs. Open every week or so they play an effective role as an auxiliary aid to state trading concerns in promoting rural trade and supplying the farmers' needs.

In Mashenchiao, Hopei Province, the peasants have recently retimed their fair to fit in better with their busy schedule of summer work. The market now opens earlier than usual. On market days, peasants from neighbouring areas converge from all directions at the fair grounds in the

local market town bringing for sale fresh vegetables and other foods, local handicraft specialties and other cottage industry products. Mashenchiao reports that there was a bigger range of goods on sale at the fair in April and May than in previous months. The turnover in the last two months was more than double what it was in February and March.

There is a prosperous bustle at these village fairs. A reporter in Kiangsu Province describes the fairs there as crowded with buyers and sellers. Bamboo shoots and other fresh vegetables, fruits, fish and shrimps are on sale. Peasant craftsmen offer farm furniture, baskets, brooms and hundreds of other handicraft articles. Farmers are buying seeds, fertilizers and small farm implements for their own use and for their production brigades. Piglets, rabbits and fowls, homespun and sandals change hands. Customers crowd the regular trading organizations which have their shops, stalls and services at the fair grounds.

All these and the restaurants too are doing good business. In Szechuan Province in the southwest, one of the latest fair attractions is the "red pan shop." These shops provide a quick service for peasant customers who bring along their own vegetables, fish or fowl often bought right there at the fair. While his cooking is being done for him, the customer can be attending to other business, returning in time to eat a meal cooked to his taste. These "red pan shops" are becoming increasingly popular with fair-goers.

"How to Be a Good Painter"

One of the books enjoying good sales these days is entitled "How to Be a Good Painter." Published by the Building Publishing House in Peking, it deals in an authoritative, first-hand way with the practical part of the craft of painting, particularly techniques and new methods of making and mixing materials for all types of paint used in construction work. The book clicks because it is written by a man thoroughly in the know. The author is Li Lien-hsing, 28-year-old painter of the Third Building Company of Shensi Province. In writing his book he put down the working experience of three generations of his family of painters.

The very fact of a painter writing a book has delighted many people, and particularly Li Lien-hsing himself who was practically illiterate only a few years back. In his preface he writes that though both his grandfather and father were experienced painters, they could only pass down their experience verbally since neither of them could read or write. Now, thanks to the spare-time education he has received in recent years, he is able to write down all he and his father and grandfather learnt about painting so more newcomers will be helped to master the trade.

Ninety per cent of the building workers of the Third Building Company of Shensi, where Li works, are studying in the many spare-time schools set up by that go-ahead concern. Its spare-time schools are offering year-round literacy classes, primary and secondary school and up to college grade courses. The company management pays great attention to this spare-time education and technical studies for its workers. Spare-time classes are available to the workers wherever they go. There are classes on all its construction sites. A carpenter from one building site can go to the right class at another site when he moves there merely by showing a special identification card. By this means most workers are able to continue their studies uninterruptedly although their calling involves such a high degree of mobility.

This educational work has paid off well. Over the last few years, 90 company workers have been promoted to be technicians, nine have become engineers or assistant engineers, and a number have taken up administrative posts helping to run the business.

Workers' Spare-Time Schools

The record of the Third Building Company of Shensi in spare-time education for workers reflects a general pattern of development in almost every branch of industry in China. Spare-time literacy classes, schools and colleges have mushroomed everywhere in recent years. They are giving a big helping hand to the regular educational institutions in providing adequate education for the nation's growing ranks of workers, training up a literate and cultured working class.

Over a million industrial workers in Shanghai are receiving education in more than 3,000 spare-time primary and middle schools, colleges and universities in that city. A complete spare-time educational system introduced by many factories ensures all their workers an opportunity to get an education, from primary school to college grade.

A good number of colleges and universities in the city too have opened special night and correspondence colleges for workers. Scientific and technical societies, too, are running spare-time college courses. Last year, a spare-time engineering college was set up. One university gives courses over a television circuit.

One of the leading factories of the city's metallurgical industry has a spare-time primary school giving a general education, as well as a middle school and a college specializing in metallurgy. Nine out of every ten workers in the plant are studying in one or the other of these courses. The college curriculum includes higher mathematics, mechanics, metallurgy, principles of mechanical and electrical engineering and a foreign language. The student is required to hand in a technical design of his own upon graduation. Spare-time education at this works started not long after liberation. Eighty per cent of its workers then were illiterate; now every one of them has learnt to read and write.

Uighur and Kazakh Made Easier

A recent report from Urumchi tells of the success of the new Latinized written languages for the Uighur and Kazakh people in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. These were introduced on a trial basis a little more than a year ago. They have proved to be a boon to the people in their drive to end illiteracy and popularize education.



Building Workers' Spare-Time Study

Woodcut by students of the Kirin Art Institute's Middle School

The Uighur and Kazakh written languages used up to now are based on Arabic letters, which cannot quite express the sounds used in those languages. Besides this the old scripts are difficult to read and learn. The fact that they are written from right to left has made difficulties in usage in modern times. The new scripts were worked out at the Second Conference on Nationalities Languages of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region held in November 1959 and was adopted for trial by the local government. In the new alphabet 26 Latin letters are used, to which several other letters representing certain sounds peculiar to the Uighur and Kazakh languages are added.

Tests among Uighur and Kazakh adults have shown that an average of three hundred hours of study are needed to become literate, half the time consumed in learning writing with the old script. The new alphabet has also been used in some primary schools. Children learnt to read and write all the letters within two months, studying three or four hours a week.

Premier Pham Van Dong in China

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

PREMIER Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam ended his week-long friendly visit to China on June 16. The day before, the Chinese and Vietnamese Premiers issued a joint communique in which they expressed complete identity of views on important international questions of common interest and on questions concerning the further consolidation and development of their countries' friendship and co-operation.

On the overall international situation, the communique says that conditions are "unprecedentedly favourable to the struggle of the peoples of all countries for world peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. . . . The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena." It points out that "the 'position of strength' and neo-colonialist policies of U.S. imperialism are the principal menace to world peace and the main root cause of international tension. The Kennedy Administration continues to carry out aggression and intervention in Cuba, Laos and the Congo, and to step up the implementation of the plan for all-round arms expansion and war preparations; the peace-loving people throughout the world must constantly maintain high vigilance."

The communique further declares: "The two Premiers reiterated that the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, like the other socialist countries, have consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace, resolutely safeguarded and strengthened the unity of the socialist camp; firmly supported the liberation movement of the oppressed nations; resolutely maintained that peaceful co-existence be realized among nations with different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles; and that all international disputes be settled through peaceful negotiations. The two Premiers stated that the two Governments will make unremitting efforts to safeguard Asian and world peace. The two Premiers expressed full support for the peace proposals of the Soviet Government for general disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons, and conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, and its other peace proposals, all of which aim at promoting the relaxation of international tension. The two Premiers held that the talks of the heads of the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United

States conducted not long ago are fresh proof of the sincere desire of the Soviet Government to strengthen peace."

The two Premiers firmly opposed the U.S. activities in south Korea of staging a military coup d'etat, intensifying the fascist rule there and undermining the peaceful reunification of Korea; they fully supported the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful reunification of Korea. They sternly condemned the U.S. aggression and intervention in Laos, Cuba and the Congo, and resolutely supported the just struggles of the peoples of Laos, Cuba and the Congo. They expressed infinite admiration for and resolute support to the Algerian people in their heroic struggle to resist French aggression and win national independence.

Concerning the enlarged Geneva Conference on the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, the two Premiers expressed the hope that it will achieve positive results. They pointed out that the grave situation in Laos is the result of the aggression and intervention in Laos by the United States in violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements. The communique states that "in order to settle the Laotian question peacefully, U.S. intervention must be stopped; the independence, sovereignty and neutrality of Laos must be earnestly respected and safeguarded in accordance with the principles and spirit of the 1954 Geneva agreements and in the light of the present actualities in Laos; a strict distinction must be drawn between the internal and the international aspect of the Laotian question; the internal problems of Laos can only be solved by the Laotian people themselves, and no international agreement should be allowed to interfere, in whatever



Peking's welcome to Premier Pham Van Dong

VIET NAM ACHIEVEMENTS

After throwing off the yoke of French colonialism, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh, has achieved notable successes in every field of national life. In the three short years since the restoration of peace in the country, it carried out land reform, repaired the ravages of war and enabled production generally to reach or even surpass the prewar 1939 level. In 1960, it completed its Three-Year Plan for the transformation and development of the national economy. By the end of 1960, 85.8 per cent of the labouring peasant households in north Viet Nam had joined co-operative farms. All privately owned industrial and commercial enterprises have been transformed into joint state-and-private or co-operative enterprises. During these three years, the average annual gross value of industrial output increased by 21.7 per cent. In 1957, industry made up one-fifth of the country's gross industrial and agricultural output value; in 1960 this proportion rose to two-fifths. Agricultural output too has far surpassed the highest prewar levels. The output of rice in the northern part of Viet Nam in 1959 was 5.2 million tons, more than double the highest annual prewar figure. The completion of the Three-Year Plan has laid a basis for the northern part of Viet

Nam to enter on a new stage of socialist construction with its First Five-Year Plan (1961-65).

Working valiantly to build up the northern part of their country, the Vietnamese people are waging an unremitting struggle for the peaceful unification of their motherland. Viet Nam is an indivisible whole. The 1954 Geneva agreements contain explicit provisions for the peaceful unification of Viet Nam. However, as a result of the U.S. imperialists' obstruction and sabotage, the aspirations of the Vietnamese people have not yet been realized. U.S. imperialism is doing everything it can to turn the southern part of Viet Nam into its new-type colony and military base. In the south, in glaring contrast with the north, the people are living in an abyss of poverty and starvation, under constant threat of persecution and death.

U.S. imperialist aggression and interference inevitably meets with bitter opposition from the Vietnamese people. Disregarding the frenzied repressions perpetrated by the U.S.-Diem clique, the people in south Viet Nam are rising in ever larger numbers and waging widespread struggles against their oppressors, demanding the peaceful unification of their motherland and an end to the terrorist rule. This patriotic struggle of the Vietnamese people is an important part of the struggle of the world's people against imperialist aggression and to safeguard world peace.

form, in the internal affairs of Laos." The two Premiers unanimously condemned the plot engineered by the U.S. Government to place Laos under international condominium. The two Premiers fully supported the reasonable proposals put forward by the Soviet Government for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, and the political programme for a truly peaceful and neutral Laos put forth by Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the legal Royal Government of Laos, on May 8, 1961. The two Premiers stated that the Governments of the two countries will, together with all the other peace-loving countries, make their utmost efforts to prevent the United States from sabotaging the enlarged Geneva Conference and bring about a reasonable settlement of the Laotian question.

Expressing grave concern over the dangerous situation brought about by the United States stepping up military intervention in southern Viet Nam, the two Premiers pointed out that the "eight-point programme" recently announced by the United States is aimed at bringing southern Viet Nam under its complete military, political and economic control and turning it into its military base and colony and that this is a grave act of crude interference in the internal affairs of Viet Nam in complete violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements. The two Premiers sternly condemned the U.S. aggressive activities in the southern part of Viet Nam and held that the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and the International Commission in Viet Nam should fulfil their duties, adopting positive and effective measures to stop the acts of U.S. aggression and interference against the southern part of Viet Nam, and to ensure that the Geneva agreements be respected and strictly implemented in the southern part of Viet Nam, thereby making contributions towards safeguarding peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

Premier Chou En-lai solemnly stated that the Chinese Government fully supports the solemn and just stand taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in opposing U.S. interference and aggression and upholding the Geneva agreements, and resolutely supports the reasonable desire of the Vietnamese people for the peaceful unification of their motherland. He declared that the Chinese Government and people express profound sympathy for and resolute support to the people in the southern part of Viet Nam in their just and patriotic struggle, and firmly believe that the struggle of the Vietnamese people will certainly be victorious.

Premier Pham Van Dong reaffirmed that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam fully supports the just stand of the Chinese people for the liberation of Taiwan, and strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for unlawfully occupying Taiwan, plotting to create "two Chinas" and obstructing the restoration of the lawful place of China in the United Nations.

The two Premiers pointed out that the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism has not changed, nor will it ever change. They declared that the United States has all along used the SEATO military bloc as a tool of aggression to encroach on the sovereignty of the countries in Southeast Asia and interfere in their internal affairs and this is the root cause of the tension in Laos, the southern part of Viet Nam and the whole of Southeast Asia. "Only by abrogating the 'Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty' and abolishing this aggressive military bloc can peace and security in Indo-China and Southeast Asia be safeguarded and consolidated. The internal affairs of the countries in Indo-China are entirely the affairs of their own peoples, in which no foreign country should be allowed to interfere," states the communique.

