

PEKING REVIEW

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October 18, 1963

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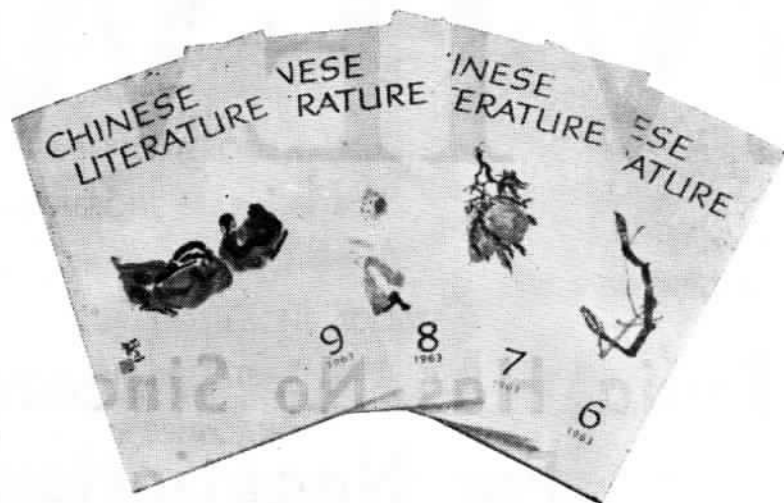
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PEKING REVIEW

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

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THE WEEK

Among the headlines of the week:

- The National People's Congress is to convene next month.
- The Chinese Foreign Ministry on October 9 sent a reply note to the Indian Embassy in China sternly denouncing New Delhi for setting up one obstacle after another to block negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

Commenting on this, *Renmin Ribao* in an editorial of October 13 pointed out that the Indian Government had no sincere wish at present for peaceful negotiation.

- Peking held a mass rally against U.S. imperialism and in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination.
- The Chinese Government has decided to extend a long-term, interest-free loan of 250 million French francs to the Algerian Government, without any conditions attached.

• A Havana dispatch said that the Political Publishing House in Cuba had published 100,000 copies of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." 50,000 copies of this work were published last year.

- The Chinese press last week carried excerpts from:

— a commentary in the latest issue of *A Classe Operaria*, journal of the Communist Party of Brazil, hailing Chairman Mao's statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination.

— an article from the Vietnamese paper *Nhandan* commenting on Tito's trip to Latin America. It stressed that the Titoites were doing their utmost to sabotage the revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

— an article in the latest issue of the *Malayan Monitor* praising the Chinese Communist Party for defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

• As the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty came into force it drew more denunciation from world public opinion. The Chinese press last week reported the latest criticism of the treaty by the Korean paper *Rodong Shinmoon*, the Japanese paper *Akahata* and the Cambodian journal *Neak Cheat Niyum* (Nationalist).

N.P.C. to Meet

The fourth session of the Second National People's Congress and the fourth session of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference will meet simultaneously in mid-November. This was decided at the joint meeting of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C. and the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. on October 10.

Sino-Algerian Friendship

The recent visit of the Algerian Government Delegation, led by Minister of State Amar Ouzegane, has further strengthened friendly relations between China and Algeria. On October 11 it was announced that

China has agreed to extend a long-term, interest-free loan to Algeria amounting to 250 million French francs (or 25,000 million old francs).

Invited by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi, the Algerian delegation during its 10-day stay in China received a warm welcome from the Chinese Government and people. The delegation attended the October 1 National Day celebrations in Peking and later visited Hangchow and Shanghai in east China and Kunming in the southwest. It left China for Indonesia on October 9.

While in Kunming, a famous scenic city in the multi-national southwestern province of Yunnan, Minister of State Amar Ouzegane paid a visit to Yunnan University where he talked to 3,000 students and faculty members

on the Algerian people's struggle for national independence.

Amidst repeated applause, the Algerian Minister told the gathering that since 1830, when Algeria became a French colony, his people had never ceased to fight for national independence. He criticized those who had wavered in the revolution or opposed it, including leaders of the French and Algerian Communist Parties. He recalled that, in the early days of the Algerian national-independence movement, the leaders of the French Communist Party arbitrarily issued orders to the Algerians without considering the country's specific conditions.

As if not wishing to be outdone, leaders of the Algerian Communist Party regarded the people's struggle for independence as adventurous and foolhardy, said Amar Ouzegane. Alleging that the workers and peasants were incapable of seizing political power and running the government, they raised such slogans as higher wages, vacations, increased welfare and family allowances, rather than leading the national-independence movement. Consequently, the banner of the revolution passed into the hands of those who were actually fighting for Algeria's independence.

The Algerian Minister of State also told the gathering that, in the course of his people's liberation struggle, certain intellectuals thought that the United States could be persuaded to make the French Government grant Algeria self-government. They did not want to rely on the masses of the Algerian people and carry through the revolution. There were others, he revealed, who maintained that Algerian independence could be gained through parliamentary struggle by Algerians in the French National Assembly. The hard facts, he declared, shattered the illusion that imperialism would grant the people self-government. The only way to obtain independence was for Algeria to rely on itself, to take up arms and struggle by every possible means to destroy colonialism, he emphasized.

Noting that his people started their armed struggle with only 500 hunting guns against 100,000 well-equipped French troops, the Minister of State recalled that the leaders of some political parties had regarded the uprising as adventurist and a "suicidal operation" which could not last more than

three months. At that time the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party also issued a communique condemning the operation on these grounds. These pseudo-revolutionary theoreticians, he said, had forgotten that the Algerian people had completely repudiated the reformist ideology.

The Minister went on to describe how thousands upon thousands of young people joined the fighting organizations and how the Algerian National Liberation Army grew in strength. The struggle was terrible, he declared, and the Algerians lost one and a half million of their people. But the morale of the Algerian fighters was so high that they preferred to die rather than live like dogs under foreign domination. Minister of State Amar Ouzegane told how eager the Algerian officers and men were to learn from the experience of other countries and their methods of gaining victory and how Chairman Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary ideology on revolutionary war spread throughout Algerian towns and villages. As an expression of the Algerian people's friendship for the Chinese people, Minister of State Amar Ouzegane declared, President Ben Bella decided to send a government delegation to China to demonstrate that they would always stand together with their Chinese brothers.

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi who accompanied Minister of State Amar Ouzegane and his delegation during their tour of the country also spoke. Expressing thanks to the Algerian Minister, Chen Yi said that his speech clearly showed that those leaders who wavered in the revolution or opposed it ultimately would be rejected by the masses. This, the Vice-Premier said, was borne out by both the Algerian and Chinese revolutions. "Only those who take an active part in the revolution," he stressed, "and firmly struggle against the enemy can achieve final victory for the revolution, gain the support of the people and contribute to the revolutionary cause of the people throughout the world."

Chairman Liu Receives Vietnamese Journalists

Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of

the People's Republic of China, on October 12 received and had a very cordial talk with Vietnamese journalists visiting Peking. They comprised the delegation of the Vietnamese paper *Nhandan* headed by Hoang Tung, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and chief editor of *Nhandan*; the delegation of the Viet Nam News Agency headed by its director Hoang Tuan; and Ngo Duc Mau, deputy secretary-general of the Viet Nam Journalists' Association and editor-in-chief of the pictorial *Viet Nam*.

Indonesian Minister in Peking

Soemarno, Indonesian Minister of Central Bank Affairs and Governor of the Bank of Indonesia, arrived in Peking on October 10 with his wife. The Indonesian Minister was invited by Tsao Chu-ju, President of the People's Bank of China, to visit China and, on behalf of the Indonesian Government, to discuss the promotion of Sino-Indonesian economic contacts.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai received and had cordial talks with the Indonesian Minister on separate occasions.

At a welcome banquet given by President Tsao Chu-ju, both host and guest toasted the growing friendship between the Governments, people and banks of China and Indonesia.

Tanganyikan Guest in Peking

"May the friendship between the peoples of China and Tanganyika forged in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism continue to grow!" This was the toast of Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, at the banquet he gave in honour of his distinguished guest Adam Sapi Mkwawa, speaker of the National Assembly of Tanganyika.

Hailing the Tanganyikan people's successes in consolidating their country's independence and developing their national economy, Chairman Chu Teh paid tribute to them for their contributions to Afro-Asian solidarity in the joint struggle against imperialism. Chu Teh mentioned in particular the Moshi conference the success of which,

he said, was inseparably linked with the support given to it by the Tanganyikan Government and people.

Chairman Chu Teh also spoke of the traditional friendship between China and Tanganyika. "The peoples of our two countries," he said, "were subjected to imperialist and colonialist oppression in the past. Now they shoulder the common task of opposing imperialism and colonialism, safeguarding national independence and building their own countries. The Chinese people will stand firmly by the peoples of Tanganyika and other countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America and, uniting closely with them and supporting each other, march forward together."

Speaker Adam Sapi Mkwawa, who arrived in Peking on October 12 on a friendly visit at the invitation of Chairman Chu Teh, conveyed the best regards of President Julius Nyerere to the Chinese Government and people and thanked them for their support to the Tanganyikan people's fight against imperialism and colonialism. "Colonial rule," he said, "left us nothing but poverty. We are now making great efforts to eliminate poverty, disease and ignorance and to improve our people's living standards." He expressed confidence that his visit would strengthen further the friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

Tibet's Fifth Bumper Harvest

Tibetan peasants, gathering their fifth consecutive bumper harvest, are having to make new sheepskin sacks to hold this year's grain. Old sacks are too few to handle the new bumper harvest. From all over Tibet—the Chamdo area in the east, the lower reaches of the Tsangpo River and in the Ari area in the south—the word is one of excellent harvests.

Following four good years in succession, this year's 3.2 million *khal* sown to wheat and *qingke* barley have produced such a good yield that once again officers and men of the People's Liberation Army have been lending a hand to reap the harvest.

A number of factors contributed to this year's splendid grain crop. In addition to fine weather, there are the

water conservancy projects which were built and put into operation in the past few years. Above all, however, in the light of recent harvests, is the growing awareness on the part of the Tibetan peasants of the benefits from pooling their manpower and resources in mutual-aid teams.

In these not-so-long-ago serf-ridden highlands nine out of ten peasant households are now mutual-aid team members. These teams number more than 20,000 today. They represent the budding of agricultural co-operation in this part of China and are one of the most tangible gains won by the peasants since the reforms which followed the demise of serfdom in 1959.

Industry Flourishes in Sinkiang

Sinkiang in China's northwest in the past was predominantly a pastoral region which had to bring in practically all manufactured goods from other parts of the country. A phenomenal change has taken place in the last few years with the establishment of modern industries in the region.

A recent dispatch from Urumchi reveals that iron and steel works, coalmines, oil refineries, textile and paper mills, and machine-building, chemical engineering, sugar-refining and food-processing plants have been built in Sinkiang. Between them they turn out over 1,000 kinds of industrial products never made there before, ranging from machine tools, electric generators, metallurgical and mining equipment to textile goods, enamelware and other articles in daily use. The growth has been so rapid that industry's share by value in the total production of the region has jumped from 1.53 per cent in 1949 to over 50 per cent today. The goods the new enterprises make in two and a half days now equal in value that of all manufactured goods produced in a year in Sinkiang in 1949 or 1950.

Most significant is the development of light industry. Sinkiang which had not a single bobbin before liberation is now supplying most of the cotton goods needed in the region. The new textile industry has thrived with government help and today there are four modern cotton mills, two woollen mills, three silk filatures and a number of smaller mills.

Sinkiang is China's second largest stockbreeding area. It produces tens of thousands of tons of fresh milk and wool, and great quantities of hides each year. Tanneries and factories for making shoes and leather products have been set up, producing hundreds of thousands of hides annually as well as shoes and boots for the local people. Six years ago, there was not a single dairy products processing plant. Now almost every pastoral area has its own powdered milk factory. There is more than enough for local needs and powdered milk is shipped to other parts of the country.

All these changes have brought a new look to the region. But the transformation was not without difficulties. To begin with, there was a shortage of materials, lack of manpower and inadequate industrial techniques in the early years after liberation. While the government did everything possible to speed up the region's industrialization, many demobilized officers and men of the People's Liberation Army volunteered to go there and help build the first group of small factories and work in them. Later, in response to the call of the Communist Party and People's Government, group after group of Han workers moved to Sinkiang from all parts of the country. Together with the local minority peoples, they set up plants and workshops on formerly barren land. In 1956, more than 3,000 building workers from Changchun and Harbin in northeast China settled on the outskirts of Urumchi. With the help of demobilized P.L.A. men, they started to rebuild and expand the city. They opened up several new districts and built hundreds of tall buildings to house factories, offices, hospitals and schools.

What is particularly noteworthy is the help the Han workers have given to the minority people in Sinkiang to acquire technical know-how. To date, they have trained over 40,000 skilled workers from among the minority peoples. Thousands of the latter today hold responsible posts and are playing an active role in socialist construction and producing an increasing quantity of commodities for the country and for themselves.

India Has No Sincere Wish for Negotiations

Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on October 13 under the title "The Indian Government Has No Sincere Wish at Present for Peaceful Negotiations." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

IN a note to the Chinese Government dated September 6 the Indian Ministry of External Affairs reiterated the "constructive steps" for dealing with the Sino-Indian boundary question, as put forth in its note of April 3. It harped on the shop-worn theme that China "should accept, without reservations, the Colombo proposals."

Recently Prime Minister Nehru himself has also hypocritically said that his government was "keeping the door open for a peaceful settlement of the differences." He still clung, however, to the precondition that China must accept the Colombo proposals *in toto*.

It is clear that the Indian Government is trying to use its demand for "acceptance *in toto* of the Colombo proposals" as a smokescreen to confuse world opinion, so that it may go on refusing to enter into negotiations and create new tension along the Sino-Indian border. In its reply dated October 9, the Chinese Foreign Ministry forcefully refuted the distortions and vilifications of the Chinese stand made by the Indian Government in its notes mentioned above, and exposed its hypocrisy about "acceptance *in toto* of the Colombo proposals" as well as its despicable aims.

The Indian Government is trying to give world public opinion the wrong impression that it accepts the Colombo proposals "*in toto*," while the Chinese Government rejects the proposals completely, and that consequently, China, not India, is to blame for refusing to enter into negotiations. In doing so, the Indian Government believes that it has played a smart trick. But facts are facts and it is absolutely impossible to blind the people of the world by means of lies.

China's Deeds Exceed Requirements of Colombo Proposals

The whole world can see that the Chinese Government has consistently advocated the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border issue through negotiations. When the Chinese frontier guards hit back in self-defence, they did so because there was no alternative. After the Indian military attacks were beaten back, the Chinese Government promptly took major actions for peace in ordering, on its own initiative, a ceasefire and withdrawal, to help towards bringing the border conflict to an end, re-opening Sino-Indian negotiations and bringing about a peaceful settlement of the border issue.

