

PEKING REVIEW

44

November 1, 1963

Collectivization of Agriculture In China

(p. 7).

U.S. Plot to Use U.N. Against China Will Fail

Renmin Ribao editorial flays U.S. for obstructing the restoration of China's legitimate rights in U.N. (p. 14).

"Underdeveloped Economy": A Neo-Colonialist "Theory"

A critique of bourgeois economists' whitewashing of imperialist pillage in "underdeveloped" countries (p. 16).

*Round the World and
Other Features*

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

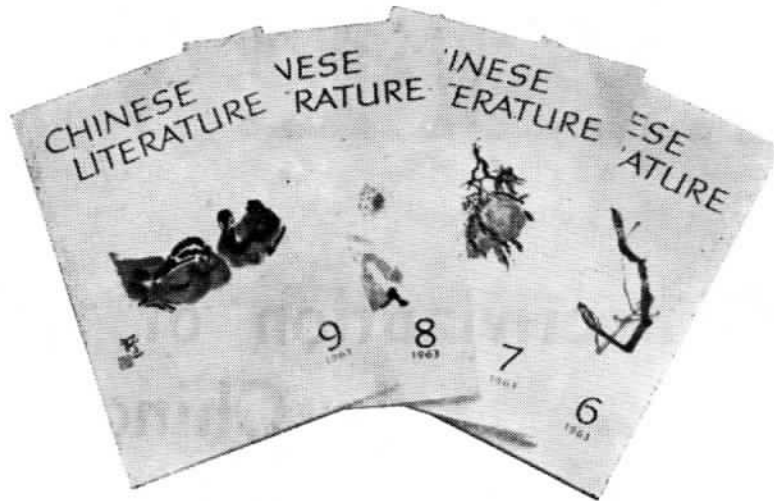
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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

November 1, 1963 Vol. VI No. 44

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November 1, 1963

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement condemning and protesting against U.S. manipulation of the 18th session of the U.N. General Assembly into obstructing once again the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the U.N.

Commenting on this hostile act, *Renmin Ribao* in its editorial of October 25 declared that whatever plot the United States might hatch against China through the U.N. was doomed to fail.

- The Nepalese National Panchayat Delegation led by its Chairman Vishwa Bandhu Thapa is touring the country on a goodwill visit at the invitation of Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

- Peking and other Chinese cities commemorated the 13th anniversary of the Chinese People's Volunteers' entry into the Korean war to resist U.S. aggression.

- The Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region celebrated its 5th anniversary.

- *Renmin Ribao* published extensive extracts from a long article appearing on October 4 in *Zeri i Popullit*, organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour. Entitled "N. Khrushchov Has Openly Raised the Banner of Split and Betrayal," the article is a comment on the July 14 open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

- The Chinese press reported:

- a statement of the National Secretariat of the Communist Party of New Zealand declaring that comprehensive preparations are necessary for a world meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

- a resolution of the 7th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, outlining the Party's tasks in the present situation and in the forthcoming Japanese elections. The resolution reaffirms the Party's determination to defend Marxism-Leninism by combating modern revisionism and opposing modern dogmatism.

- an editorial from the Korean paper *Rodong Shinmoon*, exposing the real purpose of Tito's recent trip to Latin America and the United States which is to dampen down the national-liberation struggle and to place himself at Washington's service.

- an article from the Vietnamese paper *Nhandan*, denouncing the reactionary foreign policy of the Tito clique.

Chairman Mao Receives Tanganyikan Guests

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on October 23 received Adam Sapi Mkwawa, Speaker of the Tanganyikan National Assembly, and Pius Musekwa, clerk of the Assembly, and had a cordial and friendly talk with them. On October 24, they were received by Premier Chou En-lai.

Speaker Mkwawa, after a week's tour of northeast and east China, returned to Peking on October 22. He was guest of honour at a farewell

banquet given on October 24 by Peng Chen, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. He left Peking for home on October 25.

China Condemns Hostile U.S. Act

The Chinese Foreign Ministry on October 24 issued a statement strongly condemning and protesting against another hostile act by the United States against the Chinese people.

On October 21 the U.S. Government, setting in motion its voting

machine, manipulated the 18th session of the U.N. General Assembly into illegally rejecting a resolution put forward by the Albanian and Cambodian Governments calling for the expulsion of the elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the restoration to China of its legitimate rights in the U.N.

"The persistent U.S. obstruction of the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations," said the Foreign Ministry statement, "is a component part of the U.S. general plan to perpetuate its occupation of China's territory of Taiwan, to aggravate tension in the Far East and to push its policies of aggression and war. The continued U.S. imperialist coercion of the United Nations into hostility towards the Chinese people is not only a gross violation of the U.N. Charter, but also a grave danger to peace in the Far East and the world."

Pointing out that the joint resolution submitted by Albania and Cambodia reflected the common desire of all countries upholding justice, the statement went on to say that only the Government of the People's Republic of China was entitled to enjoy all China's legitimate rights in the U.N. and that elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique must be driven out of all the organizations in the U.N. "The plot by the United States and its followers to create 'two Chinas,' no matter what form it takes, is firmly opposed by China and will never succeed," declared the statement.

Nepalese Guests

"The Nepalese National Panchayat Delegation's visit to China will contribute to the promotion of friendship and co-operation between China and Nepal," stated the *Renmin Ribao* in an editorial welcoming the Nepalese National Panchayat Delegation led by its Chairman Vishwa Bandhu Thapa. The delegation arrived in Peking on October 23 on a friendly visit at the invitation of Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. The members were warmly welcomed at the Peking airport by Chairman Chu Teh, other high-ranking government officials and Peking residents.

That evening, Chairman Chu Teh gave a banquet in the Great Hall of



Chairman Chu Teh and Premier Chou En-lai at the banquet given by Chairman Vishwa Bandhu Thapa (centre)

the People in honour of Chairman Vishwa Bandhu Thapa, his wife and members of the delegation. Both host and guest exchanged toasts to the growing friendship between China and Nepal.

In his banquet speech, Chairman Chu Teh described the growth of Sino-Nepalese friendship and the signing of the treaty of peace and friendship and the boundary treaty between China and Nepal as a victory for the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit.

Paying tribute to Nepal's foreign policy of independence, sovereignty, peace and neutrality, he said, "The Chinese Government has consistently held that countries, big or small, should be equal and that they will make positive contributions to the progress of mankind so long as they pursue a just policy in the interest of world peace."

Chairman Chu Teh thanked the Kingdom of Nepal for its firm stand of friendliness to China and its consistent advocacy of restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations in spite of imperialist and reactionary threats.

"With the Nepalese people, the Chinese people will," he declared, "devote their efforts to strengthening friendship and solidarity with the people of the whole world in the common struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and to safeguard Asian and world peace."

Chairman Vishwa Bandhu Thapa in his speech said that the delegation was glad to convey the good wishes of King Mahendra and the Nepalese people to the leaders and people of China. He expressed his confidence that the traditional, long-standing friendship between the two countries and peoples would be further strengthened by the visit.

On October 27, Chairman Liu Shao-chi received Chairman Vishwa Bandhu Thapa, his wife and the delegation and had a cordial, friendly talk with them. The day before, the visitors were received by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi on separate occasions.

On the evening of October 27, Chairman Vishwa Bandhu Thapa gave a banquet for Chairman Chu Teh and other Chinese government leaders. Premier Chou En-lai was among those present.

The Nepalese guests left Peking on October 28 for a tour of northeast China.

Anniversary of C.P.V.'s Entry Into Korean War

October 25 is a day of historic significance in the annals of Sino-Korean friendship. Thirteen years ago on this date the Chinese People's Volunteers crossed the Yalu River to fight with their Korean brothers

against the U.S. aggressors. Together, they exploded the myths of "technical omnipotence" and the "invincibility of U.S. imperialism." Meetings commemorating this great day were held last week in Peking and Pyongyang, the two capitals, and in many other cities in China and Korea.

Charge d'Affaires Zung Bong Koo of the Korean Embassy in China gave a banquet in Peking on October 25 to mark the occasion. Chu Teh, Tung Pi-wu, Ho Lung and other Communist Party and state leaders attended. The militant friendship and the great unity of the Chinese and Korean peoples were the toasts of the evening.

Charge d'Affaires Zung Bong Koo praised the Chinese People's Volunteers who, educated by the Chinese Communist Party in the spirit of revolution and proletarian internationalism, had fought together with the Korean People's Army and dealt crushing blows to the U.S. imperialists. "The militant friendship forged between the Korean and Chinese peoples and armies in the war," he said, "is a concrete expression of the lofty revolutionary sentiments of those ready to sacrifice themselves for the benefit of others in times of difficulty, and a vivid example of proletarian internationalism." He denounced U.S. imperialism for its continued occupation of south Korea and declared: "The Korean people, holding aloft the banners of anti-imperialism and national liberation, will drive the invading forces of U.S. imperialism out of south Korea and achieve the peaceful reunification of their fatherland." The Charge d'Affaires also condemned the invasion of Taiwan by U.S. imperialism and the latter's anti-Chinese campaign. He pledged the Korean people's support for the Chinese people in their struggle to liberate Taiwan.