Premier Pham Van Dong's stay in Peking is a memorable page in the annals of Sino-Vietnamese friendship. On June 12, when the Vietnamese guests arrived, hundreds of thousands of the capital's citizens lined the streets to welcome them. As Premier Pham Van Dong, Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi, and other members of the Vietnamese Delegation, escorted by Premier Chou En-lai and other government leaders, drove in open cars from the airport to the guest house, they were greeted with cheers, songs and bouquets from the welcoming crowds. It was a festive scene with Chinese and Vietnamese national flags flying side by side, colourful banners and huge welcome signs along the route. That same evening, Premier Chou En-lai gave a gala state banquet for Premier Pham Van Dong. The Vietnamese guests were received by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi. On June 15, over 10,000 people of every walk of life in the capital gathered at the Great Hall of the People in a mass rally to welcome the Vietnamese Premier and members of his delegation. Premier Pham Van Dong and his colleagues visited several places in Peking. But wherever it was—a factory, a people's commune, a university, or a meeting with Chinese experts formerly working in Viet Nam—they received a welcome that came straight from the heart.

The warmth of this reception was a moving expression of that comradeship-in-arms which the Chinese and

Vietnamese peoples have forged in the course of a prolonged common struggle. As Premier Pham Van Dong declared at the state banquet, "Long-standing ties have always existed between our two peoples. Now, under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, the fraternal friendship between our two countries is being further consolidated with each passing day. Our two peoples have always supported and helped each other in their revolutionary struggles. Today, in socialist construction, they are continuously strengthening their close co-operation in all fields." Premier Chou En-lai, speaking at the reception given by the Vietnamese Ambassador, congratulated the Vietnamese people on the great victories they have scored in socialist transformation and socialist construction and in the struggle against imperialist aggression and for the peaceful unification of their homeland. "Your struggle helps protect our peaceful construction. Your victories enhance our confidence in marching ahead. The Vietnamese and Chinese peoples will always remain close comrades-in-arms. The Chinese people have always enjoyed the firm support of the Vietnamese people and Government in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and to defend their state sovereignty and territorial integrity," he said. On behalf of the Chinese people and Government, Premier Chou En-lai thanked the Vietnamese people, the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Vietnamese Government and President Ho Chi Minh.

Sino-Indonesian Friendly Relations

President Soekarno in Peking

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

DR. Soekarno, President and Premier of the Republic of Indonesia, paid a state visit to China between June 13-15 at the invitation of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and the Chinese Government.

This was President Soekarno's second state visit to the People's Republic of China. Accompanying him on this visit were: Dr. J. Leimena, Deputy Chief Minister; Col. Wilujo Puspojudo, Vice-Chairman of the People's Consultative Council; Ahem Erningpradja, Minister for Labour; Brigadier General Dr. Suharto, Minister for People's Industry; Lt. Col. Moersalim Daeng Mamangung, Vice-Chairman of Parliament; Mr. M. Ichsan, Minister/Secretary of State; Lt. General Gatot Subroto, Deputy Chief of the General Staff; and others.

A Grand Welcome

The warm and brilliant welcome which President Soekarno and his entourage were accorded in Peking by the leaders and people of China was a manifestation of the close friendship between the two countries. More than half a million Peking citizens left their offices and other places of work and homes to greet Indonesia's outstanding political leader. Friendship filled the air at the Peking airport. The beating of the traditional drums and gongs greeted the arrival of the President's plane escorted by eight jet fighters of the Chinese air force. Cheers from the thousands gathered at the aerodrome welcomed him as he stepped from the plane to be warmly greeted

by Liu Shao-chi, Soong Ching Ling, Tung Pi-wu, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai and other state leaders. There was an impressive ceremony of welcome. A military band played the national anthems of Indonesia and China and 24 guns fired a 21-salvo salute. Accompanied by Chairman Liu Shao-chi, President Soekarno reviewed the guard of honour of army, navy and air force units. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Soekarno both made short speeches.

President Soekarno, accompanied by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai; and Deputy Chief Minister Leimena, accompanied by Vice-Premier Lo Jui-ching left the airport for the city in open cars. Tens of thousands of people lined the whole long route into the city and right to the gates of the guest house where President Soekarno and his colleagues were entertained. Peking, greeting a distinguished and respected friend, was gay with the national flags of China and Indonesia, with flowers, music and songs. Porches and windows of tall buildings along the route were crowded with welcomers. Firecrackers crackled. Flower petals were scattered over the main cross-roads. A particularly large crowd was gathered at Tien An Men Square. In the centre of the square, a thousand people danced. To see the display the motorcade drove all around the square. As they passed, hundreds of "peacocks" spread their gorgeous tails, dozens of "lions" played with embroidered balls, hundreds of "lotus flowers" fluttered their petals in the breeze, and five giant "dragons" wove radiant patterns in the air.

Children with a shout let loose a mass of coloured balloons. President Soekarno was keenly interested in this display. The avenue of friendship formed by the crowd stretched as far as the eye could see. President Soekarno delighted the crowds by waving to them gaily from his open car. Girls scattered flower petals on the motorcade and turned the cars into flower-decked wagons. From end to end of the city a roar of welcome rolled as the motorcade passed on its way. It ceased only when the last car disappeared behind the foliage in the gardens of the guest house.

On the day of his arrival in Peking, President Soekarno had talks with Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the People's Republic of China and Premier Chou En-lai and met Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Also taking part in the talks on the Indonesian side were the high ranking officials mentioned above; on the Chinese side were: Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Ho Lung and Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premiers of the State Council; Burhan Shahidi, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and President of the China-Indonesia Friendship Association; and Keng Piao and Huang Chen, Vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The two parties exchanged views on various questions of common interest to the two countries and on current important international questions. The talks were most cordial and were held in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual understanding and mutual respect.

Exchange of Instruments of Ratification of Treaty of Friendship

On June 14, at a ceremony attended by Chairman Liu Shao-chi, President Soekarno and other representatives of the two Governments, the Instruments of Ratification of the Treaty of Friendship Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia were exchanged. At the same time, notes on the approval of the Agreement on Cultural Co-operation Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia were exchanged. The Treaty of Friendship and the Agreement on Cultural Co-operation were signed in Djakarta on April 1 during Vice-Premier Chen Yi's visit to Indonesia. Signing the documents for the exchange of the Instruments of Ratification were Keng Piao, Vice-Foreign Minister, representing the People's Republic of China, and Sukarni Kartodirjo, Indonesian Ambassador to China, representing the Republic of Indonesia.

Ratification of the Treaty of Friendship and approval of the Agreement on Cultural Co-operation between the



Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi with President Soekarno and other Indonesian guests

two countries will further enlarge and enrich the friendly relations between the two countries and their peoples built on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. President Soekarno pointed out in his later speech that the exchange of the Instruments of Ratification of the Treaty of Friendship cemented the co-operative spirit between the two countries.

To promote the friendship between the peoples of the two countries, President Soekarno presented the Order of the Republic of Indonesia, First Class, to Chairman Liu Shao-chi; the Order of the Republic of Indonesia, Second Class, to Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and to Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council.

State Banquet and Mass Rally

Chairman Liu Shao-chi gave a state banquet to welcome President Soekarno on the evening of his arrival. Present at the banquet were all the distinguished Indonesian guests who accompanied President Soekarno during his visit; Pham Van Dong, Premier of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and other distinguished Vietnamese guests, members of the Government Delegation which he leads; D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia and Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian People's Consultative Council, who is visiting China; and Sakirman, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia and Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian State Planning Committee, who is also visiting China.

During the banquet hosts and guests proposed many toasts to the profound, traditional friendship between the two countries which is of long standing. More than four years ago, Chairman Liu Shao-chi said, President Soekarno established a profound friendship with our country during

his first visit to China. Chairman Liu described President Soekarno's present visit as marking the new development in the friendly relations between the two countries, whose friendship and co-operation are of great significance in promoting Asian-African solidarity and defending world peace. Declaring that the friendship between the two countries has a bright future, Chairman Liu pointed out that the peoples of the two countries have the common experience of being long subjected to imperialist aggression and are now confronted with the common task of opposing imperialism and defending world peace, therefore, the basic interests of the two countries are identical.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi paid tribute to the Indonesian people for their successes gained under the leadership of President Soekarno in opposing imperialist aggression and intervention, in safeguarding national independence and unity and in building their country. He also expressed the resolute support of the Chinese people for the Indonesian people in their struggle for the recovery of their own territory West Irian. Chairman Liu said: "Relying on the unity of all the patriotic forces of Indonesia, the Indonesian people will certainly win final victory in their struggle." He also dwelt upon the great contribution the Indonesian people have made in promoting unity among the Asian and African peoples and the outstanding role the Indonesian people and President Soekarno played in convening the Bandung Conference. Chairman Liu pointed out: The Bandung spirit characterized by solidarity and opposition to imperialism has, since the Bandung Conference, already gone deep into the hearts of the peoples and its influence has long ago gone beyond the continents of Asia and Africa. He finally expressed the conviction that the Indonesian people, persisting in their stand on Asian-African solidarity and opposing colonialism, will certainly play an ever bigger role in the struggle against imperialism and in defending world peace.

President Soekarno, in his warmly applauded speech, described the friendship between China and Indonesia as one springing from the very hearts of the peoples of the two countries. We are carrying on the same struggle, he said. "The struggle of the People's Republic of China is also Indonesia's struggle and vice versa."

At the mass rally held in his honour on June 14 at the Peking Workers' Stadium, with more than 100,000 people participating, President Soekarno reiterated this point. He said that the People's Republic of China was one of those countries where he had been accorded the warmest and grandest welcome during his visit abroad this time. This he attributed to the fact that the peoples of China and Indonesia have a common goal in struggle.

President Soekarno strongly condemned the slanders the imperialists directed at the Soviet Union and China and said that they were mere twaddle. Why should we not be friends with the Soviet Union? asked President Soekarno. Has not the Soviet Union all along been helping and sympathizing with the struggle of Indonesia? And why should we not be friends with the People's Republic of China? Has not the People's Republic of China all along been sympathizing with and helping the struggle of Indonesia? He said emphatically: The imperialists are not of one heart with the Indonesian people, but the people of the People's Republic of China and the Indonesian people are of one heart and are carrying on a joint struggle.

President Soekarno said he was convinced that though Dutch imperialism has the support of other imperialisms, the day will eventually come when West Irian will be restored to Indonesia. Likewise, he was convinced that the day will eventually come when Taiwan will be restored to the People's Republic of China. Imperialism, he said, is not yet dead. It still remains in Indonesia, in Taiwan, in Viet Nam, in Korea, in the Congo, in Angola and in Algeria. But the day is bound to come when imperialism will go to the wall; it is doomed to destruction.

Mayor Peng Chen of Peking, speaking at the mass rally, said: "The Indonesian people are a great and heroic people. The gallant slogan 'once independent, for ever independent' fully demonstrates the strong will of the Indonesian people to defend their national independence. The Chinese people are glad to see that the Indonesian people, led by President Soekarno, have courageously smashed the splitting and interventionist activities of the imperialists and victoriously defended the independence of their motherland."

Speaking of the brightly beaming Bandung spirit, Mayor Peng Chen said: "The Bandung spirit is the spirit of solidarity among the Asian-African peoples, opposing imperialism and colonialism, defending world peace and promoting friendship among all peoples." He pointed out: "Both the coming into being of the Bandung spirit and its glorious development are inseparable from the unremitting efforts of the Indonesian people and President Soekarno."

Speaking at the farewell banquet given by President Soekarno, Premier Chou En-lai made a profound analysis of the common struggle of the Chinese and Indonesian peoples. This common struggle, Premier Chou said, is reflected in five aspects: opposing imperialism and colonialism and safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty; achieving the complete unification of each country; allowing no foreign interference in the internal affairs of one's own country, nor interfering in the internal affairs of others; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence and friendly contacts.

Unanimous Views Expressed in Joint Communiqué

On June 15, a joint press communiqué of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia was published. It dealt with President Soekarno's visit to China, expressed satisfaction with recent developments in the friendly relations between the two countries, and once more made it clear that the Indonesian Government gives its all-out support to the Chinese people in their struggle to liberate their own territory Taiwan and that the Chinese Government gives its all-out support to the Indonesian people in their struggle for the liberation from foreign rule of a part of its territory, West Irian. The Indonesian Government reaffirmed its support for the restoration of the People's Republic of China to its rightful place in the United Nations.