Adhering to this unswerving stand for peace, the Chinese Government welcomed and supported the Colombo conference of six Asian and African nations in its efforts to facilitate the holding of direct negotiations between China and India. The Chinese Government accepts in principle the Colombo proposals as the basis for direct negotiations with India in order to stabilize the ceasefire, effect a disengagement and settle the border issue peacefully.

The Chinese Government has responded positively to the Colombo proposals not only in words, but in deeds. The measures so far taken by the Chinese Government have met and have, in some respects, even exceeded the requirements of the Colombo proposals.

Facts are the best evidence.

1. China effected a ceasefire on its own initiative. It was this ceasefire that provided the Colombo conference with a basis for its good offices.

2. China withdrew its frontier guards 20 kilometres on its side from the line of actual control of November 7, 1959, not only in the western sector but also in the eastern and middle sectors. This exceeds the requirements of the Colombo proposals.

3. In response to the Colombo conference efforts, China decided on its own initiative not to set up civilian posts in the disputed areas under the ceasefire arrangements. Thus it has kept the following areas vacated so that these disputes might be settled through negotiations. These areas are those in the western sector where invading Indian troops had established 43 aggressive strong-points, Wuje in the middle sector, and Chedong and Longju in the eastern sector.

4. The Chinese Government released on its own initiative all the captured Indian officers and men.

5. China returned on its own initiative most of the arms, equipment and other combat materiel captured from the Indian troops.

China's Only Reservation of Interpretation

What the Chinese Government has done greatly exceeds the requirements of the Colombo proposals. It only reserves its own interpretation of a portion of one of the six articles of the proposals, namely Article II (c), which says about the western sector of the Sino-Indian border: "Pending a final solution of the border dispute, the area vacated by the Chinese military withdrawal will be a demilitarized zone to be administered by civilian posts of both sides to be agreed upon, without prejudice

to the rights of the previous presence of both India and China in that area."

This provision is vague, and it would be hard to avoid different interpretations. In the western sector, all the areas vacated by Chinese troops are Chinese territory, including those places where the Indian troops had broken the status quo on the border and established 43 aggressive strong-points. It is unreasonable to assert that India has the right to set up civilian posts there simply because she had once invaded and occupied these places. This would be contrary to the principle acknowledged by all the countries participating in the Colombo conference that the status quo on the border must not be changed by the use of force.

The Chinese Government has never concealed its own views. It has explained them to all the Colombo conference countries. Not a single one of these countries considers that by making this reservation, the Chinese Government has rejected the Colombo proposals. On the contrary, they all consider the Chinese Government's attitude towards the Colombo proposals positive and co-operative.

Incontrovertible facts show that in order to seek a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Chinese Government has realized most of the Colombo proposals by its actions. But what has been done by the Indian Government which has been talking glibly about its "acceptance *in toto* of the Colombo proposals"?

The Gap Between India's Words and Actions

Let us have a look at the facts.

Following the Chinese frontier guards' ceasefire and withdrawal, the Indian troops again advanced and time and again intruded into Chinese territory by crossing the line of actual control in the western, middle and eastern sectors. As many as 30 cases of Indian encroachments and provocations have occurred since the Chinese side ceased fire on its own initiative. In addition, Indian aircraft have frequently intruded into China's air space for reconnoitring and provocative activities.

At the same time, the Indian Government has taken a number of anti-China measures intended to exacerbate its relations with China. It has brutally persecuted law-abiding Chinese residents in India and compelled China to withdraw its Consulates-General in India. It has restricted the normal diplomatic activities of the Chinese Embassy in India, and taken over unwarrantedly a branch and an agency of the Bank of China in India. The Indian Government and Prime Minister Nehru himself have unceasingly mouthed big lies about Chinese "invasion" and "massing of troops," for the purpose of keeping up a war atmosphere at home.

The Colombo conference had the aim of stabilizing the ceasefire, bringing about a disengagement and facilitating the holding of direct Sino-Indian negotiations. What the Indian Government has been doing, however, has been to keep the ceasefire unstable and

the armed forces in contact and to poison the atmosphere for direct negotiations. All this can only show that the Indian Government has no sincere wish at all for a peaceful settlement through negotiations of the border issue with China.

The Indian Government now pretends that it has accepted the Colombo proposals without reservation and *in toto* and insists that China must do the same, otherwise there can be no negotiations. This position of the Indian Government is untenable and hypocritical.

There Can Be No Arbitral Award

Of course, the Indian Government has the right to accept the Colombo proposals *in toto*, but it is entirely unreasonable for the Indian Government to insist that China must accept the Colombo proposals *in toto* before any negotiations can be held. Of course, the Colombo conference would like to see its proposals accepted completely by both China and India, but the conference countries have never maintained that the two sides can hold negotiations only when the conference proposals are accepted *in toto*. On the contrary, more than one Colombo conference participant has expressed the view that even if the proposals were only partially accepted, the two countries could still begin negotiations. By insisting on China's total acceptance of the proposals, the Indian Government is trying to turn them into a kind of arbitral award given by an international court and purposely putting the Colombo conference participants in the position of arbitrators, while in fact they are mediators and wish to remain as mediators only.

Moreover, has the Indian Government really accepted the Colombo proposals *in toto*? The fact is that it has not done so. The attitude of the Indian Government towards them is by no means one of unreserved total acceptance. After the proposals were adopted in Colombo on December 12, 1962, the Indian Government did not make known its attitude towards them for a considerable length of time. It said that the proposals were not clear and needed clarification. Later, it once expressed acceptance of the proposals in principle. It was only when the Ceylonese Prime Minister and others visited New Delhi on January 14, 1963, and the so-called clarifications of the Colombo proposals were produced that the Indian Government expressed complete acceptance of them. In Nehru's own words, "when India received the proposals of the Colombo powers we gave them most careful consideration, but we did not react immediately because some of the clauses were not clear"; and, "since the clarifications brought the proposals close to India's demand for the restoration of the September 8 position India accepted them *in toto*." (Speech at a public meeting on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the death of Gandhi, January 30, 1963.)

"Clarifications" — India's Own Interpretation

The Indian Government's so-called acceptance of the Colombo proposals *in toto* actually means accepting the

Colombo proposals plus the so-called clarifications produced in New Delhi. Herein lies the whole secret of the matter. The so-called clarifications produced in New Delhi were drafted by the Indian Government and written in its own words as a summary of the discussions in New Delhi. There is authoritative proof of this. Therefore, the so-called clarifications are in fact the Indian Government's own interpretation of the Colombo proposals, in particular, of Article II (c). The clarifications not only differ in substance from those made by the Prime Minister of Ceylon when she was in Peking, but also differ widely from the original provisions of the Colombo proposals. According to the Colombo proposals, the demilitarized zone in the western sector is "to be administered by civilian posts of both sides to be agreed upon." This provision, though unreasonable, still leaves room for settlement between the two sides through negotiations. But the Indian Government has changed this provision through its own interpretation into one to the effect that the demilitarized zone in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border "will be administered by civilian posts of both sides." Furthermore, it regards this arbitrary stipulation as "a substantive part of the Colombo conference proposals. It is as to the location, the number of posts and their composition that there has to be an agreement between the two Governments of India and China." Thus there is no longer any room for negotiation between the two sides. By insisting that the clarifications produced in New Delhi should be accepted as a legal document along with the Colombo proposals, the Indian Government is in fact trying to make the Colombo conference countries partial to India. This can only be regarded as an attempt by the Indian Government to force its will on others.

No Precondition for Opening Negotiations

There are differences between China and India regarding the Colombo proposals. But they are not in the least as the Indian Government has represented them to be, as if India had accepted the Colombo proposals *in toto* whereas China had rejected them *in toto*. On the contrary, both China and India have their own interpretations of the proposals. China reserves its own interpretation but does not insist on its acceptance by India as a precondition for the opening of negotiations. But India is passing off its own interpretation as a legal document of the Colombo conference and insisting on its acceptance by China as a precondition for the opening of negotiations. We believe that so long as both sides are sincere, the different interpretations regarding the Colombo proposals can be straightened out in a way fair and reasonable for both sides through negotiations. The Indian Government's insistence on China's accepting its own interpretation of the Colombo proposals shows that in fact it has no wish to negotiate whatsoever and is unwilling peacefully to settle the Sino-Indian border question through negotiations.

It is not true that the Indian Government has completely accepted the Colombo proposals. Its clamorous demand that China must completely accept the Colombo proposals is merely designed to cover up the

fact that it rejects negotiations and continues to create tension on the Sino-Indian border. All people who are unbiased and respect the facts should be able to see through this clumsy trick of the Indian Government.

It is well known that the tension on the Sino-Indian border has long been relaxed thanks to China's peaceful measures in effecting ceasefire and withdrawal on its own initiative. At any rate, thanks to the efforts of the Chinese side, a separation belt has already appeared all along the Sino-Indian border disengaging the armed forces of both sides. This is an important guarantee for maintaining the relaxation of the border situation. China will never carry out military provocation on the border. Tension will never be created by the Chinese side. Obviously, there can be no tension along the Sino-Indian border so long as the Indian side refrains from making further military provocations.

Ulterior Motives

But the Indian Government apparently has no intention to re-open Sino-Indian negotiations, but will continue its provocations and create new tension on the Sino-Indian border with a view to suppressing the people at home, begging for aid from abroad and joining in the intensified anti-China campaign of U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism. Indian Defence Minister Chavan admitted in the Indian Parliament on September 9 that India was vigorously engaged in large-scale war preparations, that military supplies kept pouring into India from the United States and the Soviet Union and that the "new equipment" from abroad was "reaching the troops in the forward areas." These indications warrant vigilance against the possibility of the Indian Government launching fresh and still more serious military provocations on the Sino-Indian border.

The Government and people of China have not the least wish to see tension revived on the Sino-Indian border. We demand that the Indian side stop its border encroachments and provocations so that the border situation can remain relaxed. Should the Indian Government, under the instigation of the U.S. imperialists and modern revisionists, pin blind faith on the use of force and deliberately rekindle border conflicts, the Chinese Government would first of all inform the Colombo conference countries of this situation, requesting them to put a stop to it. The situation of today is very different from what it was a year ago. We are convinced that any aggressive acts on the part of the Indian Government in rekindling border conflicts will be sternly condemned by world opinion.

The Chinese Government stands steadfastly for the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border question through negotiation. We are ready to sit down and negotiate with the Indian Government at any time. If the Indian Government is not yet willing to negotiate at the moment, we will wait patiently. It is our belief that the Sino-Indian border question will eventually be settled peacefully no matter how long it may take. The people of China and India will certainly live together in peace.

Chinese Foreign Ministry's Note

This note was addressed to the Indian Embassy in China on October 9. — Ed.

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and, with reference to the notes of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dated April 3 and September 6, 1963, has the honour to state as follows:

Apart from repeating in the above-mentioned notes the hackneyed slander about Chinese aggression against India, which has long been exploded, the Indian Government pretentiously suggested five so-called constructive steps purporting to deal with the boundary differences. In fact they are nothing but a hotchpotch of the unreasonable propositions which India has maintained for some time and which China has refuted, and they are not constructive steps at all. The Indian Government itself admitted in its note that these steps merely "reiterated" the propositions it had put forward. There would have been no need to refute these propositions again. But the Indian Government has prized them and tediously dished them up once again in its note of September 6, 1963, and even complained about the fact that China has not replied to these "constructive suggestions." Well then, the Chinese Government might as well as use some ink and paper and analyze the substance of these so-called constructive suggestions made by India and see what stuff they are really made of.

The five steps proposed by the Indian Government consist of no more than the following three points: (1) The Chinese Government must "accept, without reservations, the Colombo proposals" before a meeting of officials can be held to discuss and implement the details of the proposals; (2) Only when "these proposals" have been "implemented on the ground" and "in the improved atmosphere" so judged by the Indian Government can the two sides "take up the question of their differences on the boundary question"; and (3) If no agreement is reached between the two sides on the so-called boundary differences, a reference shall be made regarding the boundary differences to international arbitration of one kind or another. Comment on these three points follows:

(1) Concerning the question of so-called unreserved acceptance and implementation of the Colombo proposals.

The Indian Government has repeatedly claimed that it has accepted the Colombo proposals without reservations and asked the Chinese Government to do the same as a precondition to a meeting of the officials. This position of the Indian Government is hypocritical and it is an attempt to impose its own interpretation of the Colombo proposals on China.

The task of the Colombo conference was to mediate and not to arbitrate. Its proposals are only a recommendation for the consideration of China and India and not a verdict or arbitral award which China or India must accept *in toto*. Although the Colombo conference nations expressed the hope that the Colombo proposals would be accepted by both sides, they have never said that direct negotiations can start only when the Colombo proposals have been accepted *in toto*. On the contrary, more than one of them have expressed the view that even if the proposals were only partially accepted it would yet mark a step forward towards bridging the differences between China and India, and that there is no need for China and India to agree to all the Colombo proposals before going to the conference table. The Indian Government's insistence that China must accept the Colombo proposals without reser-

vations is in fact an attempt to turn the Colombo proposals into an arbitral award. This attitude of imposing one's will upon others is diametrically against the purpose and objective of the Colombo conference.

It is deceitful to say that the Indian Government has accepted the Colombo proposals without reservations. As is well known, India's so-called acceptance of the Colombo proposals without reservations actually means accepting the Colombo proposals *plus* the clarifications produced in New Delhi, which are in fact the Indian Government's interpretation of the Colombo proposals. There is authoritative proof that the so-called New Delhi clarifications were drafted by the Indian Government and written in its own language as a summary of the discussions in New Delhi, and that the key part of these clarifications, which holds that administration of the demilitarized zone in the western sector by civilian posts of both sides forms "a substantive part of the Colombo conference proposals," is no comment by the Ceylonese Prime Minister or her colleagues but the Indian Government's own assertion. The Indian Government has done so in order to tamper with the Colombo proposals and make them conform to India's unreasonable demand for the restoration of its fruits of aggression prior to September 8, 1962.

Even Prime Minister Nehru has admitted that certain provisions of the Colombo proposals are not clear. It is therefore inevitable that the proposals give rise to different interpretations. It is elementary knowledge that the different interpretations held by China and India can only be left for discussion and settlement in the negotiations. The Chinese Government has consistently held that China and India should accept the Colombo proposals in principle as a basis for direct negotiations. China has put forward its own interpretation, but has not made it a precondition to negotiations. China's attitude is reasonable and open and above-board. By contrast, India has insisted on disguising its own interpretation as clarifications of the Colombo proposals, and attempted to force it on China under the pretext of acceptance of the Colombo proposals without reservations. This is not only utterly unreasonable, but also quite dishonest.

(2) Concerning the so-called taking up of the question of differences on the boundary question.