Speaking of the plots and intrigues of the modern revisionists to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement, the Korean Charge d'Affaires stated: "The revolutionary force of anti-imperialism is growing, and revolutionary Marxism-Leninism continues to score victories. Imperialism will perish while socialism will triumph. The modern revisionists will inevitably meet the fate of their predecessors."

Vice-Premier Ho Lung also spoke at the banquet. He pointed out that the great victory of the Korean people in the war to resist the U.S. invaders and defend their country was a big event in the annals of today's struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. It demonstrated the revolutionary courage and heroic mettle of the Korean people in daring to fight and to win in the face of a strong enemy, and it inspired all oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world in their revolutionary struggles. "This great victory of the Korean people has played an inestimable role in the defence of peace in Asia and the rest of the world," he emphasized.

Referring to the long-tested friendship between the Chinese and Korean peoples, the Vice-Premier said: "We are struggling shoulder to shoulder to oppose imperialism and build socialism. And we are also standing closely together in the struggle in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and against modern revisionism."

Vice-Premier Ho Lung condemned U.S. imperialism for continuing to occupy China's territory of Taiwan, hanging on in south Korea, obstructing the peaceful reunification of Korea, and constantly making military provocations and war threats against China and Korea. He exposed U.S. imperialism's arms expansion and preparation for war, its counter-revolutionary two-faced policy of a fake peace while actually preparing for war, its plot to subvert the socialist countries, and its suppression of the movements for democracy and national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America. He expressed confidence that the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war would surely be defeated by the peoples of the world closely united in the common struggle to oppose imperialism and to safeguard world peace.

Draft Sino-Afghan Boundary Treaty Approved

The State Council on October 23 approved the draft of the boundary treaty between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Afghanistan. The State Council decided to submit the draft treaty to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for ratification, with the recommendation that Foreign Minister

Chen Yi be appointed plenipotentiary to sign it.

Edgar Faure Visits Peking

Edgar Faure, member of the French parliament and former premier, and Madame Faure arrived in Peking on October 22 on a friendly visit at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.

Chang Hsi-jo, Chairman of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, gave a banquet in honour of the French guests the next evening. Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi was among those who attended. The host, in his banquet speech, spoke of the traditional friendship between the Chinese and French peoples. Though difficulties still existed, he pointed out, mutual contact and exchange between the two peoples had increased recently. He paid tribute to the former French premier for his contribution to the development of economic and cultural relations between China and France. "M. Faure has always stood for the recognition of the People's Republic of China and the restoration of China's legitimate seat in the United Nations," he said. "We appreciate and value highly M. Faure's efforts to promote Sino-French friendship." Chang Hsi-jo expressed confidence that M. Faure's current visit would make further contributions to this friendship.

Edgar Faure, in his speech, said that while he still had with him a warm impression of China from his visit six years ago, he was happy to come again and see the tremendous successes China had achieved. "Particularly praiseworthy," he said, "is the will of the Chinese people in overcoming the difficulties and obstacles that resulted from three consecutive years of natural calamities." Reaffirming that his position on certain questions referred to by his host had been consistent, he expressed hope that it would play its part in the days to come.

On October 23, Premier Chou En-lai received and had a friendly talk with the French guests. Later, he gave a dinner in their honour.

India Returns Evil for Good

One good turn deserves another. This is normal behaviour for any person of goodwill and good conscience. Such responses, however, are

not forthcoming from New Delhi officials who prefer to call good evil in order to wage their cold war against China.

During last year's border conflict started by New Delhi, many Indian military personnel died as victims of the Indian Government's armed aggression against China. While the conflict was still going on in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, the Chinese frontier guards, as far as circumstances permitted, buried Indian troops who were killed. And, when the conflict ended, they lost no time burying the bodies of all other Indian soldiers killed in action. The Chinese side has thus carried out its responsibilities according to customary international practice and the relevant articles of the Geneva Convention.

The matter should have ended there. But four and a half months after China proclaimed the ceasefire and withdrew its frontier guards on its own initiative, India requested that its men be allowed to enter the demilitarized zone within Chinese territory in the western sector of the border and "collect" the bodies of its servicemen. When told that all the bodies had been buried, it requested again that the bodies be cremated according to Indian custom. Despite the great difficulties, China decided to send Chinese Red Cross personnel to the places concerned to collect and cremate the bodies and hand over these ashes and some bodies to the Indian side so that, after taking them over, the Indian side might handle them according to its own customs.

China has acted throughout in a spirit of friendship and consideration for the Indian side. It is a demonstration of high humanitarianism and sincere desire to preserve Sino-Indian friendship. But the Indian Government, completely ignoring China's goodwill, kept insisting on sending its personnel into Chinese territory, obviously for the purpose of carrying out activities with ulterior motives under the pretext of holding "religious rites." This of course cannot be permitted by China.

Flying in the face of facts, the Indian press, with many clumsy distortions, made a hullabaloo out of all this in the latter part of September. And on October 7, a spokesman of

the Indian Ministry of External Affairs in a statement slandered China as having "deliberately prevented" the Indian side from cremating the bodies of the Indian soldiers killed in the western sector of the border.

Last week, a spokesman of the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry refuted the Indian allegations. "China," he said, "has shown the utmost consideration in dealing with the bodies of Indian servicemen killed in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. Those who understand and respect the facts can see that the Indian Government's charge against China on this question is nothing but wicked slander."

Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region Anniversary

On October 25 the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region celebrated its fifth anniversary.

With the attainment of national autonomy, the initiative of the Hui people, one of China's larger minority groups, was brought into fuller play; and unity among the various nationalities in the region was further strengthened. This has contributed to rapid progress in Ningsia, once a most backward area in northwest China.

At a celebration meeting in Yinchuan, capital of Ningsia, Yang Ching-jen, chairman of the autonomous region, outlined the achievements as follows: The people's communes, about as old as the autonomous region itself, have taken the road of sound development. With state help, they built more than a score of reservoirs, dozens of main channels for irrigation and drainage and 90 pumping stations, thus increasing mechanized pumping capacity 14-fold over 1957. These water conservancy works are playing an increasing role in farming. Grain output this year was 20 per cent higher than 1962. Industrial crops also registered big gains. The region now has over 3 million head of livestock, an increase of 70 per cent over 1957. With forest belts planted to hold back the Tengri and Maowusu Deserts, large tracts of disused land have been put under crops.

Ningsia had virtually no industry nor modern transport facilities in the

past. Now it has half as many again industrial enterprises as in 1957 and is producing more than 100 varieties of industrial goods compared with only a dozen in 1957. The Paotow-Lanchow Railway, completed in 1958, runs through Ningsia; Yinchuan is linked with Peking and Lanchow by air; many highways were built or reconstructed. Ningsia now has a far-flung transport network.

There has been much headway in culture and education.

The Communist Party's policy of training cadres from among the minority peoples has brought good results. There are today more than twice as many cadres of Hui origin working in the region as six years ago. Many hold responsible jobs, and have made valuable contributions to cementing the Party's ties with the minority people and strengthening national unity.

The Hui people's freedom of religious belief—most Huis are Muslims—and their legitimate religious activities are respected and protected. They also have been freed from feudal oppression and exploitation perpetrated in the name of religion.

On hand to congratulate the people of Ningsia was Yu Hsin-ching, Vice-Chairman of the Nationalities Affairs Commission. He pointed out that in addition to Ningsia, two Hui autonomous *chou* and four autonomous counties where the Hui people live in compact communities have been established as well as two joint autonomous counties for Hui and other minority peoples. Thus all areas in China where the Hui people live in compact communities have attained national autonomy.

Good Industrial Crops

Recent reports indicate that tobacco, bast-fibre and oil-bearing crops in China this year are on the whole good.

It is estimated that this year's tobacco crop exceeds 1962's by a considerable margin despite earlier unfavourable weather conditions. Two of China's most important tobacco areas in Shantung and Honan Provinces report excellent harvests. The former achieved a per-mu yield double that of last year and the latter registered a more than 10 per cent increase in total output. Liaoning and Kirin, two

(Continued on p. 15.)

Collectivization of Agriculture In China

Written for "Cuba Socialista" of Cuba

by LIAO LU-YEN

This article by Minister of Agriculture Liao Lu-yen was published in Spanish in the October issue of "Cuba Socialista." Summaries at the head of each section are the author's; paragraph shoulder headings are ours.—Ed.