The communiqué said: "The two parties stated that they would carry on unremitting efforts for the relaxation of the international situation and for the strengthening of world peace. The two parties reaffirmed their determination to unceasingly struggle side by side with all the other progressive forces of the world against

imperialism and colonialism in all their manifestations, and reaffirmed their resolute support to the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to win and safeguard their complete independence and to build a happy life. The two parties resolutely oppose any foreign interference in the internal affairs of any countries, particularly the countries which have just won their independence."

The communique added: "The two parties held the same opinion that the Laotian question was an important question affecting world peace, particularly the peace and security of Southeast Asia, and a proper settlement of this question in accord with the interests of the Laotian people should speedily be reached. They oppose any

foreign interference in whatever form and manifestation in the internal affairs of Laos. The two parties hope that all the participants in the enlarged Geneva Conference will as soon as possible reach an international agreement respecting and ensuring the independence, sovereignty, unity and neutrality of Laos."

The communique also announced that Chairman Liu Shao-chi has accepted with pleasure the kind invitation of President Soekarno to pay a friendly visit to Indonesia.

President Soekarno's visit to China was a great success. It has further consolidated the friendly relations between China and Indonesia.

President Soekarno left Peking for the Soviet Union on June 15.

Treaty of Friendship Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia

THE Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, out of the desire to maintain and further develop co-operation and friendly relations between the two countries and, in accordance with the spirit and the Ten Principles of the 1955 Asian-African Bandung Conference as well as the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, have decided to conclude the present Treaty and have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries:

The Government of the People's Republic of China: Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China;

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia: Dr. Subandrio, Second Deputy Chief Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs;

Who, having examined each other's credentials and found them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

Article I

The Contracting Parties respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, so as to maintain and develop the friendly relations between the two countries.

Article II

The Contracting Parties agree to continuously consolidate the diplomatic and consular relations between the two countries in accordance with the principle of reciprocity and international practice.

Article III

The Contracting Parties will, when they deem it necessary, designate delegates to meet to exchange views on questions of common interest and consider methods and ways of co-operation on the above-mentioned questions.

Article IV

The Contracting Parties agree to develop and further strengthen the economic and cultural ties between the two

countries in the spirit of friendship and co-operation and in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Article V

Should any dispute arise between the Contracting Parties, they shall settle it by consultation through diplomatic channels and other ways agreed upon by both Parties in a spirit of fraternal and sincere friendship.

Article VI

The present Treaty shall be ratified by the Contracting Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures and shall come into force upon the date of the exchange of the instruments of ratification, which shall take place in Peking.

Article VII

The present Treaty shall remain in force for a period of ten years, but each Contracting Party has the right to notify the other to terminate this Treaty, and the Treaty shall cease to be in force six months after the day of such notification.

Article VIII

The present Treaty is done in duplicate in the Chinese and Indonesian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

In faith hereof, the Plenipotentiaries of the Contracting Parties have affixed their signatures on the present Treaty.

Done in Djakarta on the first day of April 1961.

(Signed)

CHEN YI

Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

(Signed)

SUBANDRIO

Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Indonesia, Second Deputy Chief Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia

Chen Yi on Laos' Neutrality, Sovereignty And Independence

At the June 12 session of the enlarged Geneva Conference, Foreign Minister Chen Yi, Head of the Chinese Government Delegation, pointed out that Laos' neutrality needs no control and violations of its sovereignty and independence are impermissible. He expressed the earnest hope that the talks among the three Laotian princes would speedily reach agreement on the formation of a coalition government.

Following is the text of his statement. Subheads and bold-face emphasis are ours. — Ed.

Mr. Chairman,

First of all, I am surprised that the Thailand delegate should have raised the question of Laotian representation which was settled long ago. The Chinese Delegation firmly supports the view of the Soviet Foreign Minister, Comrade A.A. Gromyko, and is opposed to any attempt to obstruct the conference from proceeding to substantive discussions.

I am now going to present the views of the Chinese Delegation on matters of substance before the conference.

Our conference has at last overcome various obstructions and resumed substantive discussions. At the same time, Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the Royal Government of Laos, and Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, have arrived in Geneva. The meeting of the three princes of Laos will soon be held. All this is heartening.

Concerning Stabilization of Cease-Fire

At the June 6 session, the French delegate put forward a protocol on control, and the British delegate made comments on the Soviet and the French proposals. Although in many ways the views of the British and the French delegates differ from ours, we welcome them to join us in discussing matters of substance.

It is regrettable that at the June 6 session the U.S. delegate once again raised the question of violations of the cease-fire in Laos. To defend his position, he deliberately misinterpreted the communique on the Vienna talks between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, N.S. Khrushchov, and the President of the United States of America, John F. Kennedy, and he indicated that he was not prepared to engage in discussion of matters of substance until an effective cease-fire was realized. This attitude of the United States has brought our conference to a standstill for several days. I already pointed out in my statement on June 1 that the situation of the cease-fire in Laos is on the whole good. The local conflicts in Laos are wholly created by the United States which has continued to intervene in Laos after the cease-fire, and the United States must be held solely responsible. The Vienna communique reaffirmed the desire for a

peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, and one had reason to expect that the United States would stop its intervention and demonstrate this desire by deeds. On the contrary, however, the United States is continuing to help the Laotian rebel troops carry out sabotage and harassment against areas under the control of the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat. Without mentioning at all the fact that the local conflict at Padong was caused by the United States airdropping rebel troops to this area, the U.S. delegate has used the Padong incident as a pretext for refusing to take part in substantive discussions. This is by no means justifiable. At the press conference on June 9, Prince Souvanna Phouma and Prince Souphanouvong pointed out that the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat sincerely observed the cease-fire, and that the cease-fire would be effective if the Laotian rebel forces should do the same. But the Laotian rebel forces failed to do so. They have been airdropping in the rear of areas under the control of the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat. These airdroppings inevitably lead to suppression by the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat. We support this just stand of the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat. The Padong incident should not have taken place. Now the Padong incident has been brought to an end. There are in Laos more favourable conditions for the realization of an over-all, effective cease-fire. **We hope that the United States will stop airdroppings of any character to areas under the control of the Royal Government of Laos and the Neo Lao Haksat, so that the state of cease-fire in Laos may be stabilized. We also hope that the U.S. delegate will no longer produce any pretext for obstructing the conference, but will seriously join the delegates of the other countries in a substantive discussion of the main questions before us.**

What French Draft Protocol Means

The Chinese Delegation has repeatedly expressed the hope that our conference will eliminate the various obstacles and create necessary international conditions to help the Laotian people restore and build a peaceful and happy life. The question is whether the participating nations will work jointly to find the avenue to a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. In my statement on May 24

I already explained the position of the Chinese Government and set forth several principles to which any solution of the Laotian question should adhere. Starting from these principles, we support the Soviet proposals and hold that they should be taken as the basis of discussion and agreement at the conference. It is our view that the two draft declarations submitted by the French delegate on May 23 contain serious defects as well as acceptable points; but the French draft protocol submitted on June 6 cannot be considered at all. For the present, I wish to discuss in principle the Chinese Delegation's views on the French draft protocol.

The French delegate M. Chauvel said in his statement that the French documents are based on the 1954 Geneva agreements. If this should be so, it would of course be welcome. But is it really? As we know, the 1954 Geneva agreements consist of two parts. On the one hand, there are the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference and the declarations made by some states, which constitute international agreements of a political nature under which the members of the conference jointly assumed obligations; on the other hand, there are the agreements on the cessation of hostilities in the Indo-Chinese states, which are military agreements signed between the belligerent parties of that time. In the past seven years great changes have come about within Laos. It is obvious that today any agreement at our conference can only be based on the principles laid down in the Final Declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference, namely, the provisions under which the members of the conference undertake to respect the independence and neutrality of Laos. As for the 1954 agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Laos, it suited the conditions of the international war then existing in Laos. The war in Laos today is a domestic war. How can a set of provisions suited to an international war be forcibly applied, albeit in a disguised form, to a question of domestic war? In his statement the French delegate rightly pointed out that there is a fundamental difference in character between the 1954 war in Laos and the present war in Laos. Unfortunately, he has not drawn therefrom the due conclusion. We hold that any agreement reached at this conference should be based on the 1954 Geneva agreements. But this basis can only be the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference and the declarations of the states concerned, which are of lasting significance, and cannot be the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Laos which only applied to the specific conditions of that time.

In his statements the French delegate has repeatedly declared the desire of France to respect the independence, sovereignty and neutrality of Laos. We would rather like to believe that this desire is genuine. However, can it be said that the French draft protocol is in conformity with such a desire? We do not think so. In the 1954 agreement the terms of reference for the International Commission are defined as to "be responsible for control and supervision of the application of the provisions of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Laos." This is most clear and definite. Nevertheless, the French draft protocol wants to extend the scope of supervision and control by the International Commission to cover the application of the provisions of the various declarations on

the neutrality of Laos. It is indeed strange logic that a country's implementation of a policy of neutrality it has adopted of its own free will should need to be placed under international control. There are many countries in the world which implement a policy of neutrality. Must all of them accept international control? Facts since 1954 show that it is the United States and some of its allies in the Southeast Asia military bloc that have violated the neutrality of Laos. If there should be control, it is these countries that should be controlled. Let's take a further look. What is meant by so-called control of the application of the provisions of the various declarations on the neutrality of Laos? The French draft declaration on Laotian neutrality contains such provisions as ensuring the free operation of the national institutions of Laos and reconstituting a national force. If these internal affairs of Laos should all be subjected to supervision and control by the International Commission, then it may be asked, what would be left of Laotian independence and sovereignty? We are reluctant to believe that the French delegate has the intention of violating the independence and sovereignty of Laos. However, the French draft protocol can hardly prevent us from suspecting that such an intention does lie behind it.

We are particularly surprised by the fact that the French draft protocol should stipulate that the International Commission and its teams would have full right, freely and without restriction, to inspect all aspects of Laotian life, by land and by air, from ports to aerodromes, from civil transport to military transport, from cargo to passengers, even including "all units, organizations and activities which might be of a military nature," and that inspection may be conducted in any part of Laos merely upon request of one member of the International Commission or of one of its teams. What offence have the Laotian people committed to deserve such so-called supervision and control? Such supervision and control is conceivable only over a fascist country which has committed towering crimes and which has been completely defeated. How can such so-called supervision and control be proposed in regard to a people who are independent and who, moreover, are victorious in a struggle against outside interference? Under such stipulations, would not the activities of a football club or even a team of boy scouts be counted as "units and activities which might be of a military nature" and be subjected to control? Mr. Chairman, such a stipulation could not have been proposed after serious consideration. Laos has done no harm to any country. On the contrary, it is a victim of the U.S. policy of intervention. Laos has not been defeated. On the contrary, the Laotian people are victors in their struggle against intervention. It is unthinkable to impose such humiliating terms on an independent country and a victorious people. There were times when a few big powers sat together and decided the fate of a small or weak country over a cup of coffee. The Chinese people, through their own experience in the not too distant past, deeply understand the sufferings of such countries. But those times are gone and will return no more. The Chinese Delegation has come to this conference with the stand of respecting the independence and neutrality of Laos. The Chinese Delegation will never be a party to the dirty business of preying upon the Laotian people and enforcing

an international condominium over Laos under the name of international control over its neutrality.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to say frankly that we did not expect that the French delegate would propose such a draft protocol. Since 1954 France has generally respected the Geneva agreements, and has maintained good relations with Prince Souvanna Phouma and the patriotic forces in Laos, who firmly uphold the neutrality and independence of Laos. One had reason to expect that France would make a comparatively fair proposal. But why has it proposed such a draft protocol which tramples on the sovereignty of Laos and interferes in its internal affairs? All of us will recall that the U.S. delegate Mr. Dean Rusk advanced in his statement a so-called new definition of neutrality and proposed to establish an international control machinery with supreme powers. It is precisely such an international machinery that is envisaged in the French draft protocol. We would like to assume that perhaps the French delegate has not fully recognized the serious consequences of the draft protocol he proposed. **We sincerely hope that the French delegate will cherish the position France occupies in relation to the Laotian question and that he will reconsider his draft protocol so that it may not be an obstacle to the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.**

We are in favour of necessary supervision and control in Laos by the International Commission. But in all its activities the International Commission should respect, and should not violate, the independence and sovereignty of Laos. Such is the essence of the Final Declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference and also our basic starting point. Since the present war in Laos is a domestic war caused by U.S. intervention, cease-fire in Laos and control of the cease-fire there are, as Premier Souvanna Phouma has said, essentially the concern of the three sides in Laos, and the International Commission can only play an auxiliary role. And what we should discuss here is how to stop U.S. intervention and exercise necessary supervision and control in this regard. The two documents put forward by the Soviet Union have precisely embodied this spirit. We support the Soviet proposals, though we are not against making reasonable readjustments of one kind or another on the basis of these proposals.