It cannot escape notice that the Indian Government draws a sharp distinction between negotiations on the boundary question itself and those on the ceasefire arrangements. The Indian Government stipulates that the two parties can "take up the question of their differences on the boundary question" only after the Chinese Government has accepted *in toto* and implemented the Colombo proposals as interpreted by the Indian Government and when there is an improved atmosphere so judged by it. In the past years, the Indian Government has kept saying that there must be an appropriate atmosphere before boundary negotiations can start, and it has deliberately cast a shroud of mystery over this question, so much so that nobody knows what is meant by an appropriate atmosphere. On the other hand, it has ceaselessly poisoned Sino-Indian relations and even stirred up troubles and manufactured rumours so as to create artificial tensions. What is more, there is every reason to believe that the Indian Government will not be prepared to negotiate the boundary question in earnest and bring about a settlement even if all its preconditions are fulfilled. It has always been the attitude of the Indian Government that it completely denies the existence of a boundary question between China and India. It arbitrarily holds that the alignment

it claims is the fixed boundary between China and India; and at most it admits the existence of some minor "differences." Hence it holds in effect that Indian-occupied Chinese territory is not negotiable, that the question of Indian-occupied Chinese territory is not negotiable either, and that negotiations, if any, must be confined to China's withdrawal or India's entrance. Up to now, one can see no change in this attitude of the Indian Government. In these circumstances, it can be foreseen that no results will be obtained even though boundary negotiations are held. No wonder the Indian Government is already planning to substitute international arbitration for direct negotiations before there is any sign of boundary negotiations.

(3) Concerning so-called international arbitration.

The Sino-Indian boundary dispute is an important issue involving the sovereignty of both countries, and the territory involved totals more than a hundred thousand square kilometres. It goes without saying that this issue can be settled only through direct negotiations between the two parties, and absolutely not through any form of international arbitration.

The Indian Government has gone back on its own stand. In the past, it also admitted that arbitration was not the proper method to apply to the settlement of disputes over sovereignty as the Sino-Indian boundary question. But of late, the Indian Government has described the issue as one involving the interpretation of treaties, agreements and other factual data and should be referred to international arbitration. At one time the Indian Government said that arbitration was not applicable to disputes over sovereignty, at another it said that it was applicable. Such a way of argument is utterly mischievous. The Indian Government was clearly aware that the Chinese Government could not agree to referring the Sino-Indian boundary question to international arbitration and that the International Court of Justice at the Hague is an organ of the United Nations, among whose judges there is an element of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, nonetheless it continues to propose to refer the Sino-Indian boundary dispute to the International Court or other organs of international arbitration. This is nothing but a clumsy attempt to disguise its unreasonable stand of dodging direct negotiations.

In a word, the purpose of the Indian Government in suggesting these steps is, to put it bluntly, by no means to bring

about negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question, but to make negotiations impossible by setting up an array of obstacles.

The Indian Government does not have the least desire to hold negotiations with China, but has every determination to wage long-term cold war against China. It is known to all that the Indian Government has been begging for large amounts of military assistance from U.S. imperialism for arms expansion and war preparations, and has recently even openly colluded with the United States and Britain in preparing to conduct joint air manoeuvres. The Indian Government has already moved its armed patrols up to the Sino-Indian border along its entire length. In the period from November 22, 1962, to the end of August 1963, Indian troops have intruded nearly thirty times into Chinese territory by crossing the line of actual control, and Indian aircraft have made eighty sorties into China's airspace. These well-established facts can by no means be denied by accusing China of making "baseless allegations" and "propaganda" as was done in the Indian note.

The Chinese Government has consistently striven to make its southwestern boundaries boundaries of peace and friendship. It has already reached agreements on, and so settled, its boundary questions with a number of neighbouring countries on the basis of friendship, equality, mutual respect, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. Naturally, it wishes to see the Sino-Indian boundary question also speedily settled in a peaceful way. Should the Indian Government indeed have the same wish, it should discard all its useless pretexts and subterfuges and accept the Chinese Government's proposal for both sides to accept the Colombo proposals in principle as a basis for the immediate holding of direct negotiations so as to stabilize the ceasefire, disengage their forces and settle the Sino-Indian boundary question peacefully. The Chinese Government's proposal is the truly effective way to settle the boundary question and a truly constructive step. The Indian Government has no reason to reject it. This is a test of whether the Indian Government is sincere about a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Opposing U.S. Imperialism

China Reaffirms Support for American Negroes' Struggle

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE Chinese people have, in the last two months, twice voiced support for the struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism.

On August 12, Peking held its first mass rally to demonstrate China's firm backing for the struggle (see *Peking Review* No. 33, August 16, 1963). On October 10, the auditorium of the Great Hall of the People, which seats more than 10,000, again was filled to capacity when Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, Robert F. Williams, an American Negro leader, and five other foreign guests took the floor to denounce U.S. imperialist

foreign policy of aggression and war and its domestic policy of intensifying its suppression of the working people, the American Negroes in particular. Speakers at the meeting, responding to Chairman Mao Tse-tung's August 8 statement in support of the struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination, also appealed to the world's oppressed nations and peoples to unite and wage a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The October 10 rally was attended by many visitors from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania. Among Chinese government leaders present were Ho Lung, Vice-Premier, Huang Yen-pei, Peng Chen and Chen Shu-tung,

Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, and Burhan Shahidi, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Others who attended included leaders of 11 national people's organizations which sponsored the rally.

Unity Is Strength. In his opening speech, Kuo Mo-jo emphasized the historic significance of the current American Negroes' struggle and pledged that 650 million Chinese would always back up their fighting Negro brothers and other people in the United States.

In the common struggle against imperialism, mutual support and close unity of the people of all countries was the source of strength, an indispensable condition for defeating the enemy, Kuo Mo-jo stated. World unity, forged in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism, both old and new, could not be destroyed, he said.

Kuo Mo-jo expressed admiration for the unflinching revolutionary spirit of Robert F. Williams, calling him a contemporary lion-hearted fighter and leader of the American Negroes.

The 38-year-old Williams, who hails from the state of North Carolina, was forced in 1961 to leave his native country and take up residence in Cuba. Robert Williams, advocating that Negroes must counter violence with violence and take up arms in self-defence, has since 1957 actively resisted the authorities who have been working hand in glove with racists. It was at his request that Chairman Mao Tse-tung made his famous August 8 statement.

No Peaceful Coexistence With Savages. Robert Williams was warmly greeted at the October 10 rally. After expressing his gratitude to Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese people for their unflagging support to the liberation struggle of the American Negroes, he told the audience how he felt while living in Cuba and visiting China. "To be in China," he said, "with an open mind and eye, is to be infected with admiration for a dauntless people with a warm love for humanity and world peace." China and Cuba were forbidden territories for his fellow countrymen, he continued. "Yes, as a black man, I find in these two countries that for the first time in my life I enjoy the splendid feeling of belonging to the human race. I have experienced for the first time in all my life the lifting of the horrible burden of racial tyranny and the stress of being born black in a white-supremacy world."

In his 8,000-word-long speech, Williams brought forth a host of facts to give the lie to the so-called democracy and freedom in the United States and accused U.S. imperialism of its brutalities in racial persecution. "The Government of the U.S.," he said, "is the world's greatest hypocrite. It is the world's greatest enslaver and dehumanizer of the human race. It is a disgrace and a horrible shame to all mankind. It is a threat to the peace and security of the world."

Williams assured his audience that "the U.S. is out to conquer the world and to establish a new world order of 'racist democracy,' exemplified by Birmingham justice. Those who speak of peaceful coexistence with such savage beasts cannot sincerely have the best interest of all humanity at heart."

In winding up his speech, Williams declared that the Government of the United States was an enemy to all the world, and freedom there was a farce. But, "I take heart in the fact that our people, like the other oppressed peoples of the world, are fighting back. We are bound to win because we are part of the world struggle of all the oppressed peoples." At the end of his speech, he shouted "Freedom! Freedom! Freedom now or death!"

U.S. Imperialism, the Common Enemy. The next to take the floor was Le Quang Chanh, a representative of the south Vietnamese people, who declared that "the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam and the people there fully support their American Negro brothers in the just struggle against U.S. imperialist racial discrimination." It was obvious, he added, that for the people of the United States, including the American Negroes, and the people of south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism was the common enemy.

Racism, Product of Modern Imperialism. Jurist Yoshitaro Hirano, Chairman of the Japanese National Peace Committee, also spoke. He said: "The revolutionary actions of the Negro people will symbolize the victory of all the oppressed people of the world in their revolution. It proves that the world revolution has entered a new stage."

"Racial discrimination is not simply racial discrimination, but the reflection at home of the policies of war and aggression pursued by imperialism abroad," Hirano added. He also pointed out that racism inside the United States was a product of modern imperialism and the struggle against it was closely connected with the Japanese people's anti-imperialist struggle. The Japanese people regarded the suffering of the American Negroes as their own, he declared.

Racial Discrimination and Class Struggle. The fourth guest speaker was J. Kozonguizi, Chairman of the South-west African National Union; he said that he spoke as a representative of a people who had been the victim of the most severe racial oppression.

Condemning U.S. racial discrimination against American Negroes, he asked: "Why are they not free after 300 years of 'liberty' and independence in the land of those concerned with 'freedom of the people' in other parts of the world—people who are in no way related to them in class, colour or even creed?" There were people, he said, who thought that we must not stress the racial factor in the system of oppression of man by man, for, according to them, that would be racism and chauvinism. But, Kozonguizi added, it was not we who had brought this matter into the class struggle. It was created by those who hypocritically talked about mankind's fraternity. When there were people setting up racial barriers, we must smash them and fight for freedom.

Expressions of Western "Civilization." Kozonguizi was followed by General G. Leite of Brazil who pointed out that the liberation of the American Negroes could never be attained under Kennedy.

"Kennedy is himself a dollar magnate, an instrument of the trusts and the monopolies. Kennedy will always serve his own class and never the cause of freedom for the American Negroes," General Leite said.

The American imperialists, he declared, claimed to be the defenders of the "free world" and Western civilization. But "what concretely expresses their so-called civilization is the cowardly massacre of American Negroes, the shameless intervention in the life of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the systematic plunder of their resources."

The General declared: "The American Negroes must win their human rights and freedom by their revolutionary struggles, by their own hands. They have the strongest support of all people and they will triumph!"

A Beast With Two Faces. The last to address the meeting was New Zealand's poet and peace champion Rewi Alley. Some of his passages rang out. "U.S. imperialism," he said, "is a beast with two faces. One growls and snarls as it shows its teeth, while the other cringes and pours

out a never-ending stream of mouthy, slimy cant. The one mouth devours the bodies of its victims, and the other their souls. Both lead down into the same belly, distended with the plunder of the world."

Some people now wanted to withdraw from the worldwide struggle against this enemy. When they told the injured of the world to practise their "peaceful co-existence," this was outright capitulation, the New Zealand speaker pointed out.

Before the close of the meeting the crowded hall rose to mourn in silence the late American Negro leader Dr. Du Bois and all Negroes who had laid down their lives in the struggle against racial discrimination.

A message of support to the American Negro people was adopted amidst prolonged applause.

Mobilizing Greater Resources

People's Communes Register Big Gains

RECENT reports from various parts of the country tell of the successes scored by China's rural people's communes in a great many fields: extending water conservancy works and undertaking other capital construction projects on the farms, combating natural calamities, boosting farm output, transforming natural conditions unfavourable to farm production and promoting the technical reform of agriculture.

Suburban Peking's Water Conservancy Works

Water conservancy works built by the people's communes of suburban Peking stood the test not only of the worst drought Peking has seen in 40 years, but also of an unusually heavy deluge of summer rain that threatened the autumn crops. These works were largely responsible for the winter wheat harvest being 2,000 tons heavier than last year's despite the drought and a slightly reduced acreage. Rainfall at the centre of the big storm in early August accounted for more than two-thirds of a normal year's total precipitation. Before liberation, a million *mu* could have been waterlogged with heavy damages to the crops. This time, however, the surplus water was drained off in most places within a couple of days or so and the autumn crops are now growing well.

Since 1958 the people's communes and the People's Government of Peking have built 40 large and small reservoirs on the rivers within the suburban area and this has brought them basically under control. These works have been supplemented by more than 40 new irrigation systems each capable of watering at least 10,000 *mu*. Compared with 1957, Peking's irrigated area has quadrupled.

With their larger resources in manpower and funds, the people's communes can undertake projects which were difficult for the former farm co-ops to handle. In Shunyi County, a number of communes combined to build two ir-

rigation systems, in which 200 kilometres of canals cut across the fields of hundreds of villages. Thanks to these and other irrigation projects, the county has increased its irrigated area 20-fold and its per-*mu* yield of grain by 37 per cent compared with 1957.

The people's communes of Peking have sunk a great many deep wells and acquired electric pumps for irrigation and drainage. In 1957 there were only 100 wells on the outskirts of Peking equipped with electric pumps; now there are 3,800. The market gardens around the capital are discarding the old windlasses and waterwheels in favour of mechanically powered wells.

Fresh Vegetables for Shanghai

The residents of Shanghai, the largest city of China, get fresh vegetables at the rate of half a kilogramme per head every day of the year. Their suppliers are the 26 suburban people's communes, which grow more than 400 varieties of vegetables and send 3,000 tons of them fresh every day into the city.

Through mechanization, more intensive farming, multiple cropping and other measures introduced between 1958-62, these communes raised per-*mu* vegetable yields by 61 per cent. They have expanded their greenhouse area 30-fold in the past five years. This gives Shanghai bigger quantities of such vegetables as tomatoes and cucumbers even in midwinter.

Before liberation, most of the vegetables on the Shanghai market had to be brought in from considerable distances. Long haulage not only affected freshness, but added to costs. This situation changed enormously after liberation as suburban farms and co-ops increased their output, but even as late as 1957 the city still depended on outside counties for about 40 per cent of its vegetables. In 1959, only one year after the founding of

the people's communes, Shanghai was getting all its vegetables from its suburban market gardens and has done so ever since.

Shanghai's excellent vegetable supply situation is to a large extent due to the 26 people's communes' unified planning of acreage, variety and yields of vegetables. This was unimaginable in the old days of small-peasant farms. The great variety of vegetables produced requires complex planning, covering different times for sowing, irrigation and harvesting and field management on a scale that was difficult even for the small farm co-ops which preceded the communes.

A huge amount of funds for investment and large-scale production make it possible for the people's communes to use various types of farm machines which were beyond the means of individual farmers or farm co-ops. Shanghai's 26 vegetable-growing communes have bought electric motors and internal combustion engines to a total of 15,000 h.p. in the past five years. Over 90 per cent of their market gardens are irrigated by mechanical and electrical pumps.

Electric Pumping Stations in Pearl River Delta

Many small electric pumping stations now dot the paddyfields of the fertile Pearl River delta in south China's Kwangtung Province. This underscores important trends in the delta area: industry's support to farming, the beginning of rural electrification and, above all, the ability of the people's communes to build engineering projects of this kind with government aid.