CHINA is a country with over 500 million peasants, who make up 80 per cent of the population. Led by the working class and its political party, the Chinese Communist Party, they overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and founded a new China belonging to the people themselves in 1949 after a long period of revolutionary wars. By 1952 land reform was successfully completed throughout the country and the following year began the socialist transformation of agriculture. The peasants were quite naturally led step by step towards socialism through various forms of transition, first through the mutual-aid teams for agricultural production, which contained the rudiments of socialism, then through the semi-socialist elementary agricultural producers' co-operatives, and after that through the advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives which were fully socialist in nature. By the winter of 1956, over 100 million peasant households of our country, which had engaged in scattered production, were organized into 750,000 advanced co-operatives. As far as the ownership of the means of production was concerned, the socialist transformation of agriculture was then completed.

Guided by the beacon light of the Party's general line of going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, over 70,000 people's communes were formed on the basis of the advanced co-operatives in the second half of 1958 and this completed the universal establishment of people's communes in China's countryside. They were founded to meet both the needs of the big leap forward in socialist economic construction and the demands of the broad masses of the people. Formed by combining advanced co-operatives, the people's communes enjoy many advantages over the advanced co-operatives in undertaking water conservancy and other types of capital construction on the farms, in organizing co-operation in agricultural production, and in developing a diversified farm economy. At the present stage, the people's communes are collective economic organizations of a socialist nature, based on the principles of mutual assistance and mutual benefit. They practise the socialist principles of distribution: from each according to his ability, to each according to his work, and more income for those who work more. People's communes are something brand new; and after having steadily summed up their experience and improved their work in the past few years, they are advancing successfully along the road of sound development.

The individual small-peasant economy made up of 500 million people or over 100 million households, a vast sea of small producers and small owners, successfully underwent the transformation into socialist, collective agriculture in the short space of a few years. This has been a great victory in China for Marxist-Leninist theories on agricultural collectivization. It has also been a great victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the thought which combines the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution and construction.

(1)

Immediately after the anti-feudal land reform came mutual aid and co-operation in agricultural production, the beginning of the movement for agricultural collectivization.

Necessity of Socialist Transformation of Agriculture. By 1952 land reform had been completed throughout the country and the national economy had recovered from the damage it suffered during the long years of war. The task then facing the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people was to take the revolution another step forward and carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Consequently, in the winter of 1952 the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the general line and the general tasks for the transition period: gradually to bring about socialist industrialization of the country and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industry and commerce. Things were crystal clear at that time: to bring about socialist industrialization, it was necessary to carry out simultaneously the socialist transformation of agriculture. Socialist industrialization could not be built up on a foundation of a small-scale individual farming. Still less could socialist industry coexist with capitalist agriculture.

The Situation After Land Reform. The agricultural situation at the time was that the feudal landownership by the landlord class had been abolished, the principle of "land to the tiller" had been put into practice, productive forces had been liberated and agricultural production had made certain progress. Agricultural production was, however, still carried out in a scattered and individual way with the single household as the productive unit. Such a small-scale individual economy was capable of only very limited growth. It could not meet the ever rising requirements of the nation's socialist industrialization for marketable grains and industrial raw materials any more than it could meet the demands of the expansion of the whole national

economy or could fulfil the need of the broad masses of the peasants to raise their living standards. At the same time, this kind of economy was perpetually giving birth to capitalist elements. In some areas where land reform had been completed comparatively early, the spontaneous forces of capitalism had already started to grow in the countryside; the sale of land, exploitation through the hiring of labour, commercial speculation, usury and so on had already made their appearance. All this convincingly showed that if socialism did not control the position in the countryside, capitalism would certainly do so. Capitalism meant the road for a very small number of people to amass great wealth through exploiting others, but for the great majority of the peasants it was the way to poverty and ruin.

Peasants Ready to Take the Socialist Road. China's peasants had, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, become an awakened and organized peasantry steeled in the fires of long years of revolutionary civil war and national revolutionary war, and our Party had a strong organizational base in the countryside. China's land reform movement was one in which the masses were fully mobilized, the feudal system of exploitation was completely smashed and the peasant masses liberated themselves. In the course of land reform, the peasants did more than get their land and "stand up" economically, they tempered yet further their fighting strength and raised their level of class consciousness. It was inconceivable that such a peasantry should allow the spontaneous tendency towards capitalism to develop freely, that they should take the road of capitalism, or that they should let themselves again suffer exploitation and enslavement. The only road to common prosperity for the peasant masses was to get themselves organized and take the socialist road. Back in the time of the revolutionary wars, mutual-aid and co-operative organizations among the peasants had developed in the revolutionary base areas. This was why after the nationwide victory of the revolution and the completion of land reform our Party immediately put forward the task of the socialist transformation of agriculture. As all of this was in conformity with what the peasants wanted, they responded to it, particularly the poor peasants, and made it into a movement of their own initiative. On the basis of the completion of the historical task of the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution of agricultural collectivization at once began to develop step by step.

(II)

To get the masses of the peasants organized and guide them to advance towards collectivization step by step through various forms of transition so as to enable them to take the socialist road naturally and without the least reluctance.

The specific path taken by the Chinese peasants to get organized gradually and realize the collectivization of agriculture step by step has been: starting with agricultural producers' mutual-aid teams to develop first to elementary agricultural producers' co-operatives, then to advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives, and finally to the people's communes.

Mutual-Aid Teams. Work on the basis of mutual aid was a traditional custom among the Chinese peasants, and

agricultural mutual-aid teams were an organizational form developed on the basis of this custom. Peasants joining mutual-aid teams worked together, while their land, draught animals, farm tools and other means of farm production remained their own private property; the farm produce of each piece of land went to the family that owned it. In other words, the peasants only aided each other by exchanging workdays as they worked together. At the very beginning the organization of such mutual-aid teams was temporary and seasonal; they were later developed into round-the-year mutual-aid teams in which there was, on the basis of working together, a certain degree of division of labour and line and a small amount of collectively owned property. Mutual-aid teams were founded on private ownership, but had rudiments of socialism. Because they worked jointly, the labour productivity of mutual-aid teams was higher than that of working individually, thus bringing about increased production. And as mutual-aid teams were developed on the basis of traditional peasant customs, they were easily accepted by the masses of the peasants and were thus popularized on a wide scale.

Elementary Co-ops. The elementary agricultural producers' co-operatives pooled land and practised unified management and distribution of income. The principle followed in their distribution was that a smaller part of the income were distributed as land payment proportionate to the amount of land pooled by the members, which was an expression of the continued private ownership of land; while the greater part of the income were distributed as work payment according to the quantity and quality of the work done by the co-op members taking part in collective labour, which embodied partial implementation of the socialist principle of "to each according to his work." That is why we say that the elementary co-operatives were semi-socialist. Since they carried out unified management of land, and thus successfully overcame the contradiction between collective labour and scattered management which had existed in the mutual-aid teams, they could make rational use of land to grow the crops most suited to the particular plots of land and rationally deploy the manpower and plan the farm work. As a result, they were better than mutual-aid teams at increasing agricultural production. This was the main organizational form we put into practice in China's countryside from 1953 to 1955. This transitional form that temporarily retained land payment played an important role in the course of China's agricultural collectivization.

Advanced Co-ops. Advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives were a further development of the elementary co-ops. Land payment was abolished. The co-op members' privately owned draught animals, farm tools and other major means of production were pooled at their money value and turned into the collective property of the co-ops. After setting a part of the value of the draught animals, farm tools, etc., against the cost of shares necessary for membership, the rest of their value was repaid by the co-ops in instalments. After deducting the costs of production and management, reserve funds, public welfare funds and agricultural tax, all the income of the co-ops was distributed among the members according to the socialist principle of "to each according to his work and more income for those who work more." That is

why we say that the advanced co-operatives were fully socialist. It was precisely because the advanced co-operatives resolved the contradiction between unified management and the private ownership of land, draught animals and farm tools, and because they completely followed the distribution principle of "to each according to his work," that they further raised the members' enthusiasm for work and were therefore superior to the elementary co-ops. While abolishing land payment, the advanced co-ops provided social insurance by using public welfare funds to guarantee the livelihood of widowers, widows, orphans, aged people who had no relatives to rely on, and those who were disabled or unable to work, and to give due subsidies to those members who had to support big families that were short of farm-hands. Such mutual-aid measures did away with the misgivings of these members towards the abrogation of land payment and at the same time won the support of the rank and file of the co-op members and of society as a whole. The switch-over from elementary co-ops to advanced co-ops was consequently completed quite smoothly in 1956, thus bringing about the socialist transformation of the means of production in agriculture.