Concerning the British Delegate's Statement

In his statement on June 6, the British delegate gave his views on the Soviet proposals. We welcome his giving those views. For the present I am not going to comment on all those views but only on a few points in them. The British delegate said that the Soviet proposals confine the operation of the International Commission merely to the limits of the cease-fire agreement entered into by the three political forces in Laos and may thus cut away the broader "peace-keeping functions" which the commission has under the 1954 agreement. Further, a spokesman of the British Delegation said on June 6 that only the international conference here can modify the terms of reference for the International Commission, and that, it seems, the parties concerned in Laos have no right to do so. We cannot but point out that this argument is untenable, though we have always taken the views of

the British delegate seriously. In the first place, the Soviet proposals do not confine the operation of the International Commission merely to the limits stipulated by the cease-fire agreement. They explicitly provide that the International Commission should exercise supervision and control over matters like the withdrawal of foreign troops from Laos. It should be mentioned in this connection that, according to the 1954 agreement, the International Commission has no broader "peace-keeping functions" other than control on the application of the provisions of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities. As to whether the parties concerned in Laos have the right to lay down the terms of reference for the International Commission in controlling the cease-fire, I would like to draw the attention of my British colleague to the fact that the terms of reference for the International Commission under the 1954 Geneva agreements were discussed and decided upon precisely by the then belligerent parties, and were merely confirmed by the members of the conference of that time. Since the belligerent parties in 1954 could do so, why can't the belligerent parties in the present war in Laos do the same? **The war in Laos is a domestic war between Laotians. It is they who fight the war, and it is for them to cease fire and determine the terms of reference for controlling the cease-fire. It will not do for us, countries represented here other than Laos, to impose on the parties concerned in Laos a set of measures for controlling the cease-fire.** Even if this should be attempted, it would be of no avail. It may be asked: If the parties concerned in Laos do not give their consent or fail to reach definite agreement through negotiation, how will it be possible for the International Commission to operate? We are glad to learn that the parties concerned in Laos already agreed in principle in the Ban Na Mon talks on June 7 that the International Commission would visit certain places for inspection before the conclusion of a cease-fire agreement. We hope that with further agreements reached among the three sides in Laos, the International Commission will make greater contributions towards stabilizing the cease-fire in Laos.

In his statement the British delegate expressed the view that our conference should give the International Commission full powers and need not consider the sovereignty of Laos, because the consent of Laos to sign is itself an exercise of sovereignty. I would not engage in abstract argument here about the concept of sovereignty. But I would like to point out an indisputable fact. In the past, the international treaties imposed by the Western big powers on weak or small countries all bore the signatures of the latter. But, as I see it, this does not change the unequal character of these treaties which impair the sovereignty of the weak or small countries. The British delegate also asserted that protection of Laos by the Southeast Asia Treaty does not contradict the neutral status of Laos. This is strange logic. The primary connotation of Laotian neutrality and respect for Laotian neutrality is the non-participation of Laos in military alliances and the abstention of the other countries concerned from dragging Laos into connection with any military alliance. But what the SEATO bloc has done is exactly to impose on Laos from outside the status of

the protectorate of a military bloc. How can it be said that this does not contradict the neutral status of Laos? It is by this method that the United States has in the past seven years interfered in the internal affairs of Laos and violated the neutral status of Laos. We should not allow the recurrence of the tragedy concerning Laos which has happened since 1954. In order really to attain the aim of respecting the independence and neutrality of Laos, the Southeast Asia Treaty, which is incompatible with the neutral status of Laos, must be abrogated.

Hoping for Speedy Progress

Mr. Chairman, nearly a month has passed since our conference opened on May 16. Owing to various obstructions, our conference has been frequently in recess during this period. This is of course unsatisfactory. However, we consider that there is no reason to be pessimistic about the prospect of a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. The cease-fire in Laos is on the whole good, and there are all the conditions for it to become better. No little progress has been made in the Ban Na Mon talks among the three sides in Laos. It is our hope that these talks will speedily reach agreement in both the political and the military fields. Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the Royal Government of Laos, and Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, have agreed on the place of talks with the Boun Oum-Nosavan clique. I am sure that the delegations of many participating nations share the Chinese Delegation's ardent hope that high-level talks among the three sides in Laos will smoothly take place and speedily reach agreement on the formation of a united national coalition government.

Report from Geneva

The Western World Seen from Geneva

THE Americans here in Geneva are making frantic attempts to extricate themselves from the quagmire into which they thrust themselves. On June 7, when news of the victory of the patriotic Laotian forces at Padong reached here, the Americans refused to continue the Geneva talks. This was followed by more threats from Washington that the United States would "walk out" of the conference and make fresh efforts at military intervention. But this hysterical tirade did not last long. On June 8, Kennedy announced that the U.S. delegates would remain in Geneva for the talks and the U.S. press began hinting that there would soon be a "break" in the "deadlock" at Geneva. This diplomatic farce once again reveals the dilemma the United States is in.

Crisis of U.S. Policy

Washington has met with defeat both in its desperate struggles on the Laotian battlefields and in its stalling and boycotting tactics at the Geneva talks. And this crisis of U.S. policy in Laos is only one of the many it

As for our conference, it is not without a hopeful side either. The delegates of all the participating nations, including the U.S. delegate, recognize the need to respect the independence and neutrality of Laos. Up to now, no delegate of any country has expressed himself against taking the 1954 Geneva agreements as the basis of agreement among us. Provided that all the participating nations correctly understand this basis and really have the sincerity to respect the sovereignty of Laos and to refrain from interfering in its internal affairs, it will not be difficult for us to find ways to work out an international agreement under which the participating nations jointly undertake to respect the independence and neutrality of Laos, and reach unanimity on the proper functions and authority of the International Commission in Laos. At a time when the Laotians are making great efforts to settle the internal aspect of the Laotian question, it is my hope that our conference will make speedy progress in settling the international aspect of the Laotian question free from further obstruction by the United States and its followers. Of course, divergences are unavoidable when we discuss matters of substance. We will yet meet with difficulties of one kind or another. Nevertheless, Mr. Chairman, I agree to a statement Mr. M.J. MacDonald made on June 6: "If we negotiate these matters with patience, tolerance and constructive resolution, we shall reach complete understanding." The Chinese Delegation believes that there are all the conditions for our conference to reach an agreement acceptable to all the parties concerned and thus set an example of easing international tension through negotiation.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

faces in various parts of the world. Kennedy began his presidential career with the fiasco of the Cuban invasion. Then, as the magazine *Newsweek* pointed out on May 29, "crisis after crisis blew up" across the world and "the alarm bells of trouble kept ringing." *U.S. News and World Report* carried an article in its June 12 issue listing the defeats suffered by the United States. It wrote that the United States "is losing in Asia" and "is losing prestige" in Latin America, while in Europe, U.S. policy has left "an impression of weakness."

According to the U.S. press, Kennedy's recent speeches have drawn a "grim picture" of the West's prospects. Kennedy declared that the "great battlefield" of the United States in future is in Asia, Latin America and Africa where it would have to cope with the surging national liberation movements. In his television speech on June 6 he admitted that the struggle which the United States is waging in these areas "will be a continuing crisis of this decade" and that the United States was facing a "long and hard" struggle. Kennedy referred to

the fundamental weaknesses of the United States in his speech on June 8. He said: "There is no single action, no new dramatic policy, which can, of itself, and almost instantaneously, change basically the balance of power or the balance of events in our favour or make our lot and our way so much easier. . . . There are no easy and quick solutions to the difficult problems that we face."

Futile Schemes for the Future

What do the U.S. ruling circles intend to do in the future?

On the eve of the Vienna talks, Kennedy set forth in his special message to congress a programme for stepping up arms expansion with additional appropriations. After the Vienna talks, the U.S. Senate-House joint meeting passed a bill providing 12,500 million dollars for arms purchases in the coming fiscal year, a larger amount than that originally asked for by Kennedy. At the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 8, the U.S. Secretary of Defense requested a 2,000 million dollar appropriation for foreign military "aid" in the coming fiscal year. This too is bigger than the original amount asked for by Kennedy.

There are still many in Washington who imagine that the dispatch of U.S. marines would be "more effective" and "cheaper" than other methods. In the past few days certain groups in the United States have clamoured for direct U.S. military intervention in Laos. Republican Senate leader Dirksen and other Republican leaders, for example, have called for "vigorous moves," declaring that the United States should not waste its energy on further negotiations. But even *The New York Times*, in an editorial on June 9, told them to keep cool and warned that the "risks" involved in taking action instead of negotiating were too great.

One of the methods recommended by Kennedy and Johnson in their recent speeches is that the United States should provide military advisers or "special forces," money and arms to support the reactionary forces in Asia, Latin America and Africa, and train local "anti-communist forces" to carry out "sub-limited war" or "guerrilla warfare." But the U.S. neo-colonialists can claim no originality in this; it is in fact an old tactic of the established colonialists in making "natives fight natives." So one may well ask: Where the old colonialists have suffered defeat, can the new succeed? The United States has pursued precisely this line of action in Laos over the past seven years; and now it is compelled to admit that this "investment" "has been wasted." As to "guerrilla warfare," the United States carried out its latest "experiment" in this by airdropping Laotian rebels led by U.S. military advisers in Padong in the rear of the Laotian patriotic forces after the cease-fire was realized in Laos. The result of this is now known to the whole world.

Kennedy has declared that the United States would continue diplomatic negotiations on certain questions. At the same time, he made it clear that in these negotiations the goals of U.S. policy would remain unchanged. *The New York Times* pointed out on May 29 that Dean Rusk's "outline for an international condominium in Laos was

"a new concept and a dynamic one" in dealing with the many emergent countries. What the United States is trying to do, in fact, is to continue to control these countries in every way through some kind of "international machinery," as it is trying to do in the Congo, supplemented by U.S. "aid," the "peace corps," and other gadgets. But the Geneva talks have shown that the United States cannot achieve its goal. In Laos, as in all other countries where the people's forces have grown, this neo-colonialist strategy can get nowhere.

Why U.S. Is Stalling in Geneva

U.S. press reports indicate that the great debate within U.S. ruling circles on this or other future steps is still in progress. This is why the U.S. Government is stalling at the Geneva Conference. Right after it had got the conference to postpone its sessions on the pretext of the Padong events, a U.S. State Department spokesman predicted on June 8 that "there may be from time to time other postponements for a variety of reasons." But did the United States gain anything from stalling the conference? While it held things up at Geneva, it attempted to extend the rebel-held areas by taking advantage of the cease-fire. The only result was that it has been severely condemned by world opinion, lost politically and morally, and militarily reaped its own bitter fruit. The United States hoped to win a respite by stalling the conference, but time was not on its side.

One of the basic problems of the U.S. foreign policy of aggression is that although the balance of forces in the world has undergone a basic change in the years since World War II, the United States is still clinging to the goals of its global war strategy mapped out according to the balance of forces fifteen years ago. The painstaking attempt of Kennedy to deny in Paris that the United States was declining precisely reveals that decline. Kennedy, it appears, has failed to learn any useful lesson from the series of defeats he has suffered. In his speeches on June 6 and 7, he reiterated U.S. ambitions for world hegemony. He said that the United States must become the "chief defender of freedom" and attain "leadership in a troubled world." In his speech on June 9, Johnson also insisted that the U.S. "frontline of freedom," as he called it, could not be on U.S. territory alone but should include south Viet Nam, Thailand and Pakistan. Though its strength is waning, the aggressive greed of Wall Street remains insatiable. Naturally, no matter what it does, its methods can never be effective.

Kennedy in the past criticized the former Republican Administration for plunging the country into "crisis after crisis." Now, speaking on June 2, the newly elected Chairman of the National Committee of the Republican Party, William Miller, has charged that the Kennedy Administration is "going from crisis to crisis, remedy to remedy, each crisis producing a new remedy and each remedy producing a new crisis."