In the first half of 1963, a long spell of drought in the delta region seriously affected the early-rice crop. However, since more than 90 per cent of the paddies received adequate water from the electric pumping stations, the harvest was fairly good. In Nanhai County where nine out of every ten *mu* of paddyfields are served by these stations, grain output has risen steadily despite incessant natural calamities in the past few years.

The people's communes get their electricity from a big power grid specially built by the government. Con-

struction of the electric pumping stations network began in 1959 and the entire project will be completed next year. All the technical personnel and equipment are Chinese.

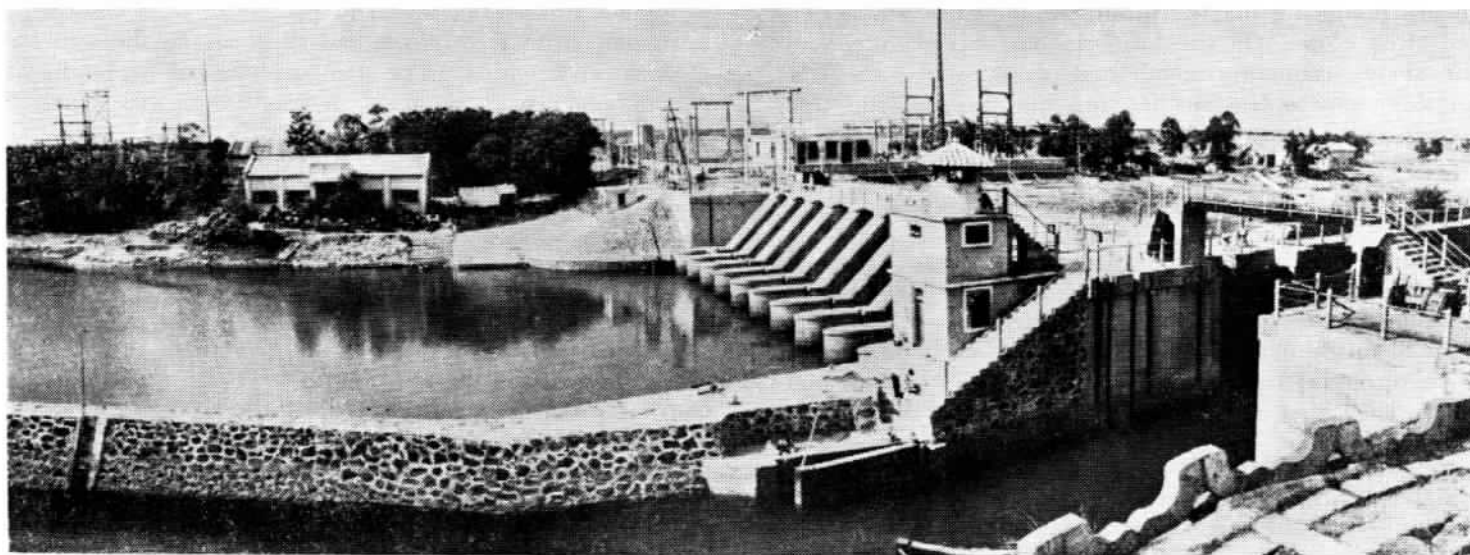
More than 4,000 kilometres of high-tension transmission lines have been set up and 2,560 electric pumping stations (total capacity exceeding 180,000 kw.) are operating in the delta area. The entire network has been extended to 23 counties and cities, bringing 5.8 million *mu* of farmland under irrigation or drainage. In case of need, these stations can draw more than 3 million cubic metres of water from the Pearl River and its tributaries to the ricefields every hour.

Thanks to this vast network, in many villages electricity is being used in homes and in processing farm produce.

Kiangsi Transforms Its Red Soil

Red soil, which makes up 46 per cent of the total land area in Kiangsi Province, normally ranks as poor soil. Its humus content is extremely low; it becomes a sticky, clayey mass under the rain, and goes rock-hard in dry weather. As a result, the red-soil paddies which make up 42 per cent of the rice acreage in Kiangsi generally give rather low yields. Kiangsi farmers have long had difficulty with their red-soil fields. Though the farm co-ops had done some work to deal with this kind of poor soil, substantial progress has been obtained only under the people's communes. They have regarded its amelioration as a most important way of raising farm yields and are using a variety of methods to achieve this.

Tunghsiang County provides a good example of what has been done. The first step adopted by its people's communes was to plant green manure extensively on red-soil fields and then plough this in to increase the organic content of the soil. Since red soil is very vulnerable to drought and to erosion from the run-off of rainwater, they also built a large number of reservoirs and ponds to provide controlled irrigation for more than 90 per cent of their red-soil cropland. Phosphate fertilizers



An electric pumping station in Nanhai County, Kwangtung Province



Peasants in Heilungkiang Province welcome China-made new Dongfanghong (East is Red) tractors

forest belt covering more than 1 million *mu* protects 520,000 *mu* of cultivated land from windstorms and sandstorms.

The people's communes have built nine reservoirs and cut a large number of irrigation canals. These supply water for levelling sand dunes and turning them into farmland. Vast tracts of shifting sand have been pinned down in this way and 50 oases have been created in the desert.

The local people long hoped to tame this desert, but unorganized, individual efforts could not prevail against the might of the natural forces opposed to them. After liberation, the farm co-ops organized efforts to plant shelter belts around the farmlands and villages and they dug a number of small irrigation channels. But this was still far from enough. The cutting of the needed channels, and large-scale planting of trees called for more labour than the co-ops could mobilize. The people's communes have met this need. They afforest each year, for instance, an area 2.5 times as great as did the farm co-ops.

Mechanizing Heilungkiang's Farms

The people's communes have accelerated the progress of farm mechanization in Heilungkiang, an important grain-producing province in the northeast. The tractors working for them have increased by one-third this year, which is more than treble the number of tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units) used for this purpose in 1957, the year before the founding of the people's communes. Now six out of every ten communes in the province are using tractors on part of their land.

Tractors have played a leading role in the opening up of virgin land in Heilungkiang. This spring alone communes reclaimed 1.3 million *mu* of wasteland with the help of tractors, and got 1.1 million *mu* of this new land sown to crops.

Heilungkiang Province is famed for its rich black soil, but it does not have enough manpower and draught animals for the area of cultivated land. At the same time its vast flat plains are particularly suited for the use of farm machines. The people's communes have been able to exploit these advantages by merging the former small farm plots into large fields and thus paving the way for modernized farming. The manpower saved by mechanization is generally diverted to more intensive farming.

Every county in the province has its own tractor stations. In addition to ploughing one-sixth of the farmland of the people's communes, the tractor stations also help them with the sowing of wheat and soya beans and part of the inter-row cultivation. A great part of the food processing, oil pressing and fodder cutting is also done by tractor-operated machines.

More Livestock in Inner Mongolia

For the fifth year running Inner Mongolia is rejoicing over a big livestock increase. In the five years since their creation, its 275 stockbreeding people's communes have had a gross increase of nearly 200 per cent in their herds and flocks. Large numbers of animals were sold

are also being applied to make up the red soil's lack of phosphorus.

Through these methods, the people's communes have substantially raised the yield of their red-soil paddies. Yields of early rice in such paddies of the province have increased by 20 to 40 per cent compared with pre-commune years. In Tunghsiang County the per-*mu* yield of early rice in the red-soil paddies is now close to that of the fertile farms.

More and better crops are being grown on the over 20 million *mu* of red-soil farmland in Kiangsi and more of this soil is being made arable. The 600,000 *mu* of red-soil wastelands that the communes have newly opened up are producing maize, cotton, ground-nuts, sugar cane and other crops. On the formerly barren red-soil mountain slopes, commune members have planted more than 1 million *mu* to tea gardens and timber-producing trees as well as oil-bearing plants and orchards.

Desert Control in Northern Shensi

Northern Shensi's Maowusu desert, twice as large as Belgium, is being successfully controlled. The people's communes in the Yulin area have in the past five years restored to use 520,000 *mu* of farmland and 1 million *mu* of pasture that had been buried or covered by shifting sand. They have also opened another 100,000 *mu* of new cropland. These efforts have added huge amounts of grain each year to local granaries and brought about a steady increase in livestock, particularly sheep.

Trees and grass have been planted on large expanses of former desert. A newly planted 300-kilometre-long

and others slaughtered for domestic use, but this still left about 18 million additional head — a net gain of more than 70 per cent in five years.

Inner Mongolia is China's largest livestock-breeding region. With better planning and more resources, its stockbreeding communes have put in much work to get these results. They sank 20,000 wells on arid grassland to provide drinking water for their animals, opened up or improved 30,000 square kilometres of grassland and built 300,000 structures — pens, stables and sheds — to give their herds warm shelter in bad weather. Now they have twice as many wells and shelters as in 1958. To supplement natural pasturage, they now grow fodder crops on more than 1.5 million *mu*.

The weather on the pastures can be catastrophic. In the pre-liberation year of 1938, a single heavy snowstorm wiped out 80 per cent of the animals on one grassland in western Inner Mongolia. But these new measures and the storage

of silage have enabled the communes to increase their herds despite winter blizzards, drought and other natural calamities, which would have greatly tried or even swamped the smaller stockbreeding co-ops and would have been totally disastrous for individual herdsmen. The communes have grown despite severe drought and heavy snowfalls which have buried large tracts of pasture on several occasions.

Much is being done to modernize stockbreeding. On the Hulunbuir and Silingol grasslands horse- or tractor-drawn reapers are in general use. Machines are also being used to shear wool, milk cattle, process dairy products and pump water. Artificial insemination is being carried out on a steadily increasing scale. Cross breeding has given the people's communes 2 million young animals of improved breeds. As a result of good veterinary services, the percentage of animals dying of endemic disease has dropped from 5 to 1 per cent in the past five years.

Report From Sinkiang

URUMCHI TODAY

by CHIN YUAN-MING

RECENTLY I took a through train to Urumchi, capital of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region some 4,000 kilometres from Peking.

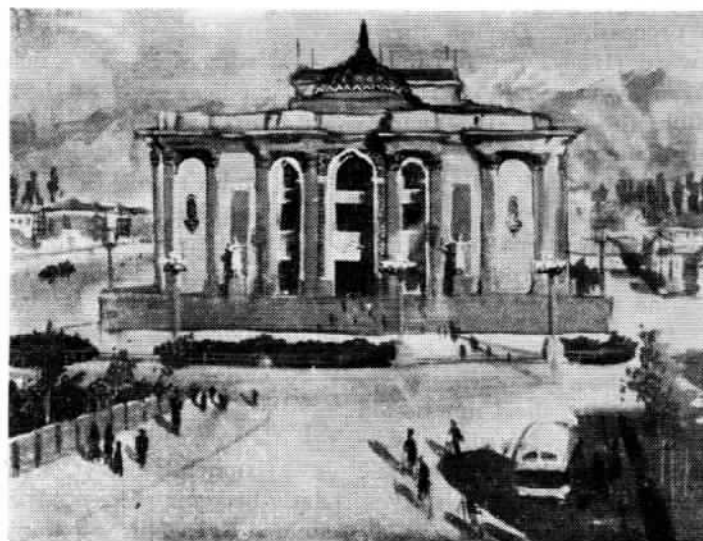
Having left Lanchow, the capital of Kansu Province, we headed northwest over the deserts and crossed into Sinkiang. Our train skirted the southern slopes of the towering, snow-capped Tianshan Mountains, then traversed the Turfan Depression lying well below sea-level, wound its way through a dozen tunnels and finally emerged on the north side of the Tianshan. The railway station is on the mountain slope to the west of the town and from that vantage point the whole of Urumchi can be seen. Nestled in the valley of the Urumchi River on the edge of the Dzungarian Basin, it is a lush oasis amply watered by the river. "Urumchi" in ancient Dzungarian means "beautiful pasture." But the pasture has now disappeared under buildings, roads and gardens spread out as far as the eye can see. The eight-storey structure soaring above all the others, the Kunlun Hotel, I was told, was built in the years of the great leap forward. But what particularly

caught my attention was the ornate theatre in Uighur style — the People's Theatre — with its characteristic silver dome and spire. It is the biggest theatre in Sinkiang. Here 20 local dramatic and operatic troupes regularly give concerts of songs and dances of the national minorities and stage modern plays and operas in many styles — Peking opera, Shensi opera, Honan opera, Hupeh opera, Shaohsing opera — *quyi* balladry and acrobatics.

Urumchi is a fine town with asphalt-paved boulevards, flower gardens, new multi-storey buildings, factories, hospitals, schools. . . . Everything looks new and the place hums with activity.

National Amity

But Urumchi is not new. It dates back well over 1,700 years to the Eastern Han period; only it gained a new lease of life with liberation. In 14 years, its population has increased fivefold from 80,000 to 400,000. The city wall which separated its inhabitants of 13 nationalities into two worlds — with the Hans and Manchus living inside the wall and the Uighurs, Kazakhs and other minorities crowded in mud shacks outside of it — was pulled down.



The People's Theatre in Urumchi

Water-colour by Chou Ling-chao

Three new reinforced concrete bridges that span the Urumchi River today link the old and new towns together. The entire city area has grown ten times since liberation. New housing with an aggregate floor space three and half times the whole of old Urumchi has been built. Broad asphalt roads and underground drains have replaced the filthy moat and open sewers.

The most striking impression the new Urumchi made on me is the way people of all nationalities live together in amity. Everywhere in the streets one can see people in the costumes of various nationalities strolling arm in arm or talking amicably together. All signboards bear inscriptions in both Han and Uighur languages. The local press and radio station use four languages — Uighur, Han, Kazakh and Mongolian — and the post and telegraph offices handle telegrams in languages of practically all the nationalities found in the region. . . .

Urumchi was once called Tihua before liberation. Tihua means "tutoring [the minorities]" — a typical example of Han great-nation chauvinism. After liberation the old name was restored. This incident speaks volumes of the change that has taken place in the relations between the nationalities since liberation.

Into a Producing Centre

No less profound is the change of Urumchi from a consuming into a producing centre with a modern industry.

There are rich mineral resources in the vicinity of Urumchi, but up to the time of liberation it had no modern industry to speak of. In more than two centuries only six factories were built in Urumchi. These produced pottery, soap, matches and a few other things with much of the work done by hand. Most industrial consumer goods had to be brought in from other parts of the country. The lone power plant in town had a generating capacity of only 300 kilowatts. In addition to powering the few machines there were, it barely kept the 1,000-odd electric lights of the town dimly lit.