People's Communes. People's communes were a great creation of the peasants in the upsurge of agricultural production and socialist construction in 1958. At that time a number of advanced co-ops in many places pooled their efforts to build such agricultural capital construction works as water conservancy projects, jointly established enterprises to process farm produce and workshops to manufacture and repair farm tools, and developed the unified management of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupations and fishery. It was in response to such needs for great expansion in production that the people's communes were originated and developed. Summing up with great enthusiasm the experiences of this creation of the masses, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung popularized it, and it won the prompt and general support of the broad masses of the peasants. As a result, people's communes were established throughout the countryside in the space of only a few months. There are now more than 74,000 people's communes in China. Some of the communes are bigger with production brigades and production teams under them, while other smaller ones have only production teams. Generally speaking, land, draught animals, farm tools and other means of production are all owned and managed by the production teams, and income is distributed in a unified way with the production teams as a basic unit. But, in a few cases, the means of production are owned and managed by the production brigades which also serve as a basic unit for the unified distribution of income. In still fewer cases, the means of production are owned and managed by the communes and income is distributed on the basis of the whole commune. People's communes are an amalgamation and development of the advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives. During the entire historical period of socialism they will continue to implement the principle of "to each according to his work and more income for those who work more." The people's communes also allow their members to cultivate a certain amount of garden plot, raise pigs and poultry, and follow other domestic side-line occupations as a supplement to the collective

economy, on the condition that these activities do not hamper their participation in collective production. The descriptions of the people's communes as "skipping over stages" and that we are "carrying out communism" are nothing but completely groundless attacks and slanders.

The people's communes enjoy greater superiority over the advanced co-ops as they can build water conservancy projects and other works of agricultural capital construction through unified planning and unified deployment of manpower and other resources, can organize co-ordination and co-operation in production between production teams in accordance with the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit and that of exchange on the basis of equal values, and can run directly enterprises which the production brigades and teams are not capable of running. The people's communes are suitable for ownership by production teams, by production brigades or by the communes themselves. They are the basic social organization both for the entire historical period of socialism and for the future period of communism. Facts have proved that in the face of three successive years of unprecedentedly serious natural calamities shortly after their establishment, the newborn people's communes had enough vitality to withstand the test unshaken. In combating three consecutive years of natural disasters and in the present struggle for the restoration and development of agricultural production, the people's communes have shown themselves even stronger than the advanced co-ops. Without people's communes, it would have been very difficult for us to restore and develop our agricultural production with such unexpected speed when it had been so hard hit by natural calamities. We are convinced that, taking this historical period as a whole, people will increasingly recognize the superiority of the people's communes and the red banner of the people's commune will grow brighter with each passing day.

Simultaneously with the collectivization of agriculture, we have also developed the rural supply and marketing co-operatives to combat the commercial speculative activities of spontaneous rural capitalist forces, and credit co-operatives to foil the activities of usurers. The development of supply and marketing co-operatives and credit co-operatives complemented that of agricultural collectivization and helped hasten its advance.

Increase in Production Throughout Collectivization. It was precisely because we had adopted mutual-aid teams, elementary and advanced co-ops and people's communes to draw the peasants step by step, naturally and without the least reluctance to socialism, that the peasants—individual small producers and small private owners—were ideologically and materially prepared and not surprised when they came to a fully socialist economy in agriculture, and all kinds of possible losses due to sudden change have been avoided. As a result, agricultural production in China increased year after year throughout the course of agricultural collectivization from 1953 to 1958. Three consecutive years of serious natural calamities from 1959 to 1961 reduced the farm output. But, because of the agricultural collectivization and the establishment of the people's communes, the damage was greatly alleviated, and, starting from 1962, agricultural production has been restored at a tempo much quicker than expected and in some places it has actually registered further increases.

This great achievement is a result of the emancipation of productive forces through agricultural collectivization. This is also a great achievement in the implementation of the Party's policy of guiding the peasants step by step and with proper preparations towards a socialist economic system.

(III)

The agricultural collectivization movement of our country consistently implemented the mass line.

The Principle of Voluntariness and Mutual Benefit. Our Party has always regarded the movement for agricultural collectivization as one in which the peasant masses liberate themselves. Socialist transformation of agriculture is also a process for the peasants to remould themselves. The basic principle of voluntariness must therefore be firmly adhered to both in mobilizing the peasants to join the collective economic organizations and in handling the internal problems of these organizations. Peasants have been organized according to their level of consciousness and of their own free will, and we have resolutely opposed people taking everything into their own hands, making decisions for the peasants and doing their work by compulsion and orders. To obtain voluntariness one must ensure that there is mutual benefit and that both the poor and the middle peasants have something to gain and nothing to lose in getting organized. Voluntariness and mutual benefit are linked with each other and cannot be separated; mutual benefit is the basis of voluntariness. It has been proved by experience that the work of carrying out socialist transformation of a small-peasant economy cannot possibly be realized by a simple call, that we cannot incorporate the poor peasants and the middle peasants into the co-ops by compulsion and orders, and that still less is it permissible to transform the peasants' means of production into collective property by the method of expropriation. If the methods of carrying out the work by compulsion and orders and of expropriating the peasants are adopted, these can only constitute the crime of damaging the worker-peasant alliance, the alliance between the poor peasants and the middle peasants and agricultural collectivization. It is quite impossible for such acts to bring the slightest benefits to agricultural collectivization.

Persuasion and Example. During the movement for agricultural collectivization, we used the method of patient persuasion and of setting up typical examples for the rest to follow in order to raise the consciousness of the peasants and get them organized voluntarily. We instilled into their minds the ideas of socialist collectivism through their everyday personal experiences and their own observations. We made constant efforts to bring home to them that the individual economy had no future and that prolonged maintenance of small-scale production would inevitably turn the majority of the peasantry into the victims of exploitation by rich peasants, usurers and commercial capitalists, would once again deprive them of their land and would reduce them to the position of being exploited and enslaved. They were brought to realize that collectivization was the only road to their common prosperity. Lenin said: "We have to give the peasant, who . . . is a practical man and a realist, con-

crete examples to prove that the 'kommunia' is the best possible thing"; "they [the 'kommunia'] must be so organized as to gain the confidence of the peasants." Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also constantly told us that the peasant is a worker with his feet on the ground. It was in accordance with these instructions of Lenin and Mao Tse-tung that we laid it down in the course of the movement for agricultural collectivization that the Communist Party secretaries of all levels must themselves make a serious effort to run a number of organizations of the agricultural collective economy under proper leadership and that these must be run well in order to serve as model examples. Such concrete and practical examples could most effectively convince the peasants and draw them to socialism.

As regards the steps and methods adopted in the movement, we followed the practice of overall planning, of strengthening the leadership in the movement, of conducting experiments in some selected areas, of establishing the organizations of the agricultural collective economy group by group, of consolidating the old ones before setting up the new ones, of spreading from a few places to a whole area, of increasing from the few to the many, of developing from a lower to a higher level and of advancing step by step. This seemed to be a slow process of advance, but actually it was quick.

Meanwhile, the state gave this new creation in collective economy appropriate monetary, material and technical aid on the basis of existing needs and possibilities, and enabled the peasants to see quickly the benefits of getting organized, thus accelerating the development of agricultural collectivization.

Socialist Education of the Peasants. It has also been proved by our practice that to educate the peasants in socialist ideas is a long-term, arduous task which takes a repeated process to carry through. The education of the peasants is a serious problem. The socialist remoulding of the peasants does not end with the realization of agricultural collectivization — the introduction of the socialist collective ownership of means of production. Both during and after collectivization it is necessary to give the peasants incessant socialist education. Almost every year, we have made use of the winter time, the slack season on the farm, to carry out rectification campaigns and the work of checking up on the communes (as we used to with the co-ops) with the main purpose of giving socialist education in a big way, raising the socialist consciousness of the peasants, overcoming their spontaneous tendency towards capitalism, repulsing the attacks of the overthrown landlords and rich peasants and of the newborn bourgeois elements, strengthening the determination of the peasants to take the path of socialism and consolidating the collective economy.

We, on the one hand, adhered to the principle of voluntariness, and, on the other, constantly intensified socialist education among the peasants. We used the method of patient persuasion, of setting up typical examples for the rest to follow and of extending state help. We adopted the steps of conducting experiments in some selected areas, of establishing the collective agricultural organizations group by group, of spreading from a few places to a whole area, of increasing from the few to the many, of developing from a lower to a higher level and of advancing step by step. All this represents the prac-

tical application of our Party's traditional working method of the mass line to the movement for agricultural collectivization. It is precisely because of the strengthening of the Party leadership and the adherence to the mass line that the movement for agricultural collectivization in our country really became a movement which the peasants voluntarily joined to remould themselves and to emancipate themselves—a movement which not only brought about the socialist transformation of the small-peasant economy but also remoulded the peasants according to socialist standards.

(IV)

The ideological, political and organizational guarantee for socialist transformation of agriculture is to wage a resolute struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and a resolute class struggle, and to rely firmly on the poor and lower-middle peasants and unite closely with other sections of the middle peasants.

Continuous Struggle Throughout the Process. The movement for agricultural collectivization in our country was not all plain sailing or free of struggle. In the countryside, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and the class struggle went on throughout the process of the movement. This struggle rose and fell in a wave-like motion, at times becoming extremely acute, and the forms of the struggle were many and varied.