* * *

The old British and French colonialists, bruised and battered as they are, are commenting with the wisdom of hindsight on the fate of the United States today. Following the defeat of the U.S. invasion of Cuba, the *British Guardian* wrote: "The United States has been

blind to the realities of the twentieth century as Britain was at Suez or France in Indo-China." Referring to the Laotian situation, the *Sunday Times* said that the United States had repeated its mistakes of seven years ago at the time of Dienbienphu. The Paris *Le Monde* pointed out that the Americans were defeated in the crisis they had created in Laos and that "Western leaders today have to agree to give up certain things in order to save the rest."

British and French Predicament

The British and French may well laugh at the United States up their sleeves, but their own predicament is far from being comfortable. As the Geneva talks show, although Britain has occasionally shown some independence in views and actions, it more often acts with an eye for U.S. approval. But Kennedy is a bully; on his recent European tour, while generously flattering de Gaulle who had been kicking up a row with the United States, he has cold-shouldered Britain. This has aroused strong dissatisfaction in British ruling circles. On June 7, the *London Times* published an editorial which caused a sensation in Britain. It said that Conservatives were "hurt," they "felt that President Kennedy's eulogies of

France were an indirect slap in the face for Britain." This editorial was regarded by British political circles as a strong indication of the growing demand that the Macmillan government make a thorough reappraisal of its policies.

The French Government is at present pursuing a policy of going its own way, but it is being weighed down with the growing burden of the colonial war in Algeria. In the negotiations with the Algerian Provisional Government, France has yet to show its willingness to accept a genuine recognition of Algeria's national rights. Taking advantage of this weakness, the United States has time and again brought pressure to bear on France. Following Kennedy's visit to Paris, the French Delegation has put forward in Geneva a plan for an international condominium on Laos that has a U.S. trade mark clearly visible on it. It has thus drawn strong condemnation on itself and finds itself in the unenviable role of serving others at its own expense.

U.S. policy is in deep crisis, and the prospects for those who toe the U.S. line are far from being bright either. That is how observers look at the Western world from the window of Geneva.

— J. M. C.

Geneva, June 11, 1961

The United Front—A Magic Weapon of the Chinese People for Winning Victory

by LI WEI-HAN

Following is the second and concluding instalment of a translation of an article published in the June 1, 1961 issue of "Hongqi," fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The first instalment appeared in our last number. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

The National Anti-Japanese United Front

The national anti-Japanese united front was a broad united front extending all the way from the working class to a section of the big bourgeoisie. It included progressive forces (workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and other sections of the petty bourgeoisie), middle-of-the-road forces (mainly the national bourgeoisie and the democratic parties plus some members of the powerful local factions and other patriots) and diehard forces (that is, the pro-British and U.S. big bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek). In view of this alignment of class forces and the dual character of the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang—its enforced resistance against Japan on the one hand and its resolute anti-Communism on the other—and in view of the mistaken one-sided policies of "all alliance and no struggle" and "all struggle and no alliance" of the two preceding periods, the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in the national anti-Japanese united front, firmly upheld the independence and autonomy of the party

of the proletariat, adopted the policy of "unity, struggle, unity through struggle" and put into effect the policy of "developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle-of-the-road forces, and isolating the diehard forces." The entire Party, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and through struggles, overcame the second Wang Ming line which was similar to Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationism and occurred in the initial period of the War of Resistance Against Japan. This erroneous line ignored class differences within the united front, opposed drawing lines of distinction between the left, the centre, and the right, advocated that everything should be done with the approval of the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang, and abandoned the principle of upholding the independence and autonomy of the party of the proletariat and the policy of unity and struggle. In putting the correct principle and policies into effect, the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung firmly grasped the key link having a decisive influence on the overall situation, that is, going all out to mobilize the masses, particularly the broad peasant masses and doing everything possible to develop guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear and expand the anti-Japanese popular armed forces and anti-Japanese democratic base areas. To win over the landlord class and those who were connected with it to a joint resistance against Japan, the Party, during the War of Resistance Against Japan, stopped implement-

ing the policy of confiscating the landlords' land and distributing it to the peasants and adopted in its place the policy of reducing rents and interest rates. To bring the initiative of national capital and private enterprises into play, the Party adopted the policy of developing production, promoting economic prosperity, giving due consideration to both public and private interests and benefiting both labour and capital. To unite with all anti-Japanese democrats in the common struggle, the Party adopted the policy of the "three-thirds system" in coalition government (i.e., the proportion of personnel in the government was set at one-third each for Communist Party members, for non-Party left progressives, and for middle elements). In this way, the Party developed and consolidated the worker-peasant alliance in the base areas and rallied around itself the other anti-Japanese classes and strata and all patriotic democrats. As a result of the constant expansion and consolidation of the anti-Japanese popular armed forces and the anti-Japanese democratic base areas, the Japanese and puppet troops became increasingly split up and surrounded by the Chinese people and failed to achieve their aim of occupying the whole of China; an example was thus provided for the people throughout the country, politically, militarily, economically and culturally; and they were enabled to visualize the prospects of victory and the perspectives of a people's republic, so strengthening their confidence in pressing on with the war of resistance steadfastly until final victory; the national anti-Japanese united front gained a strong support facilitating the growth of the progressive forces, the winning over of middle-of-the-road forces and the isolation of the diehard forces in Kuomintang-controlled areas; sufficient strength was mustered to wage a struggle "with good reason, with advantage and with restraint" against the Chiang Kai-shek clique which was passive in fighting Japan but active in anti-Communism and scheming to effect a split and preparing to surrender to the Japanese, so that the Chiang Kai-shek clique did not dare openly to split the united front and surrender to the enemy; its anti-Communist campaigns, launched as preparations for open surrender to the enemy and to start an all-out civil war, were successfully beaten back. In a word, because this key link was grasped, the Party held the leadership of the national anti-Japanese united front in its hand with comparative ease and thereby guided the War of Resistance Against Japan to final victory.

Thanks to the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Party's policy of the people's democratic united front developed greatly and achieved tremendous successes during the War of Resistance Against Japan; a rich and complete experience was accumulated. The achievements made by the Party during the War of Resistance Against Japan in the people's democratic united front, in the revolutionary armed forces, in the revolutionary base areas, and in Party building, together with rich experience in all fields, prepared extremely important foundations and conditions for the subsequent victory of the People's War of Liberation.

The United Front in the People's War of Liberation

After Japan's surrender in 1945, the Kuomintang reactionary clique, directed and supported by U.S. imperialism, adopted the counter-revolutionary double-tactic of actively preparing for civil war while engaging in deceitful talks of

peace. The Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in a spirit of giving blow for blow, adopted a revolutionary double-tactic to deal with this counter-revolutionary double-tactic, that is: They engaged in a struggle for peace and democracy while preparing to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war. The fight for peace and democracy was the urgent desire of the people at that time. The policy of dictatorship and civil war of the U.S.-supported Chiang Kai-shek ruling clique ran directly counter to the aspirations of the people of the whole country. The U.S.-Chiang clique pretended to desire peace and democracy only to deceive the people and isolate the Communist Party so as to gain time and prepare for a large-scale counter-revolutionary civil war. In persisting in this reactionary policy, the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang declared itself the enemy of the people throughout the country and completely exposed its own devilish face, forcing people of every stratum in the country to unite and wage a resolute struggle against it. The Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, giving expression to the aspirations of the people of the whole nation, gave them leadership in waging this complicated and tortuous struggle. It was through this struggle that many of the Chinese people, chiefly members of the middle-of-the-road strata, finally discarded their illusions about the reactionary U.S.-Chiang clique, and the Communist Party and the people's armed forces won unprecedentedly widespread sympathy and support from the people of the whole country. Victory in this important struggle paved the way politically for the People's War of Liberation, and thereby hastened its victory.

One year after Chiang Kai-shek unleashed the all-out civil war, our Party put forward and implemented the following basic political programme: "Unite workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals and businessmen, all oppressed classes, all people's organizations, democratic parties, minority nationalities, overseas Chinese and other patriots; form a national united front; overthrow the dictatorial Chiang Kai-shek government; and establish a democratic coalition government."* The Party also put forward and carried out the following basic economic programme: "Confiscate the land of the feudal class and turn it over to the peasants. Confiscate monopoly capital, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, T.V. Soong, H.H. Kung and Chen Li-fu, and turn it over to the new-democratic state. Protect the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie."** Relying on the correct policies and strategic direction of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the People's War of Liberation and the people's revolutionary movement in areas controlled by the Kuomintang swiftly surged to a high tide; the people's democratic united front also developed and became strong as never before. In December 1947, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a detailed analysis of the situation at that time. He pointed out that the People's Liberation Army had gone over from the defensive to the offensive, that the crimes of U.S. imperialism and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek ruling clique had been thoroughly exposed before the Chinese people, that the illusions among

* Mao Tse-tung, "Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 150.

** Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," *ibid.*, p. 167.

a section of the bourgeoisie about a third road had gone up in smoke, that the Chinese Communist Party had not only won the confidence of the broad masses of the people in the liberated areas, but also the sympathy and support of the broad masses of the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie in Kuomintang-controlled areas, and that the united front of the new-democratic revolution was more extensive and consolidated than at any previous period. In the years 1948-49, the People's Liberation War and the people's revolutionary movement in Kuomintang-controlled areas became so extensive and powerful that they finally surrounded the most powerful and last counter-revolutionary regime in Chinese history, caused it to disintegrate, and finally brought it down, thus winning victory in the new-democratic revolution. On the basis of the fundamental victory of the new-democratic revolution, China's people's democratic united front developed to such a great extent as to embrace all the nationalities, democratic classes and parties, and popular organizations in the country, overseas Chinese and other patriots. On this basis, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference led by the Communist Party was convened, a common programme was adopted, and the People's Republic of China, a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, was founded.

The United Front After Founding of The People's Republic

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the basic conclusion of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution. With the change in the nature and tasks of the revolution, great changes took place in class relations in the country. In the new period of socialism, China's people's democratic united front is not only needed but it can continue to play a role. The united front which was tempered in 30 years of battle in the democratic revolution and which served the new-democratic revolution, therefore, developed further on a new basis and was transformed into one serving the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In the first three years after the founding of the People's Republic, that is, during the period of national economic rehabilitation, we waged successful struggles to confiscate bureaucrat capital, reform the land system, suppress the counter-revolutionaries, resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, launched the three-antis and five-antis movements,* carried out other democratic reforms, and rehabilitated the national economy. These victorious struggles greatly consolidated the people's democratic dictatorship and the people's democratic united front based on the worker-peasant alliance, and provided adequate conditions for the overall socialist transformation of the national economy. In 1953, the Central Committee of the Party formally announced the general line for the period of

*The three-antis movement was launched in 1952 against the three evils—corruption, waste and bureaucratism among personnel in government institutions and state enterprises.

The five-antis movement was launched in the same year against the five evils among private industrialists and merchants—bribery of government employees, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation.—Tr.

transition and started socialist transformation and socialist construction in a planned way. China's socialist transformation of agriculture and other types of individual economy was carried out by way of co-operation; that of capitalist industry and commerce was carried out gradually by peaceful methods via state capitalism. During the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie constituted the main contradiction in Chinese society. However, as the Chinese national bourgeoisie has a positive side—its willingness to accept socialist transformation—and the people hold in their hands a powerful state machine and the lifelines of the national economy, it is possible for us to carry out the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce by peaceful means. Thanks to the correct line and policies of the Party, socialist transformation proceeded very rapidly. By the winter of 1955 and spring of 1956, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist industry and commerce surged successively to a high tide and subsequently the socialist revolution on the economic front was basically completed, and China's multi-sector economic structure was transformed into a single socialist economic structure. The basic completion of the socialist revolution on the economic front and the establishment of the socialist system placed the worker-peasant alliance and the alliance between the working class and the national bourgeoisie on a new, socialist basis. This is the great achievement of the people's democratic united front in this period. However, following the basic completion of the socialist revolution on the economic front, the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism is still far from being resolved. The broad masses of the people also need to become gradually accustomed to the socialist system. The bourgeois rightists, who refused to be reconciled to the fall of capitalism, tried to take advantage of this situation to restore capitalism. In 1957, they launched a ferocious attack on the Party, the people and socialism. It was at this juncture that Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the policy for correctly distinguishing between contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people, and for correctly handling contradictions among the people. In accordance with this policy, the Chinese people launched a nationwide rectification campaign in 1957-58, waged a struggle against the bourgeois rightists, engaged in a great debate on the two roads, and won a decisive victory for the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. As a result, the revolutionary spirit of broad masses of the working people and revolutionary intellectuals and their initiative in building socialism surged to unprecedented heights; the majority of the bourgeoisie also shifted, in varying degrees, from capitalism to socialism and indicated their willingness to serve socialism. On this basis, the Central Committee of the Party put forward the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism. Guided by this general line, there emerged the situation in which people's communes were set up throughout the rural areas, the national economy took a big leap forward, and the technical and cultural revolutions surged to a high tide.