Today, Urumchi has a diversified modern industry embracing hundreds of enterprises including steel, power, coal, machine building, cement, lumber, textiles, enamelware, leather tanning and food processing. During the three years of the great leap forward (1958-60), gross industrial output value shot up at an average annual rate of 53 per cent — more than double the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) rate. The structural change in industry is also significant: the proportion of the output of means of production to total output rose from 33 per cent in 1957 to 59 per cent in 1962. Some of the new items recently added to Urumchi's list of major industrial products are electric motors, metal-cutting machine tools and machine-made paper.

The number of industrial workers has increased rapidly with a striking increase in the number of workers from the national minorities. In virtually every factory one can see former peasants and herdsmen of minority origin skilfully manning modern machines alongside their Han comrades. Some of them have become factory directors, secretaries of Communist Party committees, engineers, technicians or shop foremen.

One of the factories that I visited was the October Tractor Plant. This used to be an automobile repair plant.

It switched to making tractor parts during the great leap forward. In one of the shops — producing piston rings — I met workers from five nationalities — Uighurs, Hans, Kazakhs, Huis and Uzbeks. One of the team leaders, a Uighur, told me that their piston rings prove to be of such high quality that orders have come in not only from local customers in Sinkiang, but from other north-western provinces as well; his team — half of the members being either Uighur or Kazakh — did so well that it was cited as an outstanding group for several years running and its output last year was more than double that of 1961. Since it went into operation, the October plant has trained up many skilled workers and experienced administrators. Some have gone to staff newly established factories in other parts of Sinkiang.

Richer Cultural Life

The people of Urumchi are enjoying a steadily improving cultural as well as material life. The number of students at school has risen more than sixfold since liberation. Few youngsters from families of the working people, and still fewer from the national minorities, could afford to get an education before liberation. Only 17 out of the 300 students at the Sinkiang Academy, the only institution of higher learning, were of minority origin, and, at that, the academy was only nominally a university, actually it was only up to secondary school standard. Today, in addition to Sinkiang University, Urumchi has colleges of agronomy, medicine and mining and metallurgy, a normal school and secondary vocational schools specializing in industry and transport, finance and trade, medicine, and the fine arts.

Two-thirds of the 1,800 students at Sinkiang University are from the national minorities and most of them come of peasant or herdsmen stock. Nearly half of the faculty members are also of minority origin. Quite a number of them have studied at well-known institutions of higher learning in other big cities of China. Some hold such responsible jobs as department heads. Since liberation 3,700 students of minority origin have graduated from the university which is 80 per cent of all graduates.

Urumchi has also made big headway in health work and medical care. It has 127 hospitals and clinics today as against the few poorly equipped hospitals and private clinics before liberation; it has 20 times as many hospital beds and a medical staff 50 times as large as before. The Sinkiang Medical College, occupying an area of 600,000 square metres at the foot of Carp Mountain, has a hospital attached to it with 70 beds and an O.P.D. which treats over 1,000 out-patients a day. With its well-trained personnel and modern equipment, it can perform complicated operations and handle other difficult cases. Last year the first batch of 70 doctors of minority origin graduated from the medical college.

Urumchi's ties with the other parts of the country are daily becoming closer. It is forging ahead rapidly in every field. Its people of many nationalities are making ever more effective use of the resources of their area in building socialism.

PEACE OR VIOLENCE?

Following is a translation of the full text of an article published in the 9th issue of "Hoc Tap" (Study), theoretical organ of the Viet Nam Workers' Party. Bold-face emphases are the same as those appearing in "Renmin Ribao" which carried the article. — Ed.

THE fundamental question of any revolution is the question of state power. How to get state power into the hands of the working class and how to build the state power of the proletariat are the questions of primary concern to every true revolutionary fighter of the working class. That is why the method of seizing state power is one of the most important questions Communists must study and solve. This question has often been the subject of hot debate among them. The flunkies of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the ranks of the working class have always advanced erroneous and reactionary arguments on this question in an attempt to sidetrack the revolution. For they are well aware that once the working class and its political party accept their arguments and the method of seizing state power recommended by them, the objective of seizing state power can never be attained and therefore the revolution can never succeed.

The modern revisionists represented by the Tito group and their followers — Right opportunists in the international communist movement and the working-class movement — are spreading a smokescreen about the question of the method of seizing state power and are doing all they can to distort the Marxist-Leninist principle on this matter. Modern revisionists and Right opportunists are doing their utmost to peddle pacifism and misrepresent the Marxist-Leninist theory on the role of violence in history.

Violence — Midwife of New Social System

From the time society was divided into classes the ruling classes set up their state machinery to oppress and exploit the classes they ruled. The state is the instrument of violence used by the ruling classes to crush all resistance put up by the classes ruled by them. The rulers use troops, policemen, spies, law courts and prisons against the ruled. The exploiting classes in power, on the one hand, are always employing violence to keep down the exploited classes. On the other hand, they use their "thinkers" to spread pacifism and the theory of "non-violence" in an effort to cause the exploited to be resigned to their destiny without resorting to violence to resist the exploiting classes in power.

Those who constantly resort to violence for the suppression of the working people are, however, clamouring against the use of violence. What they oppose and attack is the violence with which the oppressed and the exploited use to resist them, while the violence which they frequently use to suppress the working people is publicized as a favour bestowed upon the working people.

Those who have swallowed the poison of bourgeois pacifism and humanitarianism oppose all kinds of violence. They make no distinction in the class character of the various kinds of violence. To them the violence used by the bourgeoisie to suppress the proletariat and the violence used by the proletariat to resist the bourgeoisie for its own emancipation are one and the same. Lenin once said: "To talk about 'violence' in general, without examining the conditions which distinguish reactionary from revolutionary violence, means being a petty bourgeois who renounces revolution, or else it means simply deceiving oneself and others by sophistry." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1937, Vol. 7, p.175.) To the pacifists, every kind of violence is evil. They can do nothing but moan and lament over the death caused by violence. They know nothing about the law of social development. They only see the ugly side of violence and do not understand that despite its ugliness it plays a revolutionary role in history. Marx once said that violence "is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one." (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p.254.)

Today, modern revisionists and Right opportunists in the communist movement and the working-class movement keep wagging their tongues about "peace," and "humanitarianism"; they dare not mention the word "violence." For them violence is taboo. They fear the word "violence" just as a leech fears lime. The fact is that they have negated Marxist-Leninist theory on the role of violence in history. More than 80 years ago, criticizing the reactionary philosophy of Dühring, Engels wrote: "To Herr Dühring force is the absolute evil; the first act of force is to him the original sin; his whole exposition is a jeremiad on the contamination of all subsequent history consummated by this original sin; a jeremiad on the shameful perversion of all natural and social laws by this diabolical power, force. That force, however, plays also another role in history, a revolutionary role; that, in the words of Marx, it is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one, that it is the instrument with the aid of which social movement forces its way through and shatters the dead, fossilized political forms — of this there is not a word in Herr Dühring." (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, pp. 253-54.)

Communists are not Tolstoyists or the disciples of Gandhi preaching "non-violence." Nor do they spread the idea of "violence for violence sake." They are not "bellicose" and "bloodthirsty" as the reactionaries always slander them. They simply set forth a fact, that is, violence is a social phenomenon, a result of the exploitation of man by man, and a means used by the ruling, exploiting classes to maintain and extend their domination. Communists hold that the working class and other working people — victims of exploitation and domination — must resort to revolutionary violence to crush counter-revolutionary violence, so that they can win their own emancipation and society can advance according to the law of historical development. More

than one hundred years ago Marx and Engels clearly stated in the *Communist Manifesto*: "The violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat." (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p.45.) They also said: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p.65.) Communists set forth the historical role played by violence not because they are "cretins" of violence, but because it is a law governing the social development of mankind. No revolution can be successfully carried out and no development of human society is possible without grasping this law.

The revolutionary cause of the proletariat does not mean ordinary reshuffle of government personnel or a mere cabinet change while the old political and economic order remains intact. The proletarian revolution must not preserve the state machinery (the existing police, gendarmes, armed forces and bureaucratic structure), mainly used to oppress the people, but must crush it and replace it with an entirely new one. This is one of the conditions marking the difference between the proletarian revolution and the bourgeois revolution. **The bourgeois revolution does not smash the existing feudal state machinery but takes it over, preserves and perfects it. On the contrary, the proletarian revolution smashes the existing state machinery of the capitalist system.** The proletarian revolution is a process of bitter struggle in which the bourgeoisie is overthrown, the bourgeois order is destroyed, the properties of the capitalists and landlords are confiscated and the public ownership of the various chief means of production is realized. The working class does not simply lay hold of the existing state machinery, or transfer the militarist-bureaucratic state machinery from the hands of the bourgeoisie to its own. It must smash the bourgeois state machinery and establish a new state machinery of its own, that is, the proletarian dictatorship. Smashing the existing state machinery is "the preliminary condition for every real people's revolution." (Marx and Engels, "Marx to L. Kugelmann," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1955, Vol. II, p.463.) In a letter to L. Kugelmann in 1871, Marx considered such an action was essential for all the countries in continental Europe. In the years between 1870 and 1880, in those countries which lay outside the European continent, such as Britain and the United States, it was possible for the working class in those countries to seize state power by peaceful means, because at that time capitalism had not yet grown into monopoly capitalism and militarism and bureaucracy in Britain and the United States had not yet been developed. This was the state of affairs before the emergence of imperialism. But at the beginning of the 20th century when capitalism prevailed in all countries and developed to its highest stage, that is, imperialism, and when militarism and bureaucracy began to appear in Britain and the United States, the possibility of seizing state power by peaceful means no longer existed in these two countries. In 1917 Lenin wrote in *The State and Revolution* that what Marx said about this thesis being limited to the continent could no longer be applied and that whether it was in Britain or the United States the smash-

ing of the existing state machinery had become the primary condition for any genuine revolution of the people. In 1918, in his *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Lenin regarded this question as a universal law. "The proletarian revolution," he said, "is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the substitution for it of a **new one** . . ." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1937, Vol. 7, p.124.) When Lenin criticized Kautsky's so-called thesis that "the transition could take place peacefully, i.e., in a democratic way," he clearly pointed out that this was an attempt to hide from the readers the fact that revolutionary violence is the fundamental sign of the concept of proletarian dictatorship, and that it was a fraud aimed at substituting peaceful revolution for violent revolution. He said: "Kautsky had to resort to all these evasions, sophisms and fraudulent falsifications in order to dissociate himself from violent revolution, and to conceal his renunciation of it, his desertion to the side of liberal labour politics, i.e., to the side of the bourgeoisie. That is the whole point." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1937, Vol. 7, p.125.)

To renounce revolution by violence so as to reduce the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat to empty words—this is the main feature characteristic of the reformists ranging from Kautsky to the modern revisionists. The reformists call for a gradual reform of the capitalist system and the bourgeois state without overthrowing this system and smashing its state apparatus. To the reformists, reform is everything while the revolutionary struggle for seizing state power is meaningless. Subscription to reformism means the renunciation of revolution. Revolution is a change; it destroys what is most important and essential in the old order; it does not mean reconstruction of the old order cautiously, slowly and gradually, and involving the least possible damage to the old order in the process.

As the reformists see it, there is no difference between the nature of bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy, and there is no swift advance from the capitalist system to the socialist system, and capitalism can evolve gradually into socialism in accordance with the theory of evolution. The Tito group has also preached the fallacy of the "peaceful growth of capitalism into socialism." Reformists dare not disturb capitalism in the faintest degree; they simply seek the aid of piecemeal reforms and wash their hands of every type of illegal work in an attempt to frustrate the revolutionary preparations made by the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

Modern revisionism, like the revisionism of the early 20th century, is reformism in essence. Revisionists, in the past, as at present, have made great efforts to sing the praises of the bourgeois parliamentary system. They have made a big fanfare about the entry into socialism through "parliamentary road." As a matter of fact democratic rights under the bourgeois parliamentary system are, as Marx put it, nothing more than the rights to decide once every three or six years who of the ruling classes should "represent" the people in parliament and oppress them. Lenin said: "Take any parliamentary country, from America to Switzerland, from France to England, Norway and so forth—in these countries the real business of 'state' is performed behind the scenes and is carried

on by the departments, chancelleries and General Staffs. Parliament itself is given up to talk for the special purpose of fooling the 'common people.'" (Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, pp. 246-47.) Lenin described bourgeois democracy as narrow, emasculated, false and deceptive democracy, the paradise of the rich, but a trap and a deceptive fraud for the exploited and the poor. In order to publicize the "parliamentary road," the modern revisionists are peddling this bourgeois "deceptive fraud" which already has been completely exposed by Lenin.

The bourgeoisie in power has never voluntarily relinquished state power to the working class. In *Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International*, Lenin pointed out that under the conditions of militarism and imperialism, "the very thought of peacefully subordinating the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited, of the peaceful, reformist transition to socialism is not only extreme philistine stupidity, but also downright deception of the workers, the embellishment of capitalist wage slavery, concealment of the truth." "Only the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the destruction of the whole of the bourgeois state apparatus from top to bottom—parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc., right up to the very wholesale deportation or internment of the most dangerous and stubborn exploiters—putting them under strict surveillance in order to combat inevitable attempts to resist and to restore capitalist slavery—only such measures can ensure the real subordination of the whole class of exploiters." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1946, Vol. 10, p.164.)

The basic principle for all Communist Parties is to recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat and struggle for its realization. The process of the proletarian revolutionary movement is, in the final analysis, one of making preparations for the dictatorship of the proletariat (before the seizure of state power) and putting such dictatorship into effect (after seizing state power). The proletariat must adopt all forms of struggle, legal and illegal, inside and outside parliament, ranging from strikes, demonstrations, political general strikes up to armed uprisings, the highest form of struggle, so as to overthrow the bourgeois rule and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The more the revolutionary movement surges forward, the more frenzied will be the repressions by the ruling bourgeoisie and the more sharp and bitter will be the class struggle. "Revolution progresses by giving rise to a strong and united counter-revolution, i.e., it compels the enemy to resort to more and more extreme measures of defence and in this way devises ever more powerful means of attack." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. II, p.172.)

In the relentless class struggle against the exploiting classes in power, the working class and other working people cannot but use arms. Marx said that "the weapon of criticism cannot, of course, take the place of criticism with weapons" and that material forces must be overthrown by material forces. Lenin pointed out that in the working-class struggle against the bourgeoisie, it was possible "at any time to substitute the criticism with weapons for the weapon of criticism." Lenin, therefore, pointed out the necessity of building up

arms for the proletariat and disarming the bourgeoisie, for otherwise it would be impossible for socialism to win. In *The "Disarmament" Slogan*, Lenin wrote: "Our slogan must be: the arming of the proletariat for the purpose of vanquishing, expropriating and disarming the bourgeoisie." "An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, deserves to be treated like slaves." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. XIX, p.354.) Because in every class society the ruling classes possess arms, and it is a fact that the bourgeoisie in power uses them to suppress the working class. Consequently, the working class has no alternative but to take up arms to overthrow its rulers and achieve its own liberation. Lenin also said: "Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historical mission, to throw all armaments on the scrap-heap; the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. XIX, p.366.)