The landlord class and the rich peasants who had been overthrown in the rural areas have never willingly accepted the extinction of their classes. The diehards among them intrigued for a comeback at every opportunity. They tried in a thousand and one ways to corrupt our cadres and usurp our leadership. They took advantage of clan relationships and of feudal superstitions and other forces of habit of the old society to deceive the masses and carry out all kinds of subversive activities. They even ganged up with undercover counter-revolutionaries in criminal counter-revolutionary activities. It goes without saying that they opposed the collectivization of agriculture.

Two Sides to the Peasant's Character. Peasants are small producers and have two sides to their character; they are at the same time toilers and small-scale property-owners. As toilers they can, with working-class leadership, take the path of socialism; this is the main thing about the poor and lower-middle peasants. But then as small-scale owners they have a constant tendency to develop spontaneously towards capitalism. This tendency is strongest in the well-to-do middle peasants. In most cases the well-to-do middle peasants did not approve of agricultural collectivization when the movement was first launched. It was only when the majority of the peasants made collectivization a reality that they swam with the tide and joined the co-operatives. Some of them continued their speculative activities within the collective economy even after becoming members of the co-operatives; they were always finding fault with the co-operatives and took any chance to try to abandon the socialist road for the capitalist road.

Mortal Enemies of Socialism. The overthrown landlords and rich peasants still are living in the rural areas; in our society bourgeois influence and the forces of habit of the old society still exist; the well-to-do middle peasants have a spontaneous tendency towards capitalism; and there are newborn bourgeois elements. All these are the mortal enemies of socialism. Therefore, it is unavoidable in the countryside to have struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. During the movement for agricultural collectivization in China and after its realization this struggle varied in intensity, but never ceased for a moment. It grew sharper whenever the revolution took a step forward, whenever we were hit hard by natural calamities or came up against other difficulties, or wherever the localities went wrong in their work. The landlords and rich peasants would manoeuvre and pull strings from behind the scenes and some of the well-to-do middle peasants who had the worst capitalist inclinations would come out into the open, clamouring to withdraw from the co-operative and to work their land on their own. They would go in for speculation and cornering on the local rural markets, and for hiring farm-hands and setting themselves up as money-lenders—all in an attempt to smash the collective economy. They would adopt the tactics of worming their way into leading positions and bribing cadres in order to usurp the leadership over the collective economy and adulterate its character. Such a sharp class struggle inevitably reflects itself inside the Party. At such a time unstable Party members, ideologically unprepared for the socialist revolution, would waver on the question of agricultural collectivization.

Our experience is that we should never forget about the class struggle for a single moment, otherwise we will be unable to guarantee victory for the socialist road and attain agricultural collectivization, and incapable of consolidating it even when attained.

Firm Reliance on Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants. If we are to repulse the attacks of the landlords and rich peasants, the newborn bourgeois elements and the spontaneous forces of capitalist development, if we are to ensure and consolidate victory for the socialist path in the rural areas, then we must adhere to the policy of relying on those who were poor peasants and lower-middle peasants in the days of the land reform. This policy holds good both during and after agricultural collectivization. It is the Party's class line in the rural areas to rely on the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants and unite with over 90 per cent of the rural population. Those who were poor peasants, including hired farm-hands, at the time of the land reform, today constitute 60 to 70 per cent of the rural population; they are the proletarians and semi-proletarians of the countryside and are the sworn enemies of all exploiting systems and classes. They proved themselves the staunchest in carrying out the land reform and overthrowing the landlord class. They proved themselves the most earnest and insistent about getting organized for the socialist path when the time came for agricultural collectivization. Before the land reform the lower-middle peasants—the poorer middle peasants—were constant victims of exploitation by the landlords and rich peasants and their economic status came close to that of the poor peasants, and were therefore solidly

behind the reform. In the movement for agricultural collectivization they were active champions of getting organized to take the path of socialism. Although the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants of the land reform period have been enjoying considerable improvements in their livelihood for the last ten years or so, they owe this common prosperity to their collective economy. They know what it was like to be exploited and they appreciate the benefits of collectivization. Therefore, the former poor peasants and lower-middle peasants, with the exception of a handful of degenerates who have forgotten about the bitter past, remain to this day the really reliable force in the countryside. The proletariat and its vanguard must resolutely rely on this really reliable force, for only thus can they hope to win over potential allies, mainly by uniting with the middle peasants. Only thus can they isolate the enemies of the proletariat and the people, and repulse the attacks of the landlords and rich peasants as well as the newborn bourgeois elements and the spontaneous forces of capitalist development. Only thus can they ensure and consolidate the victory of agricultural collectivization and enable the socialist revolution and socialist construction to make even greater progress. If, on the other hand, we should ever get divorced from the poor and lower-middle peasants, we would become like a man without hands, a commander without troops, or a speaker without an audience and would have to carry on without help; we would hardly be able to move an inch.

To ensure that the class line of relying on the poor and lower-middle peasants is carried out to the full, we firmly adhere to the policy of keeping those who were poor and lower-middle peasants at the time of the land reform predominant in the organs of leadership in the present people's communes, just as they were in those of the agricultural producers' co-operatives; we ensure that two-thirds of the leadership comes from their ranks. In addition, we have established organizations containing the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants of the land reform period. Under the leadership of the rural Communist Party branch, these organizations will play the role of assisting and supervising the administrative committees of the people's communes, the production brigades, and the production teams. This is both helpful and necessary for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the consolidation of the collective economy and the development of agricultural production. Whether in making the revolution or in building socialism the question of on whom to rely and with whom to unite must be solved. Our Party must always stick to the class line of relying on the poor and lower-middle peasants and of uniting with the middle peasants in carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction and in developing agricultural production.

(V)

It is a matter of basic importance to the socialist system for cadres to take part in collective productive labour.

From the time of agricultural producers' co-operatives our Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have proposed and insisted that cadres take part in collective productive

labour. This was still the case after the founding of the people's communes.

Participation in Labour Essential for Cadres. In the organizations of the agricultural collective economy the way for the cadres at various levels to maintain the broadest, closest and most regular contacts with the masses is by taking part in collective productive labour along with the members of the commune (as they did during the co-op period). The masses affectionately regard a cadre who works alongside them in the fields as one of themselves. Naturally this breaks down the distinctions between leaders and the led, puts cadres and the masses on a footing of real equality and merges them together. It enables the cadres to understand in time the feelings of the masses, what they are thinking and the problems facing them. It enables the cadres to understand in time the political trends and the state of class relations in the rural areas, so that talking things over with the masses they can apply the mass line to provide timely solutions to problems. By taking part in collective productive labour with members of the commune (as, in the past, of the co-op) the cadres can also acquire a good timely grasp of the production situation, spot the problems in production, take these up with the masses and find out solutions in the actual process of production and thus solve them in good time. It follows that cadres who take part in the collective productive labour with other members of the commune are thus able to report the real situation, to give wise leadership to production, and to do the rest of their work in the countryside well.

But if, on the other hand, the cadres at the various levels of the commune merely stand at the edge of the fields or sit in the administrative committee offices issuing orders left and right instead of taking part in collective productive labour, they are bound to estrange themselves from the masses. The commune members will look askance at such cadres and even regard them as persons living off their labour, and feelings of resentment against such cadres will grow imperceptibly. Such cadres naturally have little understanding of the things around them, nor are they able to report the situation as it is. The ideas they put forward are often wide of the mark. The commune members will not listen to them. Consequently they fail as leaders of production and make a poor job of their other duties in the rural areas. Besides, for those who hail from the ranks of toilers, participation in collective productive labour ensures that they do not forget the past and always behave as working people should. For those who are not of working people origin, participation in collective productive labour is absolutely essential to their self-remoulding.

Not only cadres at various levels of the communes but the cadres of the Party organizations at the grass-root level, such as the secretary of the rural Party branch and others, must all take part in collective productive labour with commune members. Cadres of the county level and above, must also make a serious effort to do so according to the rules stipulated. Our Party being the party of the proletariat, our ground-level Party organizations must be placed in the hands of those progressives who are the keenest on doing productive labour. The Party branch secretary in the rural areas must not only be most advanced politically but also most active in

labour, excelling in production and striving to be a model farmer. We are of the opinion that it is a matter of basic importance to the socialist system that cadres at all levels make a serious effort to take part in collective productive labour. Failure to do so will inevitably result in cadres divorcing themselves from the broad masses of working people and leading a privileged life.

(VI)

Running the organizations of the collective economy democratically, industriously and frugally is a basic principle of their smooth management.