On the basis of the socialist revolution having achieved a great victory on the economic, political and

ideological fronts and guided by the brilliance of the three red banners—the general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes, China's people's democratic united front in the period of transition entered a new stage. The worker-peasant alliance has been raised to a new basis, that of the establishment of people's communes all over the countryside and the gradual introduction of farm mechanization; members of the national bourgeoisie have entered upon a period of fundamental remoulding, that is, of gradually transforming themselves into a section of the working people.

Generally speaking, China's people's democratic united front has been developing constantly and becoming more and more consolidated. This was the case during the democratic revolution; it remains so in the stage of socialism. In the socialist revolution, the Party adopted the following basic policy towards members of the bourgeoisie, bourgeois intellectuals and other democratic patriots: Take them over, and take care of them to the end, make proper arrangements for them, see that they all have work to do; at the same time educate and help them remould themselves. The policy towards all democratic parties willing to co-operate with the Communist Party is one of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision. Therefore, all those who are willing to take the socialist road resolutely under the leadership of the Communist Party and will not stop half-way, will, through long-term co-operation and fundamental remoulding, enter communist society together. One can foresee that China's people's democratic united front will continue to be strengthened and keep on developing until classes disappear and Great Harmony reigns.

It can be seen from the historical development described above that the people's democratic united front is a magic weapon of the Communist Party of China in leading the Chinese people to victory in the democratic revolution; it is also a magic weapon of the Chinese Communist Party in leading the Chinese people to victory in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Experience of the Chinese Revolution

As early as 1939, on the basis of the rich historical experience of the Party over a period of 18 years, Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up the three fundamental problems or three principal magic weapons of the Chinese revolution. He pointed out that "the united front, armed struggle, and Party-building are the three fundamental problems of our Party in the Chinese revolution." "The united front, armed struggle, and Party-building are the Chinese Communist Party's three magic weapons, its three principal magic weapons, for defeating the enemy in the Chinese revolution."* Ten years later China's new-democratic revolution won its basic victory. At that time, in commemoration of the 28th anniversary of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," in which he further summed up the fundamental experience which had led the Chinese revolution to victory and pointed out the road of continuous advance for the Chinese people. He said:

"A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party—these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy. They distinguish us from our predecessors. Relying on them, we have won basic victory."**

"Twenty-four years have passed since Sun Yat-sen's death, and the Chinese revolution, led by the Communist Party of China, has made tremendous advances both in theory and practice and has radically changed the face of China. Up to now the principal and fundamental experience the Chinese people have gained is twofold:

(1) Internally, arouse the masses of the people. That is, unite the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, form a domestic united front under the leadership of the working class, and advance from this to the establishment of a state which is a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

(2) Externally, unite in a common struggle with those nations of the world which treat us as equals and unite with the peoples of all countries. That is, ally ourselves with the Soviet Union, with the People's Democracies and with the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in all other countries, and form an international united front."***

"To sum up our experience and concentrate it into one point, it is: the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite as one with the international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme."†

"Thus Western bourgeois civilization, bourgeois democracy and the plan for a bourgeois republic have all gone bankrupt in the eyes of the Chinese people. Bourgeois democracy has given way to people's democracy under the leadership of the working class and the bourgeois republic to the people's republic. This has made it possible to achieve socialism and communism through the people's republic, to abolish classes and enter a world of Great Harmony. Kang Yu-wei wrote *Ta Tung Shu*, or the *Book of Great Harmony*, but he did not and could not find the way to achieve Great Harmony. There are bourgeois republics in foreign lands, but China cannot have a bourgeois republic because she is a country suffering

* *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 422.

** *ibid.*, p. 415.

† *ibid.*, p. 422.

* *Introductory Remarks to "The Communist."*

under imperialist oppression. The only way is through a people's republic led by the working class.”*

Here Comrade Mao Tse-tung has elaborated the experience gained and the road taken by the Chinese revolution. If this can be summarized in one sentence, it is: Under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of the workers and peasants, to unite all the forces that can be united, wage armed struggles and establish the people's democratic dictatorship; then to achieve socialism and communism. In the era when the national and democratic revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries has become a part of the world proletarian socialist revolution after World War I and the Russian October Revolution, this is the only historical road by which the Chinese people can achieve thorough liberation. Like a red thread, this fundamental idea permeates the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. In studying Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works and the experience of the people's democratic united front, we should do our best to understand and master this fundamental idea.

People's Democratic United Front During the Socialist Stage

Some have asked: Is the people's democratic united front still a magic weapon in the stage of socialist revolution and socialist construction? To this, Comrade Mao Tse-tung gives an affirmative answer.

At the second session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1950, Comrade Mao Tse-tung explained how our country, after passing through war and through the new-democratic reforms, would advance along the socialist road. Then he continued:

“Internationally, we must firmly unite with the Soviet Union, the various People's Democracies and all the peaceful and democratic forces throughout the world, in order to achieve our great aim. There cannot be the slightest indecision or wavering on this question. At home we must unite the various nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties, people's organizations and all patriotic democrats and consolidate the great revolutionary united front which has been built and has won prestige. We welcome anyone who contributes to the work of consolidating this revolutionary united front, no matter who he may be—he is correct. We oppose anyone who harms the work of consolidating this revolutionary united front—he is wrong.”

In the opening address at the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1956, Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up the fundamental experience with which we have won victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction and said:

“So far as internal conditions are concerned, our victories are due to the fact that we have relied on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class and that we have extensively united all the forces that can be united. Great and heavy tasks lie ahead of us in carrying on the great work of construction.

* *ibid.*, p. 414.

Although there are over 10 million members in our Party, they still constitute a very small minority of the country's population. In the various organs of state and in public affairs a lot of work has to be done by non-Party people. It is impossible to get the work well done unless we are good at relying on the masses and co-operating with non-Party people. While continuing to strengthen the unity of the Party, we should also continue to strengthen unity among all our nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties, and people's organizations, and consolidate and expand the people's democratic united front. We must take determined action to get rid of any unhealthy manifestations in any part of our work that are detrimental to the unity between the Party and the people.

“Internationally, our victories are due to the support of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union and the profound sympathy of peace-loving people throughout the world.”*

In short, the winning of victories in our socialist revolution and socialist construction still depends on a domestic united front and an international united front.

Why is the people's democratic united front still a magic weapon in our socialist revolution and socialist construction? A great many reasons can be listed; here only the three most important points are mentioned: (1) The worker-peasant alliance is the base of the people's democratic dictatorship and the highest principle of the proletarian dictatorship. Without a firm alliance of the workers and peasants, it is impossible to gain victory in socialist revolution and socialist construction; with the development of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the worker-peasant alliance will also be steadily consolidated and promoted. (2) It is necessary for us through the united front to mobilize all the positive elements that can be mobilized in the service of socialism and to carry out fundamental remoulding among the national bourgeois elements, so that we can achieve the goal of eliminating the last exploiting class and building a socialist society. This is a great and arduous historical task of the people's democratic united front during the transition period. At the same time, we are still faced with imperialist threats and troubles created by remnant feudal and comprador forces at home and we still have to liberate Taiwan; this also calls for extensive unity with all those who can be united to make a common struggle. (3) The people's democratic united front has increasingly extended its links with and influence upon the people of the world, its responsibility for and the contribution it should make to the cause of the great unity of the people all over the world have also been growing in importance. These three points alone are sufficient to show that the people's democratic united front is still a magic weapon during the socialist stage, a magic weapon with which the Communist Party of China leads the people in carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction and in fighting against imperialism and its lackeys.

* *Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1956, Vol. I, p. 8.

Pearl River Transformations

by WU YUEH-HSUAN

KWANGTUNG Province has begun the second stage of construction of a huge modern drainage and irrigation scheme that is transforming the Pearl River delta. When completed, the electrically operated network of pumping stations and water channels now being built will be able to drain excess water off the delta farmlands within a few days at most even if there is a continuous 24-hour-long rainstorm. The full scheme also ensures adequate irrigation for the upland fields of the area. Altogether it will add several hundred million *jin* to the annual grain output of the delta.

Delta Conditions

After its three main tributaries flow together west and east of Canton, the Pearl River splays out fanwise and flows to the South China Sea through many outlets. This fertile delta of southern China's largest river lies within the subtropical zone of the Tropic of Cancer and is famed for its rich farm produce.

Justifiably called the "granary of Kwangtung," the delta area covers more than a dozen counties and reaps three crops a year. Rice is the main food crop, but the delta's big yields of sugar cane make it one of the leading sugar producing districts in the nation. It is also a big producer of silk, fruits (pineapple and lichee), pigs, poultry, fish bred in ponds and other aquatic products. Industry is fairly well developed and it enjoys good transport facilities.

But the delta region has its vulnerable spot too. Its criss-crossed water channels can bring difficulties and disasters to the peasants.

Before liberation the reactionaries left the local water conservancy works in a parlous state. They were both inadequate and out of repair. Water-logging caused by excessive rainfall was a constant menace in the flood seasons. At times when the rivers in spate met a wall of sea water pouring at high tide into the estuaries, rain water could not be diverted into the water channels and the resulting water-logging would often destroy crops on millions of *mu*. On the other hand, large tracts of delta farmland on high ground suffered spring and autumn droughts because they lacked facilities to conserve and store water.

Much has been done to correct this situation since liberation, particularly since the universal establishment of rural people's communes. Dykes have been reinforced, sluice-gates built and a great number of channels and ditches dug or repaired. The land is now better protected against water-logging and drought, but the threat of the two natural calamities of flood and drought has not been eliminated; the problem remains basically unsolved.

Extensive Network

To end the menace of these threats, the Kwangtung authorities decided on the large-scale project which is now

under way. It is an engineering work of practical industrial aid to agriculture. It calls for the building of a great number of mechanical drainage and irrigation pumping stations using electric power supplied from the Canton power grid. These will pump out and drain away excess waters on the low-lying lands and provide water for the irrigation of the drought-threatened districts on the high ground. This network of stations will benefit not only rice cultivation but fish breeding and cane and mulberry plantations as well. Work on the project started in the second quarter of last year.

One of the project's big jobs is the building of several hundred electrically operated drainage and irrigation stations with powerful pumps. These are the project's backbone. To supply electricity to these stations, a power transmission network is being built centring around Canton. When completed, there will be a network of high-tension transmission lines totalling thousands of kilometres with dozens of substations.

First Stage of Construction

During the first stage of construction more than 200 drainage and irrigation stations were completed. Auxiliary works built in this period included many high-tension transmission lines and substations. One hundred and eight stations started operation either in the past winter or spring. Motors and other equipment are being installed in the remaining stations. When all are completed, the 200 stations will serve 2.5 million *mu* of delta farmland.

About two-fifths of the cultivated land in Nanhai, one of the delta counties, used to be affected to a greater or lesser extent by water-logging in the flood seasons. Last year, under the overall scheme, it built 29 electrical and non-electrical power stations, set up about 100 kilometres of 3,300-10,500 volt transmission lines and 6 substations. Together with what it had before, Nanhai now has a fairly complete power supply network. This enables the county to save more than 200,000 work days annually on drainage and irrigation work.

Shunteh, another delta county south of Canton well known for its sugar cane fields and fish and silkworm breeding, has built 17 electrically operated pumping stations and the necessary transmission lines and substations. These make the Canton power grid electricity available to nearly a quarter of all the production brigades of its rural people's communes.

A dozen cities, especially Shanghai and Canton, have given substantial aid to this project. Every department concerned in Kwangtung gives it top priority. This help and the promising prospects the project holds out are encouraging the builders to their best efforts to complete the second stage of construction of this undertaking in the shortest possible time.

SIDELIGHTS

Sport at a Nadom Fair. Of all the nationalities in China, the Mongolians are best known for riding, wrestling and archery. They enjoy these sports to the full at the annual Nadom Fairs held all over the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. This fair of fairs for the hard-working, hard-riding people of the grasslands takes place in spring. Families ride in from far and wide to join it, to watch plays, dances, films and sideshows, buy and sell, meet old friends and in general have a good time. But to many, the attraction is the games which have swiftly revived over the last ten years.

The fairs attract all the local lovers of sport to compete in the traditional games of wrestling, archery, steeple-chase, cross-country races, polo, etc. Two increasingly popular equestrian events calling for superb horsemanship, a steady hand and a quick eye are shooting at targets with bow and arrows on horseback at full gallop and sabring a series of targets on a course while riding by at full tilt.