Lenin clearly pointed out that the proletariat "could really study military science for itself and not for its slave owners" because "the interests of the proletariat undoubtedly demands such a study." When speaking about the role of the proletarian women in the revolutionary struggle of their own class, Lenin held that the women should not just curse the war and demand arms reduction; they should make more positive contributions. He wrote: "The women of an oppressed class that is really revolutionary will never agree to play such a shameful role. They will say to their sons: 'You will soon be big. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn to use it. The proletarians need this knowledge not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as they are doing in the present war, and as you are being advised to do by the traitors to socialism, but to fight the bourgeoisie of your own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, not by means of good intentions, but by a victory over the bourgeoisie and by disarming them.'" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. XIX, pp.367-68.)

When criticizing "the advocates of disarmament," Lenin asked: "Do the advocates of disarmament stand for a perfectly new species of unarmed revolution?" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. XIX, p.358.) Lenin also criticized Plekhanov's view that "they should not have taken to arms." In *Lessons of the Moscow Uprising* he said: "Nothing could be more short-sighted than Plekhanov's view, seized upon by all the opportunists, that the strike was untimely and should not have been started, and that 'they should not have taken to arms.' On the contrary, we should have taken to arms more resolutely, energetically and aggressively; we should have explained to the masses that it was impossible to confine things to a peaceful strike and that a fearless and relentless armed fight was necessary." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. II, p.173.) **Lenin taught us the need to spread the idea of armed uprising to the broad masses, and he described armed uprising as a great mass struggle.** He regarded recognition of armed uprising as a question of principle for the revolutionaries. "It is not enough to take sides on the question of political slogans; it is also necessary to take sides on the question of an armed uprising. Those who are opposed to it, those who do not prepare for it, must be

ruthlessly dismissed from the ranks of the supporters of the revolution, sent packing to its enemies, to the traitors or cowards; for the day is approaching when the force of events and the conditions of the struggle will compel us to distinguish between enemies and friends according to this principle." (ibid., p.176.)

Of course, Communists are very cautious about armed uprising. They regard it as an art and have never treated it lightly. It is a peculiar form of political struggle with its own specific laws. Communists start an armed uprising only when the opportunity is ripe and when subjective and objective conditions are completely ready, and once it has started they intend to carry it through to the finish.

The Possibility of Revolution Developing Peacefully

The revolutionary class must take up arms against the ruling classes precisely because the latter use arms to protect their properties and privileges. **Armed struggle and armed uprising are not the ultimate aim of the proletariat, nor are they an aim in themselves; they are the means of achieving emancipation and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.** Communists do not propose that arms be used at all times and under all circumstances. If there was a road which would involve less casualties and bloodshed, but which could lead to socialism, they would unhesitatingly take that road. When drafting the *Communist Manifesto* Engels raised the question whether it was possible to abolish the system of private ownership by peaceful means. He wrote: "It would be desirable if this could happen, and the Communists would certainly be the last to oppose it. . . . But they also see that the development of the proletariat in nearly all civilized countries has been violently suppressed, and that in this way the opponents of communism have been working toward a revolution with all their strength. If the oppressed proletariat is finally driven to revolution, then we Communists will defend the interests of the proletarians with deeds as we now defend them with words." (Engels, "Principles of Communism," *Monthly Review* Pamphlet Series, New York, 1952, pp.13-14.)

Whether the working class adopts the form of armed struggle or the form of peaceful political struggle does not depend on the subjective desire of the working class but on the extent of resistance by the exploiting classes which first resort to arms to maintain their rule. Since the ruling classes will not surrender state power of their own accord, the working class must use arms to overthrow them. Nevertheless, classic Marxist-Leninist writers do not rule out the possibility of the working class in certain countries seizing state power by peaceful means. The working class must decide on the appropriate form of struggle for the seizure of state power in accordance with the different systems, customs and traditions of a particular country. In 1872 Marx said at a mass rally held in Amsterdam that Communists had never affirmed that the working class in all countries must use the same methods to seize power. He held that at that time it was possible for the working class of the United States and Britain to seize power by peaceful means.

In Russia, from February to July of 1917, there appeared the possibility of seizing state power by peaceful means. This was because the tsarist autocracy had been overthrown by violence in the February revolution, there appeared the situation in which two regimes existed side by side, and the rebellion of Kornilov had been

crushed by the working-class armed forces. At that time, Lenin said: "There could now be no question of resistance being offered to the Soviets if they themselves did not vacillate. No class would dare to raise a rebellion against the Soviets, and the landlords and capitalists, chastened by the experience of the Kornilov affair, would peacefully surrender power upon the ultimatum of the Soviets." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p.184.) This was possible because power was still unstable and arms were in the hands of the people. "The essence of the situation was that the arms were in the hands of the people, and that no coercion was exercised over the people from without. That is what opened up and ensured a peaceful path for the development of the revolution." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1936, Vol. 6, pp.167-68.) Lenin believed that only when the Soviet possessed all state power could the peaceful development of the revolution be ensured. He also said that if such an opportunity was lost, then there would occur "the inevitability of a bitter civil war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat." Such a civil war would be extremely "arduous and bloody." Lenin emphasized: "The proletariat will stop at no sacrifice in order to save the revolution." Lenin believed that the road of revolution developing peacefully was a road most beneficial to the people, a road involving the least sufferings, and that Communists should make the greatest efforts to strive for it. But when the peaceful road could not be realized he unhesitatingly called on the masses to take the non-peaceful road. In mid-July 1917 Lenin said in his *On Slogans*: "The peaceful course of development has been rendered impossible. A non-peaceful and most painful course has begun." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p.89.)

Thus, while mentioning the possibility of revolution developing peacefully Lenin never forgot to mention the possibility of a cruel and bloody civil war breaking out. On October 8, 1917, confronted with the new situation, he affirmed that "the passing of power to the Soviets now means in practice armed insurrection." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p.186.) The incident that happened at that time, he said, "places the armed uprising on the order of the day." (ibid., p.189.)

In 1919, after German imperialism was defeated and the Austria-Hungary Empire collapsed, there was in Hungary the possibility of seizing state power by peaceful means. At that time, the bourgeoisie, confronted by the grave crisis, could do nothing about it. Karolyi, head of the bourgeois government, resigned; the Left-wing socialists went to see Bela Kun, leader of the Hungarian Communist Party, in the prison and invited him to try at forming a new government. In the *Information Concerning Conversations by Radio With Bela Kun* Lenin said: "The bourgeoisie itself gave up power to the Hungarian Communists. The bourgeoisie showed the whole world that when a grave crisis arises, when the nation is in danger, the bourgeoisie is not able to rule." In the article "Greetings to the Hungarian Workers" which he wrote on May 27, 1919, when mentioning the Soviet government then established in Hungary, Lenin said that Hungary's transition to the Soviet system, that is, proletarian dictatorship, was much easier and much more peaceful than in Russia. Lenin wrote: "The form of transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hun-

gary is altogether different from that in Russia: the voluntary resignation of the bourgeois government, and the instantaneous restoration of the unity of the working class, the unification of the socialist movement on a communist programme." While speaking of the seizure of state power by the Hungarian working class by peaceful means Lenin did not forget to warn the Hungarian workers that the task confronting the dictatorship of the proletariat was to use violence to crush counter-revolution. He said: "Dictatorship presupposes the ruthlessly severe, swift and resolute use of force to crush the resistance of the exploiters, of the capitalists, landlords and their underlings. Whoever does not understand this is not a revolutionary, and must be removed from the post of leader or adviser of the proletariat." It is clear to everybody that after attaining state power by peaceful means, the Hungarian working class still had to use force to safeguard it, and the Hungarian reactionaries, with the aid of the international reactionaries, used force to drown the Hungarian Soviet in blood. Speaking of the lessons to be drawn from the experience of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Lenin said: "The Hungarian proletariat had to pay dearly for the amalgamation of the Hungarian Communists with the reformists." (Lenin, "The Conditions of Affiliation to the Communist International," *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1946, Vol. 10, p.201.) The 1919 Hungarian Soviet was stamped out before the working class had time to embark on socialist construction. It is therefore sheer nonsense to talk about Hungary "peacefully passing on to socialism in 1919."

In the final stage of World War II and for a time in the postwar years, because the Soviet Red Army had wiped out the Hitlerite fascists and smashed the fascist state machinery set up by Hitler in the various East European countries, the people's regimes led by the working class were established in those countries. With the help of the Soviet Red Army they switched to the tasks of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat after carrying out the work of the bourgeois democratic revolution, and so there was no need for an armed uprising. What happened in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 also belongs to this category of revolutionary change. By adopting administrative measures and combining these with mass demonstrations, the Czechoslovak people's regime smashed the plot of the bourgeoisie to foment a cabinet crisis and attempt to restore capitalism, and in this way led the country directly to the road of socialism. Some people are attempting to use the February 1948 event in Czechoslovakia as an example to support their argument for "peaceful transition." But this is falsifying history because they separate the February happenings from the liquidation of German fascism by the Soviet Red Army, from the armed uprising and guerrilla warfare of the people in Slovakia in 1944 and the people's general armed uprising in Prague in May 1945. Moreover, in the February 1948 event in Czechoslovakia, the role of revolutionary violence was also embodied in the determined suppression of the bourgeois rebellion by the people's regime, which was in essence a dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the armed demonstration of the Czechoslovak people supporting the administrative measures of the communist-led government.

Since the end of World War II, the colonial system of imperialism has been in the process of disintegration.

Many nations under the yoke of imperialist enslavement have today achieved national independence. In their fight for national independence, some nations have adopted the form of armed struggle, others have gone through alternate periods of armed struggle and peaceful political struggle or have combined these two forms of struggle in the same period, while still others have attained political independence without armed struggle. Some nations have been able to achieve national independence peacefully because imperialism is steadily declining and a world socialist system has come into existence and is vigorously developing, thus bringing about a change in the balance of forces on a worldwide scale, and socialism has become a strong magnet drawing the people of all nations. The national-liberation movement is gathering force like a raging storm and all the nations have awakened and are resolutely fighting for self-determination. Confronted with this situation, imperialism is forced to make its choice between two alternatives:

1. To stubbornly resist to the end and eventually be driven out of the colonies, with the result that the colonial nations which have gained complete independence will embark on the path of socialism;
2. To hand over political independence to the native bourgeoisie and in this way to retain its economic interests in the colonies and keep the former colonial nations within the orbit of capitalism.

Many imperialist countries "wisely" chose the second alternative, and this explains why some former colonial nations have been able to achieve political independence by peaceful means. However, the various nations have a long way to go from arriving at political independence to achieving complete independence and thence going over to socialism. **There are those who are trying to support their argument for the "theory" of "peaceful transition" by citing the fact that certain nations have achieved independence by peaceful means. But this is utterly wrong, because these nations remain within the orbit of capitalism after independence has been achieved, and so it cannot be said that they have realized the "peaceful transition to socialism."**

So far, there is not yet a single "precedent" of peaceful transition to socialism in the world working-class history of revolutionary struggle. This "precedent" cannot be found even if one lights a torch in search of it. However, Communists have never denied the possibility of revolution developing peacefully, which might occur at certain stages or in certain countries. It would be very good if there were such a possibility but it is extremely rare. Speaking about this possibility, Stalin, in *The Foundations of Leninism*, said: "Of course, in the remote future, if the proletariat is victorious in the principal capitalist countries, and if the present capitalist encirclement is replaced by a socialist encirclement, a 'peaceful' path of development is quite possible for certain capitalist countries, whose capitalists, in view of the 'unfavourable' international situation, will consider it expedient 'voluntarily' to make substantial concessions to the proletariat. But this supposition applies only to a remote and possible future." (Stalin, *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1953, Vol. 6, p.121.) It has been forty years since Stalin said this. Is that "remote future" as stated by Stalin any closer after forty years?

Today socialism has gained a great victory. The balance of world forces has changed in its favour. It has won the hearts of millions upon millions of people. The working class and other working people have acquired a high degree of political consciousness and a sharp sense of organization and discipline. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been established in many countries, capable of effectively combating imperialist intervention in the revolutions of different countries. This makes for favourable conditions for the working class to seize power by various forms of struggle. On the other hand, **two-thirds of the world population still live under capitalism. Imperialism is in the process of an advanced development of militarism and bureaucracy. Every capitalist country possesses an enormous state machinery, ever ready to suppress the people's revolutionary movement with violence. In these circumstances, the possibility for the proletariat to seize power by peaceful means without launching an armed uprising remains extremely rare. Asserting that the seizure of state power by peaceful means has now become a universal possibility for the working class in most countries in the world and unduly emphasizing this possibility adds up to leaving the working class completely without adequate preparation for overcoming difficulties, defeating the exploiting classes and establishing its own dictatorship. It means disarming, intentionally or unintentionally, the working class ideologically and lulling it into a state of total unpreparedness when the exploiting classes resort to violence at the critical moment to crush the revolution.**

There are people who believe that the emergence of nuclear weapons is the characteristic of our time and that this has brought about changes in the strategy and tactics of the world working class. This, they aver, makes it necessary to give "new consideration" to the Marxist-Leninist theory on the method of seizing state power. They claim that as a result of the emergence of nuclear weapons the working class must not seize power by violence but by peaceful means, for revolution by violence will lead to civil war. Because one spark may spread into a conflagration, civil war may lead to a world war which in the present era is bound to develop into a destructive nuclear war. In the circumstances, the only way left for the working class in various countries is to attain state power by peaceful means. And the peaceful means they recommend is the theory of "structural reform."

For all their destructive power, nuclear weapons cannot change the law of development of human society. They can only cause certain changes in military strategy and tactics, but never in the strategy and tactics of the working class. Not at all times will a spark develop into a conflagration. This has been proved by the Chinese civil war, by the Korean war, and by the Algerian war. The revolutions of China, Viet Nam and Cuba were all revolutions by violence and were all won after the presence of nuclear weapons. It is therefore utterly groundless to assert that the working class should not seize state power by violence following the existence of nuclear weapons.

In the face of enemies who are armed to the teeth and are prepared to stamp out revolution at any time by violence, the only way to seize state power is to resort to violence. The possibility of revolution developing peacefully can be realized only when the exploiting classes do not possess a dependable bureaucratic-militarist state

machine or at a time when they have lost the will to use this machinery to suppress the revolution although it may still be in their hands. To translate the possibility of the peaceful development of revolution into reality, the working class must possess a mighty force which is equipped with a closely knit organization and leadership. That force may be a political force (mass political force), or an armed force, or a combination of political and armed forces. Therefore, in striving to make revolution through a peaceful road—the road which involves the least suffering, the working class and its party must vigorously prepare for the seizure of state power by violence. In order to be able to take the initiative against all possibilities, the working class must, on the one hand, get its forces ready to seize power by violence and, on the other hand, be prepared to strive to bring about peaceful revolution whenever and wherever the possibility arises. It is only when the working class has organized into a mighty force and firmly taken up arms that it is possible to strive for the peaceful development of the revolution.