From the very beginning of the agricultural producers' co-operatives, our Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have repeatedly emphasized the importance of running the co-operatives democratically, industriously and frugally. The people's communes of today are very much bigger in size and scope than the co-operatives of the past. The production brigades and production teams under the commune are not small-scale units of management either, so it is necessary to stress simultaneously the democratic, industrious and frugal management of commune as well as brigade and team. We have laid down in regulations, work rules and the like that the conference of representatives, and the administrative and supervisory committees at the commune, brigade and team levels are to be elected democratically; we have also stipulated the procedures by which the expenditure of commune, brigade and team is to be approved; and we require accounts to be made public to members of the commune at regular intervals. What is more important, we stress the role of the organizations of the poor and lower-middle peasants and on the function of the meetings of the members of the production teams; and we stress that we must rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants and arouse the masses of commune members to see that the commune, brigade and team administrative committees, the commune chairman and vice-chairmen, and the production brigade and team leaders earnestly carry out their duties democratically, industriously and frugally.

(VII)

Technical Reform and Modernization of Agriculture.

Collectivization—The First Step. The socialist transformation of Chinese agriculture has been divided into two steps. The first step has been to collectivize and to carry out social reform, and to make the revolutionary change from private to collective ownership of the means of agricultural production. On the basis of collectivization comes the second step: to carry out agricultural technical reform through mechanization and electrification, and, in farming techniques, to make the revolutionary change from the manual production powered by human and animal strength to large-scale, modern mechanized production. The division into two steps has been dictated by the specific conditions of China. As China was originally a country with an extremely underdeveloped industry, we lacked the great quantities of machinery needed to equip the farms and could not carry out agricultural mechanization at the same time as collectivization. Then, could we put off agricultural collectivization until China was capable

of producing large quantities of farm machinery? No, we could not. This was because the country's socialist industrialization required that the individual peasants should be organized in order to raise labour efficiency and increase agricultural production and thus provide industry with more marketable grains and raw materials. Another reason was that after land reform the Chinese peasants did not want to allow the spontaneous forces of capitalism to develop in the countryside and drive them once again to poverty and ruin. They wanted to get organized and take the road of collectivization and attain common prosperity. Thus it was that under China's particular situation the only correct path to take was to collectivize agriculture first and then on this basis to mechanize and electrify it. Actual results have shown that, with the peasants organized, the collective ownership of the means of production has released productive forces, increased the enthusiasm of the co-op and, later, commune members for production, raised the output of grain and other farm produce and helped industrialization—although farming has not yet been mechanized. At the same time the growth of capitalism in the countryside has been prevented and there has been a general improvement in the livelihood of the peasants.

Modernization—The Second Step. After the collectivization of agriculture it was necessary, as socialist industrialization developed, to press on with the building of an agricultural machine building industry and a chemical fertilizer industry in order gradually to mechanize and modernize farming. Otherwise the growth of agriculture would have been inadequate to keep up with the needs arising from the progress of the nation's industrialization and of the entire national economy, and the collective economy of the people's communes could not have been consolidated. Although China now has 100,000 tractors (in terms of 15-h.p. units) and pumping machinery totalling 6 million h.p., this is still very little when compared with the over 100 million hectares of arable land in the whole of the country. After the efforts of the first two Five-Year Plans, China has now laid the initial foundations of her socialist industrialization and has begun to build her own agricultural machine building industry. All industrial sectors are now going over to following the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy, and an industrial system in the service of farming is gradually being set up. All these make up the material and technical foundations for mechanized and modernized farming. If we are practical and realistic and do our work in good time, then twenty to twenty-five years of strenuous efforts will certainly be enough for us to attain the objective of modernized farming foreseen by the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and so long desired by the peasants and the people of the whole country, and to build up our agriculture into modernized, large-scale socialist agriculture.

(VIII)

Strengthening the Collective Economy of the People's Communes and Developing Agricultural Production.

Shortly after their establishment, the rural people's communes underwent the severe test of three consecutive

years of extremely serious natural calamities. They proved that they could stand up to such a test, and that they were very deeply rooted among the 500 million peasant masses and firmly established. In the struggle with the landlords, the rich peasants and with spontaneous forces of capitalism and in the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road — they became even stronger and even more firmly consolidated. With all their lies and slanders the imperialists and the reactionaries could not curse away the people's communes. As a result of unceasing movements for rectifying working style, checking up on the people's communes and conducting socialist education the Chinese people's communes have set up class organizations of the poor and lower-middle peasants, thus getting a thoroughly reliable organized force. Through this, through the system of cadres taking part in collective productive labour, and through carrying out the principle of running the communes democratically, industriously and frugally, the people's communes are now more consolidated than ever, whether ideologically, politically, economically or organizationally, and are developing even more healthily.

Bright Future of People's Communes. Since the founding of the people's communes there has been large-scale and high-speed development of water conservancy and of other forms of capital construction on the farms. Over

a thousand large and medium-sized reservoirs and tens of thousands of small ones have been built, and these projects will play an ever increasing role in agricultural production. The people's communes have also promoted the comprehensive management of agriculture, forestry, stockbreeding, side occupations and fisheries. Some of the fruit trees planted in the past few years have begun to bear fruit and the amount supplied to the towns is increasing every year; and supplies of pigs, chickens, ducks and eggs are beginning to increase and will show still more increases in the future. With an unparalleled source of manpower and rich natural resources the people's communes can use them rationally to open up new lines of production and develop a diversified economy. The collective economy of the people's communes is very firmly established. Their potential for increased production is extremely great, and their future very bright. When agriculture is modernized on the basis of the collective economy of the people's communes, labour productivity of agriculture will make a new leap. This is bound to lead to an unprecedented increase in agricultural production and to hasten the growth and the flourishing of China's industry and of the whole national economy, and thus build China into a strong socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern science and culture, and modern national defence.

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RENMIN RIBAO

U.S. Plot to Use U.N. Against China Will Fail

Following is an abridged translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on October 25 under the title "The U.S. Scheme to Manipulate the United Nations to Oppose the Chinese People Is Bound to Fail." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE United States has once again rigged up a "majority vote" for the rejection of the resolution jointly tabled by Albania and Cambodia at the current session of the U.N. General Assembly. This is a new instance of U.S. imperialist violation of the U.N. Charter and another proof that it sticks to its policy of hostility towards the Chinese people and of creating tension in Asia.

Contrary to U.S. predictions, a resolution for the restoration of China's legitimate rights was tabled at the U.N. General Assembly this year not only by socialist Albania but also by Cambodia, a national independent country in Asia which firmly adheres to a policy of peace and neutrality. This was something unprecedented in the history of the General Assembly and a clear-cut answer to U.S. imperialism and its followers in their attempt to isolate China. The Chinese people admire with all their hearts this spirit of persisting in truth and upholding justice on the part of Albania and Cambodia. They are deeply grateful to the two countries for their friendly support.

U.S. imperialism has once again wildly vilified China at the U.N. General Assembly. U.S. delegate Stevenson levelled a series of trumped-up charges against China. Such charges are nothing new. In addition to the stock phrases U.S. imperialism has been using for the past decade or more to curse the Chinese people, Stevenson cribbed a large number of such abuses from the book of slander against China that is being compiled by certain people. The so-called "delegate" of the Chiang Kai-shek clique also echoed the clamour of his U.S. masters. All this makes people see once more who are the characters making up the anti-China chorus today.

Voice of Justice

But no amount of anti-China fulminations by U.S. imperialism and its stooges can obscure the fact that the Chinese Government has consistently pursued a peaceful foreign policy and has worked for the preservation of Asian and world peace.

Behar Shtylla, Albanian Foreign Minister, convincingly refuted U.S. calumnies about China. He pointed out in his General Assembly speech that the People's Republic of China is a peace-loving country and that China has always followed a policy of peace and friendship with all countries, particularly with its neighbours.

Hout Sambath, Cambodian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, pointed out that China has adopted a policy of friendship towards its neighbours and has supported Cambodia's fight against schemes of foreign aggression.

Cuban delegate Carlos Lechuga roundly condemned U.S. occupation of China's territory Taiwan.

The Polish delegate said that "illegal obstruction of China's entry into the United Nations is one of the clearest manifestations of the cold war."

The delegates of many Asian and African countries took exception to U.S. vilifications against China. The delegates of Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Iraq, the United Arab Republic, Ghana, Somali, Algeria and Tanganyika all demanded the immediate expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the United Nations and the restoration of China's legitimate rights there. The Chinese people express heartfelt thanks to them for this righteous attitude of theirs.

"Two Chinas" Scheme Doomed

While setting into motion its voting machine to impede the restoration of China's legitimate rights at the current Assembly session, U.S. imperialism peddled its "two Chinas" scheme outside the meeting.

China has always been a member of the United Nations and, what is more, China is one of its founding members and a permanent member of its Security Council. The Chinese people overthrew the reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in 1949 and established the People's Republic of China. The Government of the People's Republic of China, according to basic, universally acknowledged principles of international law, is *ipso facto* entitled to represent the Chinese people in the United Nations and exercise all rights belonging to China in that organization.

However, the United States has not only occupied China's territory Taiwan, but has also violated the U.N. Charter and thrust its lackeys, the Chiang Kai-shek ele-

ments, into the United Nations, passing them off as the representatives of China. It has thus deprived the People's Republic of China of its legitimate rights in that organization. As a matter of fact the question of "admitting" China to the United Nations does not arise. The only question is that of restoring China's lawful rights there and throwing out the Chiang Kai-shek clique repudiated by the Chinese people.