The wrestling is similar in many ways to modern free-style wrestling but the Mongolian form of this sport also permits holds below the hip. The first to touch the ground with any part of his body save the feet loses the bout. Dressed in short, loose jackets of strong material, wide trousers tucked into riding boots and girt with heavy studded leather belts, the wrestlers leap into the ring dancing, arms outstretched like eagles and chanting a salute and a challenge before pitting their skill and strength. Audiences are critical ones for nearly everyone is an ardent and knowledgeable fan.

A recent addition to the Nadom Fair Games is pitching the *pulu*. This sickle-shaped weapon of wood encased in metal and weighing anywhere from three to five kilos is thrown to strike down small game such as pheasants and rabbits. As a sporting event this is probably more difficult to master than the javelin throw as accuracy of throw counts before distance.

For those more inclined to strenuous mental efforts there is Mongolian chess. The board and each player's 16 pieces correspond closely to international chess but many of its moves follow the Chinese chess game of *hsiang chi*. This enables a Mongolian chess player to

master either of the other chess forms with little difficulty.

Motor Trawling Schizopygopsis. That tongue twister stands for the delicious oil-rich fish which is caught in large numbers in Chinghai Lake. Before liberation no boats were used for fishing on this, the biggest of China's salt water lakes. People fished from the shore or, in winter, let down nets through holes in the ice. Only the locals knew this fish. Now Chinghai fish and fish products are known far afield. This year motor trawlers, the first ever built in Chinghai Province, are in the thick of the summer fishing season. With the addition of these new vessels an even bigger haul than last year's record take is expected. When a Chinghai fisherman spreads his arms extra wide in the traditional gesture of the fishing enthusiast, you can take him at his word: a new motor road, a permanent dock and meteorological station, plants for packing fish, extracting fish oil and making other by-products are there by the lake to back it up.

Not Just a Toy. The 2.2-kilometre children's railway in the Harbin Children's Park, the first of its kind in this country, celebrated its fifth anniversary this month. Thanks to it, that childhood dream of boys and girls of driving a real engine has been a frequently realizable experience for Harbin boys and girls. In fact they do much more than this. Children run this whole railway. After school and in the holidays, two thousand Young Pioneers have held jobs on this line as stokers, drivers, conductors, station masters and ticket office workers. They manage the whole line. Many of them have learnt to do general repairs. To date they have chalked up 120,000 kilometres and carried more than half a million

satisfied passengers including adults who in their young days scarce dreamt of owning even a tin toy train.

This mayor's gift to the children of Harbin has provided a lot of fun over the last five years but it is doing more than that. It is helping to bring up a science-conscious, mechanically adept generation which is learning by doing and doing it together.

Timely Efforts. The Shanghai Watch Factory produced 150,000 more watches than it did in the corresponding first five months of last year and they were snapped up right away. Its attractive, 17-jewel "Shanghai" wrist-watches are among the best buys in the new and rising Chinese watch industry. This rapid growth of production is a tribute to the efforts of its workers. When the factory was first set up in 1958, most processes were hand-operated, but within three years, hundreds of technical innovations suggested by the workers have almost completely mechanized or semi-mechanized production.

In Many Tongues. Already speaking in many languages to people all over the world and making new friends every hour of the day, Radio Peking has added a twice-daily Serbian-Croatian broadcast to its overseas programme. Now Serbian-Croatian speaking people will be able to hear in their own language what the Chinese people are doing day by day.

The first broadcast for the day is from 19:00-19:30 hours G.M.T. on the 42m. band at 7080 kilocycles or on the 30m. band at 9920 kilocycles. The second is from 21:30-22:00 hours G.M.T. on the 25m. band at 11650 kilocycles; on the 42m. band at 7080 kilocycles and on the 30m. band at 9920 kilocycles.



Papercut by Shen Pel-nung

MUSIC

Shanghai's Music Festival

Days after the close of the second Shanghai Spring Music Festival on May 31, music circles and the public are still discussing its 12 concerts of symphonic, national orchestral, chamber and light music and solo recitals. A galaxy of orchestras, smaller ensembles, chamber groups, opera companies and soloists took part in the festival activities. They show that significant gains have been made both in musical composition and execution since the first festival in 1960.

This year's festival saw the premiere of many new works. Half of the 149 items performed were new compositions, quite a number of them major works. They blazed new trails in subject matter, musical form, style and textures.

Three symphonic works, all differing markedly in style, attracted particularly wide interest. The festival opened on the night of May 20 with a performance of a symphonic poem, *August First*, composed by a group of young teachers and students of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. This is richly coloured. It convincingly carries out a pictorial programme depicting the famous Nanchang Uprising of August 1, 1927, which gave rise to the Chinese Red Army. The opening passage for trombone and strings pictures the black miasma of reaction hanging over the historic city and the anger of the people. These were the days immediately following Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the revolution. The drums and bugle calls of the second part usher in the storm of the great uprising followed, in part three, by the triumphant march of the insurgents. Much of the thematic material has been taken from Kiangsi folk music. Blended with tunes from revolutionary songs of the period they have produced music enjoyed equally by both musicians and the general public.

Another symphonic poem, *Monument to the People's Heroes* by composer Chu Wei, is in a different vein. The long melodic lines of the introduction played on the bass instruments evoke the composer's mood as he stands before the monument, lost in

thoughts of the revolutionary past. Its march-like rhythms followed by broad, flowing tones recall the revolutionary martyrs, their heroism and their love for their country and the people. Its mourning passages played on the strings pay tribute to the fallen heroes. Using musical material from Shansi folk songs the composer has successfully applied the Russian method of symphonic composition. Sharply contrasting emotions are conveyed but there is a homogeneity, a wholeness to the conception that binds together the various parts of the composition. Less programmatic than the *August First*, its musical images are no less vivid and moving. The meditative introduction, the heroic first theme and the rich, mellow second theme are skilfully woven together to form an impressive whole.

Ting Shan-teh, Vice-President of the Shanghai Conservatory whose works for the piano are well known, assays a work of larger scope in his *Long March* symphony. This is a theme of epic proportions. It took Professor Ting three years to complete the first three movements which were performed at the festival. In preparation for the work, he travelled extensively in the southwestern and northwestern provinces along the route of the Long March collecting historical data and folk tunes. The completed work will be in five movements encompassing the major aspects of the Long March, namely, "The Start of the March," "Red Army Men — Kin of the People of All China's Nationalities," "Capture of Luting Bridge," "Over Snowy Mountains and Marshland," and "Triumphant Joining of Forces."

The performance of the first three movements by the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra made a deep impression on the audience. The composer's treatment of his thematic material and creation of musical images were of particular interest. In the first movement, he depicts the tremendous revolutionary will and optimism of the Red Army with a considerable measure of success. A march-like figure of accompaniment portrays the Red Army men's indomitable spirit. An unvarying rhythmic figure in the bass part expresses the steady onward march of the troops. The heroism of the Red Army is successfully evoked in the development and variations of the theme taken from a favourite Red

Army song. Once thoroughly established by several repetitions this is joined by a new theme, a bold affirmation of optimism, created polyphonically on the basis of the first theme. The two themes are similar in style; when subsequently they appear together, they admirably merge to create an enriched musical image. After a few bars of connecting phrases, the theme of optimism reappears in the dominant. Finally, both themes appear together again to soar to the climax in the main part of the movement.

The second movement, with its delightful lilting dance rhythm, has an even richer national flavour. The composer draws freely on the folk dances of the minority nationalities which assisted the Red Army on its way. The third movement (*Allegro*) vividly portrays the forced march of the Red Army to capture the strategic Luting Bridge and cross the Tatu River — one of the most famous episodes of the Long March.

The consensus of opinion was that the composer has succeeded admirably in creating musical images for the most typical aspects and events of the Long March and giving a national flavour and popular appeal to the symphony — a musical form introduced into Chinese music from abroad.

Another interesting new work presented at the festival was the *Ching-kang Mountain Cantata*. A stirring work describing the early struggles of the Second Revolutionary Civil War by three young composers who made three visits to the first revolutionary base of the Communist Party and the Red Army. This is also a work of bold innovations. It makes an effective attempt in its free verse libretto to achieve a synthesis of folk song and traditional Chinese poetry.

Several other sizable new works draw on contemporary themes. They include the song suite *On the Agricultural Front* and two orchestral pieces for traditional Chinese instruments *The Joy of a Bumper Cotton Harvest* and *Maidens Planting Rice Seedlings in the Clouds*.

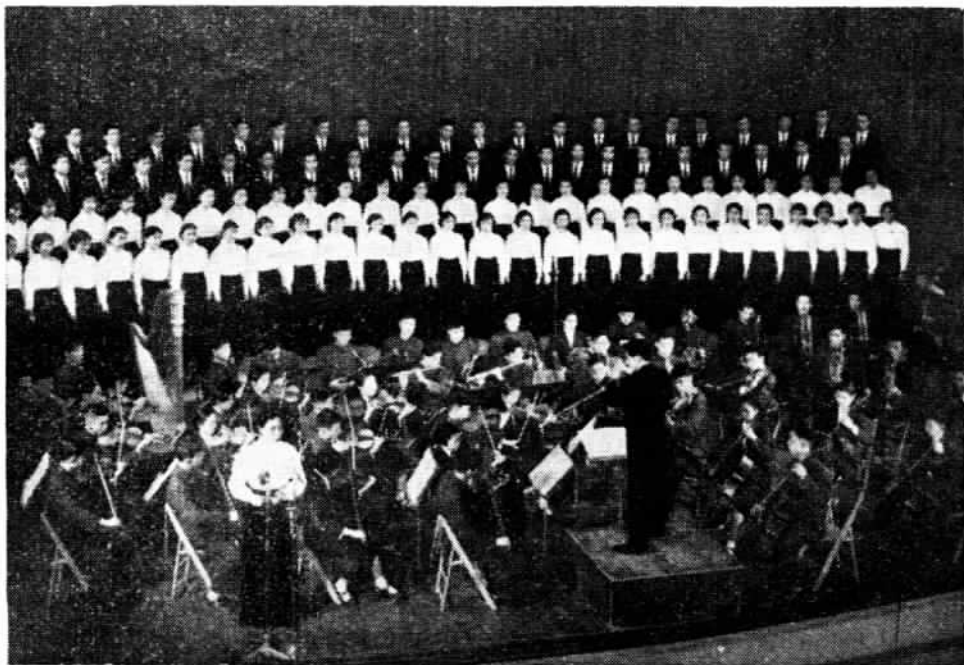
All the new works have this in common: They are the result of the composers living and working for a considerable spell among the working people. This gave them the inspiration

for their creative work and a better understanding of the momentous themes they have chosen to write on.

Living among the people and observing life at close quarters has also helped to broaden the subject matter of new compositions. Quite a number of composers have successfully captured the spirit of contemporary life. *The Motor Road in the Mountains Is Open to Traffic* is the title of a delightful piece for a group of violins playing in unison—a popular form evolved recently. Its sprightly rhythm and dynamic melody breathe the air of our times. The xylophone duet *Riding Bamboo Horses*, the soprano solo *The Cuckoo Is Late* and other works, each reflects the spirit of the big leap in its own characteristic way.

The festival also produced a rich crop of lyrical works in a still lighter vein and a number of new arrangements of traditional Chinese classics and folk music, some of them only recently unearthed. Three of the twelve concerts were devoted exclusively to traditional Chinese instrumental, vocal and operatic music. The instruments used ranged from the ancient *cheng* (a 16-string instrument with a history of 2,000 years) to newly improved Chinese stringed and wind instruments. With their improved tone qualities and greater range, combined with new bass instruments, they go a long way towards remedying the deficiencies which modern composers have felt in the traditional Chinese orchestra.

A wide selection of foreign music was also performed at the festival by talented young people as well as seasoned concert artists. They include the young pianist Li Ming-chiang, who has three times won international prizes, the soprano Lin Min-chen, the bass Wen Ke-cheng and a number of promising newcomers. The reappearance of the violinist Tan Shu-chen, another Vice-President of the Shanghai Conservatory, and the pianist Li Tsui-chen, a professor of the conservatory, after years of absence from the concert stage was warmly welcomed by the audience. They gave an authoritative rendering of Schumann's *D Minor Sonata*. Different styles of playing blossomed side by side. For example, there were three different



The performance of the "Ching-kang Mountain Cantata" at the opening of the Shanghai Spring Music Festival

renditions of Moussorgsky's *Song of the Flea*, each with its own merits.