Viet Nam's Experience

Ever since our Party was formed it has educated its cadres, members and the masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. It has also educated them in Marxist-Leninist teachings on the role of violence in history. Thus, it has ideologically armed the entire Party and all the people sufficiently so that they can put up a good fight in bitter battle, wipe out the enemy and win independence and freedom for the country.

In order to spread Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideas, our Party waged a determined struggle against ideas of capitulationism and defeatism. The traitorous feudal forces and the imperialist aggressors had long disseminated ideas of capitulationism and defeatism among our people. When the French colonialists first occupied our country, the feudal traitor Phan Thanh Gian spread the idea of defeatism among the people, calling upon them to "refrain from using arms against the enemy." In a letter to the officials and the people just before he died, he wrote: "Looking up to the sky I was listening to the ways of heaven. I said to myself: 'It would be most foolish of you if you wanted to beat down the enemy with arms. . . .'" He also ordered officials and generals to smash their guns and spears, surrender the cities and refrain from fighting. . . .

The capitulationist and defeatist ideas disseminated by imperialism and the feudal forces influenced some patriots. Phan Chu Trinh, a patriotic scholar, also called on the people to refrain from revolting, because "to revolt is to perish."

In contrast with Phan Chu Trinh's "no revolt" proposition, other patriots headed by Phan Boi Chau had come to understand the importance of using violence to drive out the aggressors in order to gain national liberation. However, he and his colleagues could not see the power of the people and so they took to rebellion through conspiracy, relying on only a handful of heroes without knowing how to organize the people to carry out the revolution.

Our Party has applied Marxist-Leninist principles on the strategy and tactics of revolution to the reality of our country. On the one hand, it has stood against the defeatist and capitulationist ideas and against the "theories" advocating no-rebellion and denouncing the use of arms.

On the other hand, it has opposed the idea of organizing "secret societies" for conspiracies as well as such terrorist activities as assassination of individuals. At the same time, it has waged an uncompromising struggle against reformist ideas prevailing in the working class, especially against the idea of "peaceful revolution" preached by the "Vung Hong [Red Sun] faction."* Our Party mobilized and organized the masses and led them in waging both the lower and the higher forms of struggle in accordance with the laws of class struggle. It has educated the people in this way: Imperialism and the feudal forces dominated the people of our country by iron and blood and by counter-revolutionary violence, and if our people failed to use revolutionary violence to overthrow them there would be no hope of emancipating themselves. At the same time it has taught them that revolutionary struggle is both a science and an art, that there must be closely knit organization and leadership and that neither adventurism nor laissez-faire is allowed. It has armed the whole Party and all the people with Marxist-Leninist ideas of class struggle, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the conceptions of armed uprising. As soon as the Party was founded, the tasks of overthrowing the enemy's government and seizing state power for the workers and peasants were written into its programme. In its 1930 political programme, the Party pointed out: "The task of the Party is to solve initially the question of daily needs so as to lead the proletariat and the peasants to the revolutionary battlefield. When the revolutionary forces grow stronger, the ruling classes are tottering, the different middle social strata are inclined towards revolution, and the workers and peasants display a great upsurge of revolutionary enthusiasm, and are determined to make sacrifices in the struggle, the Party must lose no time in leading the masses in overthrowing the enemy's government and seizing state power for the workers and peasants." The Party's 1930 political programme also pointed out that the method of seizing state power was armed uprising. "Armed rebellion is not an ordinary thing. Therefore, attention must be paid to the fact that not only the immediate revolutionary situation must be taken into account but actions must be taken on the basis of military rules. Even when the immediate revolutionary situation has not yet appeared there is also the need for fierce struggle. Such struggle, however, does not mean organizing aimless revolt or premature armed rebellion, it means mobilizing the masses for demonstrations, strikes, etc., so as to pave the way for later participation in armed rebellion."

During World War II, the Party particularly stressed the question of seizing state power by armed uprising. The resolution adopted at the seventh session of the Party's Central Committee (November 1940) provided: "The Party must be prepared to undertake the sacred missions of leading the oppressed nations in Indo-China to launch armed rebellion and achieve independence and freedom." The eighth session of the Party's Central Committee (May 1941) also pointed out that the central task for the whole Party and all the people was armed uprising. The resolu-

*"Vung Hong Dang" (Red Sun Party) also known as the "Peaceful Revolution Communist Party," or "Viet Nam Nhi Cac Dang," was an organization of some Communists in Nghi-an Province from 1929 to 1937. It advocated peaceful revolution and also held that following the victory of the revolution there had to be a period of the development of capitalism before going over to communism.

tion passed at this session declared: "The revolution in Indo-China will end with an armed uprising." It also put forward the task for "preparing forces at all times," so that "when the favourable moment arrives, we can, by employing the power already at our disposal, victoriously lead area uprisings one by one in order to pave the way for a large-scale general uprising."

In August 1945, when Japanese fascism collapsed, our Party led the people throughout the country in starting a timely general armed uprising and seized state power. **The August revolution in Viet Nam was a revolution by violence, by means of which the state apparatus of the colonialists and feudal forces was destroyed and a new people's state apparatus was established. In the August revolution, the expression of violence was found in the closely co-ordinated use of political and armed forces.** The August revolution was the result of the prolonged revolutionary struggle in which peaceful political struggle was combined with armed struggle, and in which the peaceful political struggle of the masses was combined with the launching of local guerrilla war and the work of building bases in the rural areas. The August revolution is the direct result of the armed struggle waged by all the people, mainly the result of combining the activities of professional armed forces with semi-professional armed forces (Liberation Army, guerrilla forces, militia, and self-defence corps, etc.).

The August revolution in Viet Nam is different from the Russian October Revolution in that the latter was a general armed uprising, state power was first built in the cities and then in the countryside. The difference between Viet Nam's August revolution and the Chinese revolution is that the Chinese revolution was a prolonged armed struggle, state power was first seized in the countryside, which was used to encircle the cities and finally the cities were liberated.

The magnificent victory of the August revolution in our country was won because our Party has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the reality of our country and because our Party understands how to educate its members and the people in the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism and inspire them with Marxist-Leninist ideas of the role of violence in history.

In the course of decades of protracted and arduous revolutionary movement, our Party has skilfully combined the various kinds of struggles, economic and political, legal and illegal, struggle in the streets and in parliament, armed struggle and peaceful political struggle. During the period of the upsurge of the revolution (1930-31), the Party led the masses in waging blow-for-blow struggles against the enemy. In places where the enemy's power had collapsed (Nghi-an and Ha-tinh) the Party led the people in setting up the state power of the Soviets and training them in administering their own affairs. During the period of the ebbing of the revolution (1932-35), the Party led the people in making a planned withdrawal, establishing secret organizations, and prepared for a new revolutionary upsurge. From 1936 to 1939, by taking advantage of the legitimate conditions brought on by the victory of the French People's Front, the Party launched a movement of open struggle, formed the Democratic Front, led the people in fighting for better living conditions and for democracy and freedom, and for participation in the election campaign and in carrying on a struggle inside parliament. At the end of 1939, the Party again went underground.

Utilizing the latent and manifest contradictions existing between the two imperialist countries which then ruled our country, the Party launched guerrilla warfare and set up revolutionary bases. Simultaneously with peaceful political struggle, the form of armed struggle began to appear. This period ended with the general uprising in the August revolution which was the peak of the movement and represented a skilful combination of the two forms of struggle, armed and political. In the more than one year following the August revolution, our Party put emphasis on political struggle so as to consolidate the people's state power and build forces in various spheres, particularly the armed forces. At the same time it carried on armed struggle against the French colonialists staging a comeback and carrying out aggression against the southern part of our country, as well as against the Kuomintang-organized and directed bandits harassing some provinces in the north. From the end of 1946, our Party led the people in waging a nationwide armed struggle against colonialist aggression.

Between 1930, when our Party was founded, and 1954, when the war of resistance was won, liberation was achieved in the north and a national-democratic revolution was completed over half the nation's territory, our Party underwent 24 years of revolutionary struggle. There were:

Ten years of political struggle (1930-40);

Six years of political struggle combined with armed struggle (1940-46);

Eight years of armed struggle (from the end of 1946 to the middle of 1954).

Since 1954, revolution has gone over to the stage of socialism in the northern part of our country. Because state power already was in the hands of the working class during the stage of national-democratic revolution, "peaceful transition to socialism" has been realized in the north in the past few years. This does not mean that during the stage of the socialist revolution in the north, the role of revolutionary violence has ceased to exist. The role of revolutionary violence was expressed in the administrative measures promulgated by the people's democratic state led by the working class for the transformation of the bourgeoisie and in the struggle waged by the masses of the workers. During the stage of the socialist revolution, the people's democratic state has carried out the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat which means using violence to crush counter-revolution.

Because we have the machinery of violence in the form of the people's democratic state, led by the working class, we have been able to carry out the peaceful transformation of the bourgeoisie and the rich peasants and effect a "peaceful transition to socialism."

Since 1954 the southern part of our country has become a colony of a new type for U.S. imperialism. The U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique rules that part of our country by counter-revolutionary violence. For more than nine years our compatriots in the south have been waging an unceasing struggle against the U.S.-Diem group. The struggle being waged by our compatriots in the south at present still falls into the category of the national-democratic revolution. They are using revolutionary violence against the counter-revolutionary violence of the U.S.-Diem clique and to smash the semi-feudal and colonialist state machinery it established in the south, so that a new

state machinery can be set up which truly serves the people's interests.

In the first few years, our compatriots in the south waged a peaceful political struggle, demanding better living conditions, democratic rights and the unification of the country on the basis of the Geneva agreements. But the U.S.-Diem clique perpetrated large-scale repression and killed them at will. **Since 1962, the U.S.-Diem gang has been openly conducting an undeclared war against the people in the south. Our compatriots there have been compelled to take up arms against the U.S.-Diem clique. They are now fighting that clique by armed as well as political struggles so as to win independence and peace and proceed to establish a unified country on a democratic basis.**

The process of the long and hard struggle waged by the Vietnamese people under the leadership of our Party has proved that the only road that can be taken by the working class and other working people against the exploiting classes—who rule the people by violence—is to resort to violence to overthrow them. Of course, to make revolution by violence imposes the necessity of enduring hardship and sacrifices on the part of the broad masses of the people. But this can help shake off at an early date the long suffering and death caused by the brutal oppression and exploitation inflicted by the rulers on a countless number of people. During the general armed uprising in August 1945, only a few score of people were killed throughout the country. On the contrary, as a result of the rule of the Japanese and French fascists, some 2 million people starved to death in the north from the end of 1944 to the first few months of 1945. History has proved that the extremely heavy losses suffered by the working people from the brutal rule of the exploiting classes cannot be matched by the losses of a revolution, however relentless it may be. **The road involving the least suffering for the people is to go in for revolution to overthrow the enemy and win emancipation.**

* * *

Society develops in accordance with its own laws. No one can point out the road of development of society according to his subjective desire. The Communists armed with Marxism-Leninism must grasp the laws governing the development of society, work out their correct strategy and tactics in accordance with objective law, lead the working class and other working people to make revolution and win victory, thereby promoting the development of society. The working class of a country and its Party must map out the proper form of struggle in accordance with the concrete conditions of that country so as to seize state power. Whether to carry out a revolution by violence or a peaceful revolution can be decided only by the working class and its vanguard in a given country. **No matter what form of struggle is adopted to seize state power, the essential conditions for the victory of a revolution are: a very powerful mass movement, and full determination of the vanguard of the working class—and it should inspire the masses of the people with the same determination—to overthrow the enemy, to defy sacrifice and hardship, to be prepared at all times to smash the state machinery of the exploiting classes so as to set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only by so doing, can the proletariat defeat its class enemies and liberate itself.**

ROUND THE WORLD

At the U.N.

Cuba Indicts U.S.A.

If the United States and its friends have been wanting to find out Cuba's attitude to the tripartite nuclear test ban treaty, they now have their answer. At the current session of the U.N. General Assembly, the Cuban delegate Carlos Lechuga pulled no punches as he spelled out his country's objections to the Moscow partial test ban treaty puffed and paraded by its sponsors as a "major contribution to world peace."

Lechuga hit the nail on the head when he said that "what prevails in the world today is only a phoney peace atmosphere." The Kennedy Administration, as more and more people have come to realize, holds out the olive branch only to conceal its policy of wars and aggression. In the last few months, and particularly in the weeks following the conclusion of the Moscow treaty, the United States, the Cuban delegate pointed out, has stepped up its subversive activities aimed at destroying the island republic.

"We are confronted with a persistently interventionist power which has a fixed policy of aggression towards small countries, blocks the road to peace and prepares for local small-scale wars of the colonial type," Lechuga told the General Assembly. Cuba, Lechuga said, wants a genuine and not an abstract peace. The test ban treaty, far from bringing peace to the Caribbean, is being used to dragoon Cuba into accepting big-power dictation. But with Playa Giron and the events of last October fresh in their memory the Cuban people are making it quite plain that they will not sign the treaty as long as the United States does not change its policy of aggression against their country.

The U.S. delegate, nettled by this exposure, brazenly demanded that Cuba forgo her policy of independence if she "wants to live in peace" with the United States. Cuba, he threatened in effect, must 1) dissolve her revolutionary government, 2) detach herself from the socialist camp and return to the U.S.-controlled "Inter-American system" and 3) stop supporting revolutionary movements. But

this ultimatum only confirms Cuba's charge that the "new peace atmosphere" is a false one. It is not socialist Cuba which does not want to live in peace with capitalist America; it is imperialist America which is not prepared to accept the existence of socialist Cuba.

Behind U.S.-Inspired Commission

Bogged down in a losing colonial war in south Viet Nam and saddled with a disintegrating puppet regime, Washington is trying to use the U.N. to extricate itself from the quagmire. Bypassing the 1954 Geneva agreements, it has manoeuvred the General Assembly into sending a "fact-finding" commission to south Viet Nam when that international body should have condemned the U.S.-Diem regime's brutal persecution of the south Vietnamese people.

The U.S. has a notorious record of trickery at the U.N. On this occasion Ceylon and 15 other Asian and African countries had jointly sponsored a draft resolution condemning violations of human rights by the Diem regime. Wishing to avoid a real debate on the issue, Washington resorted to diversionary tactics. The Ceylonese delegate who spoke first roundly denounced the persecution of Buddhists in south Viet Nam and demanded that the U.S. cease its aid to Diem and withdraw its troops. Before other speakers could take the floor, the Venezuelan President of the Assembly fished out a message from a "south Vietnamese observer" inviting the U.N. to send a "fact-finding" mission to Saigon. The Soviet delegate at first opposed this move; he proposed that the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference — the U.S.S.R. and Britain — authorize the International Control Commission to do the fact-finding. But he gave way after a night of "backstage negotiations" and voted for the U.N. commission.