Taiwan is a part of China's territory. The United States is trying to keep the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the United Nations and realize the "two Chinas" scheme so that it can truncate China's territory and permanently occupy Taiwan. The Chinese people will never put up with this. Endorsing the U.S. plot of creating "two Chinas" amounts to supporting its policies of aggression and war and assisting it in its efforts to turn China's territory Taiwan into a U.S. base for aggression against China and creating tension in Asia. It also amounts to aiding and abetting U.S. violation of the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter. We are sure that all countries which treasure their sovereignty and love peace can understand the Chinese people's determination to defend their own sovereignty and territorial integrity, to oppose aggression and safeguard peace. There is no doubt that all these countries will sooner or later see through the schemes of U.S. imperialism.

The Chinese Government issued a statement on October 24 which severely condemned the United States for its criminal plot of hindering the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and creating "two Chinas." The statement also voiced opposition to continued U.S. control of the United Nations. The Chinese people wholeheartedly support the firm stand taken up by their Government. The Chinese people have risen to their feet. The People's Republic of China is bound to exert an increasing influence on international affairs and play an ever more important role in the preservation of world peace and in the cause of human progress. This nobody can hamper or obliterate. All the schemes of U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries to isolate China are doomed to dismal failure.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 6.)

other major tobacco areas up in the northeast, report increases over last year of 60 per cent and 20 per cent respectively.

This year more hemp, ramie, jute and other industrial bast-fibre crops were harvested. Ambarry hemp and jute registered an increase of more than 10 per cent while ramie and hemp were more than 20 per cent above last year.

Shantung Province, China's biggest peanut producer, reported a fair harvest this season whereas harvests in Fukien and Anhwei are 10 and 60 per cent above last year respectively.

While most parts of Kiangsu Province are getting returns as good as last autumn, some communes there are confidently expecting increases.

Students in Suburban Farms

Pupils from more than 90 Peking middle schools have had a busy and rewarding time on the state farms and rural people's communes around the capital. Since school started in September, more than 60,000 of them have worked from ten days to a fortnight harvesting rice, sweet potatoes, cotton, and helping with autumn ploughing and planting.

Most Peking middle schools have made permanent arrangements with nearby state farms and people's com-

munes to send pupils to do farm work in accordance with their curricula and production requirements.

From Shanghai more than 60,000 university and middle-school students went this autumn in groups to work in the people's communes.

Taking part in productive labour is an integral part of socialist education, but working beside the farmer and spending evenings with his family helps students learn about the struggle for production and the class struggle in the countryside at first hand. For Peking middle-school students, a course on basic agronomy has been started this term designed to prepare them for work in the countryside after graduation.

"Underdeveloped Economy": A Neo-Colonialist "Theory"

by HUANG CHAN-PENG

Following is a slightly abridged translation of an article published in "Hongqi," No. 18, 1963. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

SINCE the end of World War II, the question of economic development in the so-called underdeveloped countries has been a favourite subject among many bourgeois economists; they regard economic underdevelopment as an independent branch of research, terming it "underdeveloped economy."

A Mountebank's Prescription for the "Underdeveloped Countries"

These bourgeois economists, while "tracing" the causes of poverty and backwardness in the underdeveloped countries, have worked out "theories" and proposed "ways" of getting rid of them. Almost all harp on the following theme: the underdeveloped countries need economic assistance from the developed countries. By rendering economic assistance, the developed countries have given up exploitation and plunder, and propose to help underdeveloped countries achieve independence.

In the opinion of the "experts" on "underdeveloped economy," the underdeveloped countries, being poor and backward, need the aid of the developed countries. The following causes of poverty and backwardness are given by them: a rapid rate of population growth; underdeveloped external economies (limited markets); insufficient spirit of economic expansion; absence of the basic prerequisites for economic development, and so forth. Most bourgeois economists, however, hold that lack of capital is the main cause of this underdevelopment.

In his book *Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries* the U.S. economist Ragnar Nurkse, a representative figure in the field of "underdeveloped economy," advanced his theory of "vicious circle of poverty." He argued that in such countries "there is the small capacity to save, resulting from the low level of real income. The low real income is a reflection of low productivity, which in its turn is due largely to the lack of capital. The lack of capital is a result of the small capacity to save, and so the circle is complete."*

This peculiar term "vicious circle of poverty" is, however, not unintelligible in plain language. It means that the productive forces of the underdeveloped countries are low because they lack capital and it is impossible for the underdeveloped countries to solve their lack of capital problem on their own because of their "zero rate of economic growth." In the eyes of the bourgeois economists, the underdeveloped countries cannot possibly get rid of poverty and backwardness unless they can break out of this "vicious circle" with outside help. This is how they have put it — "aid" by the developed countries to underdeveloped countries "becomes not only friendly help

but is economic necessity."** When speaking of the developed countries, the bourgeois economists are of course referring to the imperialist countries.

"Economic Aid" From the "Developed Countries": How Much Is Its Worth?

Since bourgeois economists suggest economic "assistance" from developed countries as a panacea for poverty and backwardness in the underdeveloped countries, we might as well scrutinize this much vaunted theory. Take Chile for instance.

As was announced by the U.S. Embassy in that country in 1962, the United States in the last 17 years provided Chile with "aid" amounting to \$650 million, of which \$100 million are "grants" and the rest are loans. Chilean Finance Minister Señor Luis Mackenna disclosed that 30 per cent of his country's financial expenditures for 1962 would be covered by U.S. loans.

According to the theory of "underdeveloped economy," once an underdeveloped country receives economic "aid" from imperialism, it will be able to break through the "vicious circle of poverty." Now that Chile has received huge amounts of money from the United States, can it be said that it has been transformed into an economically developed country or that it has shown marked advance on the road to economic development? To this question, the most authoritative answer must come from the actual economic situation in that country.

Since Chile became a recipient of U.S. "aid," particularly after the pro-Washington Alessandri regime came to power in 1958, the country has been carrying out an "economic stabilization programme" imposed on it by the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund. Under this programme, it adopted such measures as freezing wages, reducing employment, monetary devaluation, and slashing domestic credit and loans. Carried out ostensibly to stimulate Chile's economic development, the programme actually has caused an industrial and agricultural production decline. With the country inundated by U.S. goods, in 1962 Chilean industrial enterprises owned by domestic capital operated at only 50 per cent of capacity. Moreover, an agricultural recession has forced Chile to spend more than \$100 million annually on food imports. Recession in both industrial and agricultural production has made many people jobless; the number of unemployed in a country of only two million industrial and office workers is as high as 200,000. Prices have been skyrocketing; in 1961 prices were up by 60 per cent compared with 1958. The people on the whole live a life of great want.

Self-Reliance Is the Word

So, instead of helping break through the "vicious circle of poverty" in Chile and far from delivering it from

* Ragnar Nurkse, *Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1955, p.5.

** Rudolf Bičanič, "The Threshold of Economic Growth," *Kyklos* of Switzerland, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1962, p.26.

poverty and backwardness, U.S. imperialism, by providing a huge amount of "aid," has plunged it deeper into economic bankruptcy and brought upon its people greater misery and impoverishment.

The fact is that the so-called underdeveloped countries are economically backward, a result of prolonged, ruthless oppression and exploitation by imperialism and the domestic reactionary ruling classes. Once the people have attained national independence, in order to develop their national economy as quickly as possible, they should adopt mainly a policy of regenerating through their own efforts. It is also necessary for them to try and obtain some economic assistance from outside. But such aid must be based on complete equality and mutual benefit, without any strings attached to it; only then can aid really benefit economic development.

U.S. "Aid"—Who Reaps the Profit?

To free the people in the underdeveloped countries from doubts and misgivings about "aid" from developed countries, the bourgeois scholars are propagating the idea that there is no more exploitation and profit-making in imperialist "aid." They claim that the developed countries have ceased exploiting the backward areas and, instead, have the policy goal of raising living standards there. They say that Western countries are ready to "return to Africa what they have taken away from it in the last one and a half centuries," that after World War II, for the first time in history, the rich countries are "helping" the poor countries with considerable sums of money and these expenditures have the clear-cut aim of "development." It is contended that the funds provided under the U.S. foreign aid programme "must be distinguished from the imperialist investments of the private enterprises which aim at profits."

It is all very well for such economists to talk glibly about the merits of the "economic assistance" given by the developed countries, but it is also a hard fact that U.S. dollars are being continuously pumped from the underdeveloped countries into the colonialists' pockets. The high profits grabbed from Latin America by the United States will suffice to prove it. According to an article published by the U.S. economist Victor Perlo last year, the Latin American countries in the last two years received loans totalling \$603 million from the U.S. Government. At the same time, these countries paid back debts amounting to \$350 million and another \$142 million as interest and commissions. Thus, in actuality, these countries only received "aid" to the tune of \$111 million. During this period, U.S. firms made a profit of \$1,600 million out of their investments in Latin American countries. In other words, in these two years the United States took away from these countries a sum 14 times greater than the "aid" these countries had received from it.