In addition to the concerts, the festival also featured discussions and gave a new impetus to academic research and musical criticism. It proved to be a valuable review of recent achievements and an encouragement for the further flourishing of music in China.

SHORT NOTES

"**Uncle Tom's Cabin.**" The latest version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* produced by the Experimental Modern Drama Theatre has attracted considerable attention in Peking since its premiere on June 1. Five more performances will be given at the Peking Workers' Club from June 16 to 20.

Writing in *Beijing Wanbao* (Peking Evening News), Ouyang Yu-chien, author of the script, describes how, in 1907, he and several other Chinese students in Japan made a five-act play out of some of the incidents in Harriet Beecher Stowe's damning indictment of Negro slavery in the United States. That was a time, he recalls, "when the imperialists were plotting to carve up China. Our purpose was to give a concrete example of racial oppression to alert the vigilance of our countrymen. It was not accidental that this play was staged on the eve of China's 1911 Revolution."

This Tokyo production in 1907 was in fact the first full-length play staged by China's first modern drama company, the Spring Willow Society. It was later staged again in Shanghai and in Juikin, Kiangsi Province, the revolutionary centre in the early thirties.

Ouyang Yu-chien today is President of the Central Drama Institute to which the Experimental Modern Drama Theatre belongs. Speaking of this new production, he has said: "Recalling the past and looking forward to the future, we wish to salute the Negro people fighting heroically for independence and liberation."

New Mobile Film Projectors. Rural people's communes in China's northwest are getting 50 projectors (16 mm.), the first batch of a type specially made for them by the Shensi Film Machinery Works. They are easily portable, and suitable for open-air shows in the mountainous regions of the northwest where sandstorms are frequent.

Before liberation, few peasants in Shensi Province had ever seen a motion picture. Now they are seeing films regularly even in mountain areas where no films were ever shown before. During the past two years, the Shensi Film Machinery Works has helped train scores of young people selected by various people's communes to operate film projectors.

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Australian C.P. Congress

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has sent warm, fraternal greetings to the Australian Communist Party gathered at its 19th Congress. The Australian Communist Party, states the message, rallying around it the Australian working class and working people, has waged protracted, heroic struggles against the reactionary rule of monopoly capital, for the democratic rights and vital interests of the Australian people, and for social progress. It has fought steadfastly to defend world peace, combat the policies of aggression and war pursued by the U.S.-led imperialists, and oppose colonialism, uphold peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and develop friendly relations, trade and cultural exchanges with the socialist countries. It has persevered in educating its members in the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism and fought resolutely against bourgeois reformist trends of all shades. It has consistently upheld the principles of proletarian internationalism and worked to promote and strengthen the solidarity of the international communist movement. All these struggles and every success gained in them are a source of boundless joy and inspiration to the Communist Party of China, the message declares.

Comrade Helou's Death Mourned

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has sent a message of condolences to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lebanon on the death of Comrade Farajala Helou. It declares: "We are bitterly angered that Comrade Helou who has devoted his whole life to the cause of liberation of the Lebanese people has been brazenly murdered by the reactionary authorities. We are

convinced that the Lebanese Communists and people will carry on the just cause for which Comrade Helou fought and that it will assuredly win final victory."

Chinese Films in Nepal

A Chinese film week recently held in Kathmandu was a smash hit among Nepalese audiences. *Lin Tse-hsu*, a historical feature about the patriotic Commissioner Lin who was a leading figure in the Opium War against Britain, and the comedy *A Feast of Fun* proved to be the most popular of the Chinese films shown.

The welcome accorded the Chinese films was unprecedented in Nepal. King Mahendra, who attended the opening ceremony, expressed his appreciation for Chinese films. There were warm and appreciative comments from all quarters. All tickets to performances were soon sold out and after the week ended extra shows were given at the request of the public.

Latin American Friends

The U.S.-made iron curtain blocking friendly contacts between the Chinese and Latin American peoples is falling to pieces. More and more visitors are coming and going between them, acquainting each other with conditions in their countries and forging links of friendship. Last week saw further evidence of this trend.

Senator Federico Alvarez Plata, former Vice-President of Bolivia, has come to this country on a visit. During a banquet given in his honour, he pledged his best efforts to strengthen friendship between his country and China, while his host, Chu Tu-nan, President of the China-Latin America Friendship Association, reiterated the backing of the Chinese people for the Bolivians and other Latin American peoples in their fight against U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression and in defence of world peace.

A Peruvian Parliamentary group headed by Jose Wilbect Salas Rodriguez has just completed a tour of China. Before its departure, it was received by Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

A cultural delegation from Guatemala headed by Jose Mendez has arrived in Peking. They were honoured

at a banquet given by Vice-President of the China-Latin America Friendship Association Chou Erh-fu.

Trade Group in Argentina, Chile

The Chinese Trade Delegation headed by Nan Han-chen, President of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, has concluded a visit to Argentina. Invited by the Argentine Council for the Promotion of International Trade, the group made extensive contacts with Argentine business representatives. It was received by the Argentine Minister of Economy Roberto Alemann and other officials. Questions concerning further development of trade between the two countries were discussed.

Earlier, the group made a week's tour in Chile during which its members also met Chilean industrialists and businessmen.

More U.S. Intrusions

U.S. military intrusions into China's territorial waters and airspace have continued unabated in recent weeks.

On May 23, between 10:50 and 11:00, a U.S. military aircraft flew over Yungshing Island in Kwangtung Province's Hsisha Islands; and, between 12:27 and 12:48 hours, another U.S. military aircraft flew over China's territorial sea south of Swabue, Kwangtung Province. **On May 25**, between 11:33 and 11:53 hours, a U.S. naval patrol plane flew over Yungshing, Shih and Chilien Islands of the Hsisha. **On May 28**, a U.S. military aircraft flew over China's territorial sea south of Pinghai and Swabue in Kwangtung Province between 11:27 and 11:41 hours and again between 13:17 and 13:34 hours. **On May 30**, a U.S. warship twice intruded into the area south of Pingtan, Fukien Province, between 9:24 and 10:12 hours and between 12:05 and 13:15 hours. **On June 4**, between 13:24 and 13:38 hours, a U.S. military aircraft flew over China's territorial sea south of Pinghai and Swabue. **On June 9**, between 13:11 and 13:25 hours, a U.S. military aircraft intruded over the same area.

A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry has repeated serious warnings against these provocations. The latest warning was the 154th.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

Japanese People's Victory in Fighting Against Fascist Bill

The Chinese people are closely following the struggle of the Japanese people against the Japanese and U.S. reactionaries. *Renmin Ribao's* editorial (June 9), hailing the Japanese people's tremendous victory in fighting against the "Anti-Political Violence Bill," notes that it is the firm opposition of the Japanese people that has compelled the ruling circles in Japan to stop trying to ram through this fascist bill at the current Diet session. It points out that this great victory strikes a telling blow against the plot of the Japanese-U.S. reactionaries to step up implementation of the Japan-U.S. military alliance treaty and revive Japanese militarism, and thus is a new contribution to the defence of peace in Asia and the world.

Instigated and encouraged by the U.S. imperialists, says the editorial, Japan's ruling circles, under the pretext of "eliminating violence," put forward the "Anti-Political Violence Bill" in order to clear the way for further implementing the new Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," reviving militarism and establishing a northeast Asia anti-communist military bloc. This is an out-and-out fascist bill designed to "legalize" the suppression of the Japanese people's movement against U.S. imperialism and strangle the democratic forces and mass movements.

To implement the Japan-U.S. military alliance treaty and strengthen militarist forces, the Japanese reactionaries are now carrying out an ambitious plan of arms expansion and war preparation. To boost and fully develop their militarist war potential, the Japanese reactionaries have also adopted a number of other reactionary measures. Economically, they have put into practice the policies of trade "liberalization," "rationalization of enterprises," increased taxation, high commodity prices and the strengthening of "Japan-U.S. co-operation." These are intended to intensify the plundering of the Japanese working class and the broad masses of the people and accelerate the growth of Japanese monopoly capital. Politically, the reactionaries are seeking to set

up a militarist system to impose fascist rule on the Japanese people and suppress their just, patriotic struggle.

Reviewing the heroic struggle of the Japanese people against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" in the past year or more, *Renmin Ribao* says that it should be noted that while the decision of the Japanese ruling circles to refrain, for the time being, from ramming this fascist bill through the Diet was made under pressure, they have a colossal political trick up their sleeves. They intend to use this decision to help ensure the "approval of other bills" and want to avoid "political conflicts" within the Liberal-Democratic Party which "needs unity and stability" before Ikeda pays his scheduled visit to the U.S. But they plan to resume deliberations on this bill at the extraordinary Diet session to be called after Ikeda's return from the U.S. and ram it through at that session. The Japanese people, however, says the editorial, will under no circumstances tolerate this. The Communist and Socialist Parties and other progressive organizations of Japan have expressed their opposition to further deliberations of this bill at the next Diet session and demanded withdrawal of this bill. They have also decided to broaden the present struggle against the fascist bill into a full-dress battle to prevent Ikeda's planned trip to the U.S. and to abrogate the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty."

Fascist Face of Kennedy Administration

Da Gong Bao's Commentator on June 8 comments on the U.S. Supreme Court's anti-communist decision of June 5, which requires the Communist Party of the U.S. to register itself with the government and gives the government the right to order the Communist Party to supply a list of its members. Commentator writes that this decision is tantamount to a declaration outlawing the Communist Party in order to clear the way for further frenzied persecution of the Party. This has forcefully exposed the ferocious, fascist nature of the Kennedy Administration.

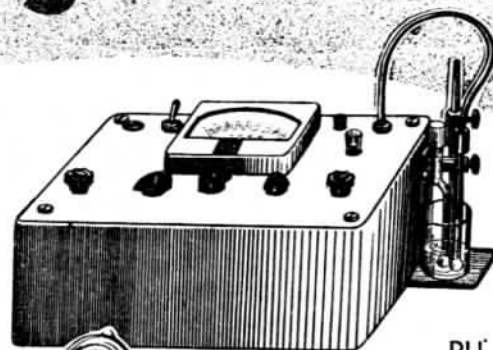
Commentator recalls that over the past years, the U.S. ruling circles have adopted a series of fascist measures, including the "Smith Act" of 1940 and the "McCarran Act" of 1950, to strangle democratic and progressive movements in the U.S. By means of these fascist acts, the U.S. Government has brutally persecuted Communists and other progressives. This fascist violence, says Commentator, has laid bare the utterly hypocritical nature of American "democracy" and "freedom." It has also run up against ever stiffer opposition from the American people.

For many years, Commentator states, the Communist Party of the U.S. has fought untiringly against these fascist acts. Owing to powerful pressure from the American people and public opinion in other lands, the U.S. Supreme Court did not dare to take a formal decision on this question during the term of office of the Eisenhower Administration. But now, after only four months of the Kennedy Administration, the Supreme Court has arbitrarily rejected the appeal of the Communist Party to abrogate these fascist acts and handed down this McCarthyite decision. "This only shows that the Kennedy Administration is worse than the Eisenhower Administration," Commentator says.

Commentator notes that Kennedy has always posed as a "champion" of democracy and freedom. "Democracy," "freedom" and other fine words abound in the many speeches and messages he has delivered in the few months since his assumption of office. However, the facts are just the opposite of what Kennedy professes. The Kennedy Administration has not only carried out frenzied acts of expansion abroad, launched aggressions, created tension, uttered war threats and stepped up attempts to suppress the national liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, but has also adopted the most brutal means to suppress the progressive forces at home and strangle genuine democracy and freedom. At the same time, that Administration connives at the frenzied violence of the Ku Klux Klan and racists.

Kennedy, self-styled "leader of the cause of freedom," is a murderer of freedom and the most vicious enemy of democracy and freedom, Commentator says.

INSTRUMENTS AND INDUSTRIAL SUPPLIES



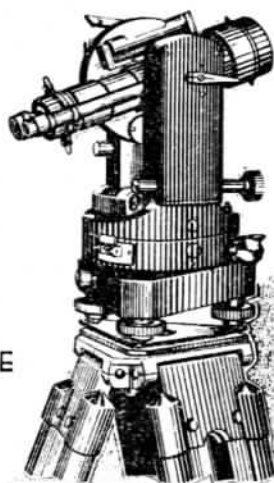
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Model 24



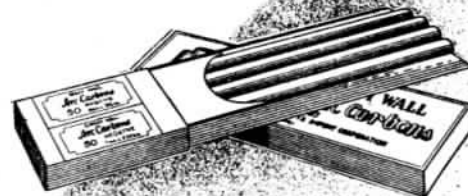
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