As the Viet Nam Democratic Republic Foreign Ministry statement of October 14 has pointed out, the facts of the persecution of Buddhists and students in south Viet Nam are already well established. They need no investigation. For years the U.S. has illegally sent troops and weapons to

south Viet Nam and waged war there. It has obstructed all attempts of the International Control Commission to investigate these breaches of the Geneva agreements. Now it asks for a U.N. commission.

By this subterfuge Washington seeks to turn to its own advantage the genuine concern of world public opinion, cover up its own part in the bloody crimes committed against the Vietnamese people, and pave the way, through the U.N., for continued U.S. intervention and aggression. And by again ignoring the Geneva agreements it hopes to bring nearer the day when they will be scrapped completely. This is the real purpose of the U.N. "fact-finding" commission fathered in the State Department.

Latin America

Two Coups, One Lesson

Two more Caribbean countries have fallen victims to Rightist military coups.

The first took place late in September in the Dominican Republic. The generals threw out the civilian government of President Bosch, himself a State Department stooge, and established a regime whose announced aim is to "restore order and fight communism." While pledges were made to honour such U.S.-dictated agreements as the anti-communist Caracas Convention and the Punta del Este Charter, internally the Popular Socialist and other progressive parties were banned.

The second coup came in Honduras on October 4, ten days after the Dominican putsch. The Rightist generals seized power from President Morales, and immediately set themselves the task of "ending communist infiltration."

As usual, Washington is making a show of opposition to the military takeovers. But the plain truth is, with the people's movements mounting in both countries, the Kennedy Administration felt it was unsafe to leave power in the hands of civilians.

The Dominican and Honduras coups are no accident. They conform to the present trend for the return of the "Gorillas" in Latin America which proves that, while paying lip service to representative democracy, Washington does not hesitate to use coups d'etat and local strongmen to retain its control.

LANGUAGE

Mongolian Language Developments

In Huhhot or any of the other newly risen cities in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, one sees all the street signs, the names of the shops, hotels, parks and public buildings written in two languages — the Mongolian language of the local people and Han, the main Chinese language. Bookshops sell the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* and other Marxist classics, novels, textbooks and other works in both Mongolian and Han. Newspaper stands display the latest copies of the local papers in the two languages, as well as Mongolian-language editions of *Hongqi* (Red Flag), *China Pictorial* and other magazines. Theatres advertise plays and operas produced in Mongolian and cinemas show films dubbed in it.

All these are signs of the great development since liberation of a minority language which made practically no progress in the centuries since it was first written.

Ever since liberation government authorities in the area have encouraged the development and spread of the language as an important part of the exercise of regional autonomy. Complete sets of Mongolian-language primary and middle-school textbooks have been issued for the first time in Chinese history. Over 120,000 young Mongols are now being taught in Mongolian at school, and higher institutions of learning in the region have compiled sets of Mongolian-language teaching materials for some two dozen courses. The result is that of a people of whom 90 per cent were illiterate before liberation, over half of those up to middle age can now read Mongolian.

Publication of books in Mongolian has helped to improve the written language. Since the setting up of the autonomous region in 1947, 2,800 titles have been published in a total of 20 million copies. This is more than all the books published in Mongolian during the past seven centuries. They range from politics to poetry, and include works by Mongolian and Han writers as well as translated works of writers in other lands.

Programmes in Mongolian are broadcast by the seven radio stations

and the scores of rediffusion networks in the region. Dozens of feature films have been dubbed (sound-tracked) in Mongolian, including *Li Shuang-shuang* and other fine films of recent years. A full-length play, *The Golden Eagle*, and a modern opera *Danapala*, both in Mongolian, were recently staged.

The increased use of the language has greatly enriched its vocabulary, improved its syntax, and increased its power of expression. Intensive research work on its development is being made in the Inner Mongolian Institute of Language and Literature, and in Mongolian-language departments in colleges and universities. Research workers have discovered long-lost classical works and much valuable material on the history of the language. The ancient prose epic *Gesser Khan*, which tells of the exploits of a legendary hero, and collections of Mongolian folk tales and poems have been published. A study of the modern Mongolian language, a Mongolian-Han dictionary with over 60,000 entries, a history of the Mongolian written language and glossaries of political, economic and technical terminology have also been brought out.

The ranks of Mongolian language experts have swelled from a handful of people before liberation to over 8,000. They work in the higher institutions and research bodies as teachers, writers, translators and cultural and research workers.

CINEMA

"Naval Battle of 1894"

The Naval Battle of 1894 is a moving historical film with practical significance for today.

The Opium War of 1840 started a century of foreign imperialist aggression against China. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894 — in which the naval battles described in this film were one in-



Teng Shih-chang and the crew of the "Zhiyuan"

cident — saw a shameful chapter in this century of imperialist aggression from without and capitulation by the ruling circles within China. But there was a third force that was the glory of those dark years — the people. From 1840 through 1894 their steadfast struggles against both aggression and capitulation grew and waxed stronger until, under the leadership of the newborn proletariat and its party, final victory was won in 1949.

This film, in summing up the conflict of forces and recounting the events of 1894 in a colourful and inspiring way, illumines not only the past but the present and the future.

The opening sequence shows a convoy of Chinese transports being escorted by two vessels of the Peiyang (Northern) Squadron en route to Antung from Taku Harbour. Japanese warships suddenly attack. Fang Pochien, cowardly commander of one of the two escorting gunboats, hoists the white flag and turns tail. But his crew headed by gunner Wang Kuo-cheng, enraged by this cowardice in face of Japanese treachery, haul down the white flag and open fire on the enemy. A Japanese cruiser is hit, and the enemy withdraws.

It is clear that the Japanese imperialists are ready to start war at the drop of a hat but even at this juncture, Minister Li Hung-chang, who heads the party of capitulation in the Ching Dynasty government, still pins his hopes on Western mediation.

Provocative Japanese attacks against the coastal areas continue and the north coast sailors and fishermen cannot contain their anger. They seek out Teng Shih-chang, a patriotic and upright naval commander, to carry

a petition to the emperor. Teng often goes among his sailors and the local fishermen and has close bonds of sympathy with them. He too has been fuming with anger at the inaction of the Ching court. Presenting the people's petition he risks Minister Li Hung-chang's displeasure to ask for action. He is refused. The film highlights a night scene in port where the patriotic sailors gather wondering at Teng's gloom and silence since he returned from court. Has he had a change of heart? Going to Teng's garden to ask for news, they are arrested by his bowed silhouette at the window and the music he is playing. The harsh, tumultuous sounds of the *pipa* speak more eloquently than words.

Under increasing popular pressure to resist Japanese attacks, the Ching government finally declares war on the aggressors and Teng Shih-chang, who had been demoted, is reinstated as commander of the *Zhiyuan*. The film reaches its climax in the Yellow Sea battle. Teng Shih-chang and his crew engage the Japanese flagship *Yoshino* and force it to withdraw. The *Zhiyuan* gives chase. Her ammunition runs out. Teng, rallying his crew, gives the order to ram the *Yoshino*. Just before she overtakes it, the *Zhiyuan* is hit by a torpedo and sinks with all hands.

Out of the intricate web of events of the Sino-Japanese war the script writers Hsi Nung, Tu Li, Yeh Nan, Chen Ying and Li Hsiung-fei have chosen their material with keen discernment. Like the director Lin Nung, they take as their guide the original 1960 stage play and production. Following this design the four main characters are drawn in bold lines. Li Hung-chang is representative of that whole caste of feudal aristocrats and bureaucrat-capitalists who sold out China to the foreign powers. The coward Fang Po-chien is his creature. Gunner Wang Kuo-cheng, with his steadfast courage, represents not only the rank-and-file sailors and fishermen, but all the patriotic common people. Teng Shih-chang is powerfully portrayed by the actor Li Mo-jan. Patriotic, selfless, resolute, he is no individual hero: his strength comes from the strength of the people.

A Changchun Film Studio production in colour, the film is tight-knit, lucid and fast-moving. Effective use of close-ups brings alive the inner

emotions of the characters. From a close-up of Teng Shih-chang's fingers moving rapidly over the strings of the *pipa*, the camera moves to his face, brows knit in meditation. Film image and music project the tempestuous emotions racing through his breast. In the battle scenes at sea one sees the heroic spirit of the first generation of China's modern navy.

Stylistically the film falls somewhere between the category of "film" and "filmed play." This is stressed particularly by the way the director has chosen to have his actors use some of the elements of stylized traditional acting techniques, in his grouping of mass scenes, and in lighting.

The main characters and events in the film are true to history. Artistic imagination has rounded out the details. The war of 1894 ended in defeat with the signing of the humiliating Treaty of Shimonoseki. But the film leaves one with a great sense of uplift, of hope and confidence in the ultimate victory of the invincible people who will never put down their arms in face of the imperialist aggressors. This confidence has been justified by China's later history. It is being justified again and again today in every part of the world where the oppressed peoples are fighting for emancipation.

HANDICRAFTS

New Things in Peking Crafts

The Round City pavilions in Beihai Park recently housed a dazzling display of new Peking handicrafts. All of the 3,000 showpieces were produced in the last six months. Forty crafts were represented and 624 types of goods were on the stands.

With such riches on display it is an invidious task to single some out for special mention, but certainly the carvings must be on any list. This ancient craft of carving in jade and other precious stones has inherited all the superb technical traditions of the past and also been reinforced by new technical means. This has opened hitherto unknown possibilities for contemporary craftsmen. They also show all the old ingenuity for which their craft is famous in making use in their compositions of the natural colours, shades, shapes and markings of the stones. Outstanding

among the *objets d'art* was one set of eight horses in white jade, coral, jasper, agate, turquoise in which the beauty of the material is used to the fullest advantage.

New departures were also seen in cloisonne ware, an art handicraft for which Peking has long been famous. New colours and a great variety of new shapes are now being used. Even traditional cloisonne shapes in tripods, vases, plates and pots have been given a new freshness and vitality through the use of new glazes and decorative motifs taken from paintings. Among new trial products the decorative cloisonne animals can surely be accounted a success.

Peking embroiderers are noted for their inventiveness, varied patterns and dexterous workmanship. One new panel of the twelve beauties from the *Dream of the Red Chamber* has been executed on a white base entirely in white cotton thread. Various kinds of stitches are used to delineate facial expressions and forms and the different materials of clothes. This astonishing piece of creative work has broken new ground in Peking embroidery.

Among other exhibits were examples of Peking's famed ivory-carvings, red carved lacquerwares, magnificent gold and silver filigree ornaments, rugs and carpets, lifelike chenille birds and flowers, and exquisite palace lanterns.

Jointly sponsored by Peking's Arts and Crafts Co. and Industrial Arts Research Institute, the whole exhibition is now in Canton for the 1963 autumn Chinese Export Commodities Fair.



Examples of new Peking cloisonne

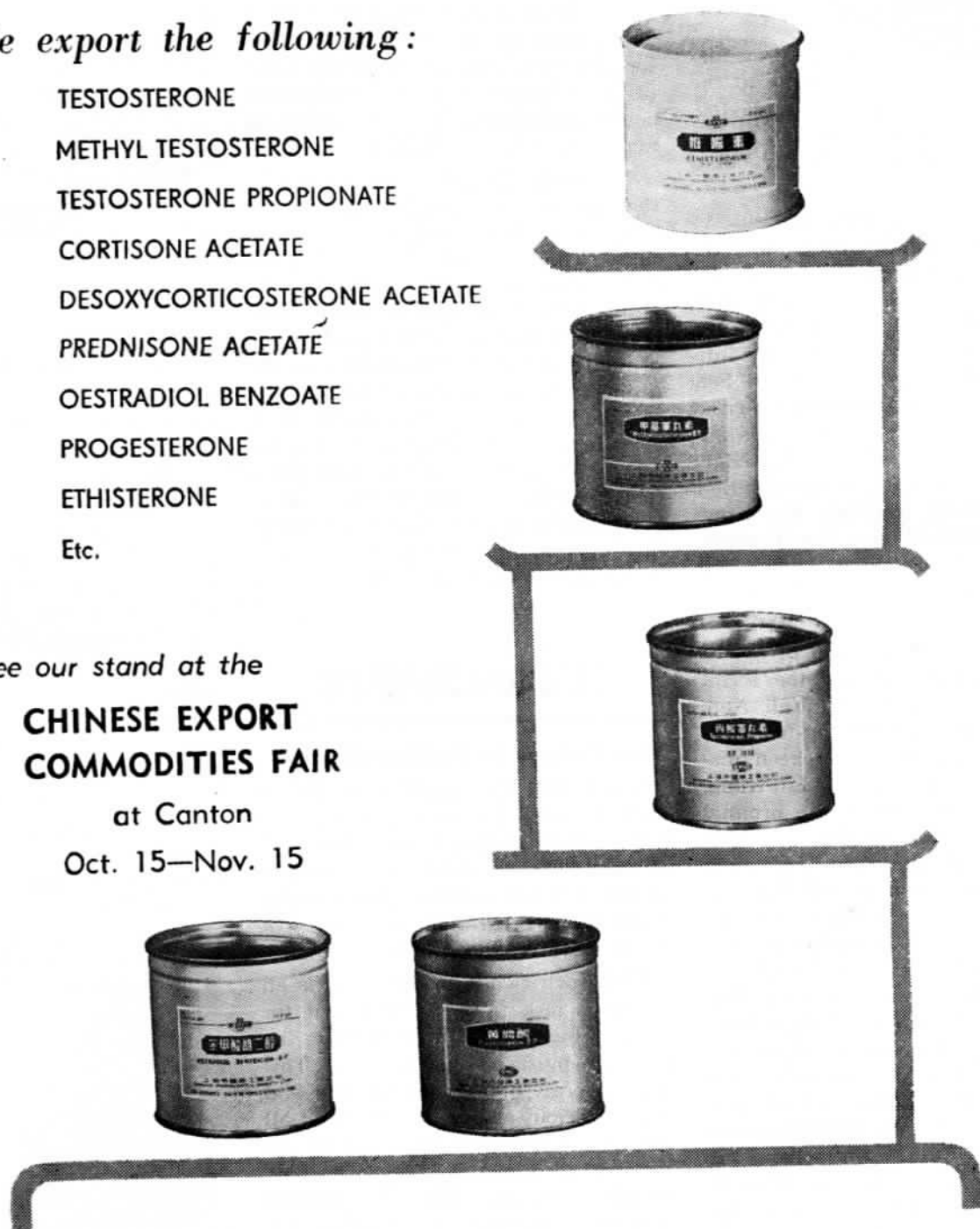
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