Let us also see how U.S. imperialism has robbed Africa of its natural resources. Statistics show that in 14 post-war years, the United States took out of Africa raw materials valued at more than \$7,000 million, or five times as much as it did in the 14 prewar years. Today, the United States is annually importing raw materials worth \$500 million to \$600 million from Africa. It now regards Africa as a supplier of strategic and rare materials. In

his book *The Future of Underdeveloped Countries*, Eugene Staley, who is an "expert" on problems of underdeveloped countries, declared that "the free world cannot afford to lose the crucial materials of the underdeveloped countries." In 1956, the United States obtained from Africa 79 per cent of its total tantalum imports, 78 of its columbium, 76 per cent of its cobalt and 42 per cent of its manganese.

All these give the lie to the theories of "underdeveloped economy" which allege that imperialism has "ceased its exploitation of the backward areas" and stopped going after profits. Facts also prove that to exploit is the nature of imperialism, which has not changed and cannot be changed.

An Instrument of Control Over "Underdeveloped Countries"

Bourgeois economists have also puffed the idea that "economic aid" given by the developed countries is aimed at "helping the underdeveloped countries achieve independence." Last year, Fowler Hamilton, former director of the U.S. Agency for International Development, said that the goal of its aid programme was to improve the living standards and technology of the peoples of the developing countries, so that they could maintain their independence.

If by this is meant economic independence it is obviously a fraud. As a matter of fact, it is exactly through the channels of "economic aid" that the imperialist countries have penetrated vital branches of the underdeveloped countries' economies, controlling their economic life-lines and making them an appendage of imperialist capital. El Salvador provides an example of this.



Behind the Screen

Cartoon by Ying Tao

The result of U.S. "aid" is control over the important sections of the country's economy such as power, fuel, harbours and railways as well as its foreign trade. As the Costa Rican newspaper *Adelante* of April 1, 1962, put it, El Salvador's "national sovereignty has been mortgaged for loans obtained from the U.S. Government and the subsidiary bodies of Wall Street on the severest terms."

Since the imperialist countries are bent on exploiting and controlling the underdeveloped countries economically, they can certainly give no help in achieving political independence. On the contrary, they are bound to interfere in these countries' internal affairs, enslave and oppress their peoples. The U.S. Government, for instance, has laid down many harsh terms for its foreign "aid." In November 1961, in an open letter to Hamilton when he became the new chief of the Agency for International Development, John Fisher, editor of Harper's magazine, wrote: "I know you realize that everything America does (or doesn't do) in foreign aid is going to interfere with somebody's internal affairs. So I trust you will tie a chain on every dime and yank hard if it isn't spent in the clearly defined interests of the United States." In his "foreign aid" message of April 2 this year, Kennedy declared that the aim of the "aid programme" was "to preserve freedom and hope, and to prevent tyranny and subversion" [meaning to suppress the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations and peoples—Ed.] in dozens of key nations all over the world," and thus meet the national interests of the United States. The present Director of the U.S. Agency for International Development Bell stated more bluntly that the United States has always "argued strongly" that assistance must be accompanied by appropriate internal reform. What sort of "internal reforms" are to be carried out? John K. Galbraith, a bourgeois economist and former U.S. Ambassador to India, said that the recipient countries should establish "a reliable apparatus of government and public administration," which actually means the establishment of a reactionary government and public administration loyal to the United States and engaging in suppression of the national democratic revolutionary struggle.

Iran is a case in point. In 1952, Washington threatened the former Iranian Prime Minister Mossadegh with the stoppage of "aid" in the face of his implementation of the policy of oil nationalization, and plotted to subvert his government. After it was overthrown, the United States used its "aid" to help the pro-U.S. Zahedi to power.

U.S. imperialism has always used "aid" as a bait to get the reactionaries in certain countries to serve as its faithful flunkies in enslaving, plundering and exploiting their peoples. It is with the help of American dollars and arms that the Ngo Dinh Diem clique in south Viet Nam and the Pak Jung Heui gang in south Korea have been able to maintain their tottering reactionary regimes. Since U.S. "aid" is used to oppose and subvert governments which "do not suit the needs of U.S. national interests" while propping up reactionary regimes which suit these needs, how can it be described as helping the underdeveloped countries gain political independence?

Imperialist economic plunder has brought about poverty and backwardness in colonies and dependencies. As a result of imperialist "economic aid," those countries which have initially acquired independence have lost it again, while the economies of the already economically

backward countries have further deteriorated and their people have become poorer. In the face of these clear facts, bourgeois economists have done their utmost to apologize for the evil consequences of such "economic aid"; they assert that imperialist financial and technical "aid" has failed to produce the desired results mainly because certain necessary conditions are lacking in the recipient countries. As John K. Galbraith sees it, among these conditions, apart from "a reliable apparatus of government," there also should be "a clear and purposeful view of what development involves," "a substantial measure of social justice" and "an educated elite of substantial size." To read between the lines, Galbraith was actually suggesting that there was the need to know the wishes of imperialism and act accordingly and the need for measures to facilitate imperialist economic penetration. What these bourgeois economists really mean is that the masses of people in the underdeveloped countries who have suffered greatly from such "economic aid" should not free themselves from imperialist enslavement and exploitation; instead they should meet the needs of the imperialist countries and serve more submissively as slaves.

An Apology for U.S. Neo-Colonialism

From what has been discussed above it is not difficult to see the bourgeois economists' ulterior motive under the "academic" cloak of "underdeveloped economy." It is an apology for imperialism, particularly U.S. neo-colonialism. According to the theory of "underdeveloped economy," the contradictions between the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations and peoples are described as those between the developed and underdeveloped, and between the rich and poor areas. In this way, the contradictions of class antagonisms are written off.

The theory of "underdeveloped economy" also asserts that the developed and rich areas no longer enslave, plunder and exploit the underdeveloped and poor areas; relations between them are those of co-operation between the givers and recipients of "aid." By this propaganda, it tries to spread among the oppressed nations and people illusions towards imperialism, thus to benumb their revolutionary will and check their mounting national democratic revolutionary struggle so that they will continue to serve as, or again become, the victims of imperialist robbery. "Underdeveloped economy" is in essence a neo-colonialist economic theory, and an instrument of propaganda by which the imperialist countries are pushing ahead with their colonialist policy. Those who spread this theory, as Lenin put it, "are nothing but learned salesmen of the capitalist class."*

By their own crimes of plunder and exploitation, the imperialist countries have become a teacher by negative example for the oppressed nations and peoples. They have aroused a new awakening among the people, enabling them to see more clearly the true face of imperialism and make out the reactionary nature of the various kinds of neo-colonialist theories such as "underdeveloped economy" and the like. And this has helped the flames of the national democratic revolutionary struggles to burn more fiercely.

* Lenin, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," *Collected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1962, Vol. 14, pp.342-43.

Comprehensive Preparations Necessary for A World Meeting of Communist Parties

— Statement of the National Secretariat of the Communist Party of New Zealand —

“**C**OMPREHENSIVE preparations, including adequate bilateral discussions between various Parties, are necessary if any world meeting of Communist and Workers’ Parties on controversial ideological problems is to be successful,” declared M.H. Williams, Chairman of the National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand, in a statement issued on October 23 on behalf of the National Secretariat of the Party.

The statement said: “This point is stressed since several Parties have raised the question of an early or immediate world meeting.

“Of the world Parties, the Communist Party of New Zealand has itself consistently emphasized the need of a world meeting to iron out current ideological differences. Indeed, it was one of the very first to do so.

“But statements to this effect by the New Zealand Party have always been qualified by the need for bilateral talks between the various Parties that do have ideological differences. This is in conformity with the 1960 Statement of the 81 Parties.

“In the view of the Communist Party of New Zealand, this requisite has not been satisfied.

“The bilateral talks between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party were adjourned with the understanding that they were to be continued.

“Those between the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and New Zealand are in a similar position.

“There also exists the need for the initiating of bilateral discussions between the leaderships of other Parties. This applies with particular force to discussions

between the leaderships of the Soviet and Albanian Parties.”

The statement stressed: “The Communist Party of New Zealand holds as its considered opinion that any meeting of the world Parties without adequate preparations in conformity with the Statement of the 81 Parties, as outlined above, would be premature, and would almost certainly be largely abortive.

“The tendency would be for the expression of ideas long held. The ‘immovable object’ would meet the ‘irresistible force.’ The results would be obvious, a mechanical expression of opinion and voting along similar lines.”

The statement said: “Yet the Marxists seek to establish truth on the basis of the fullest dialectical interplay of ideas, not on the assembling of majorities, which would not solve the existing differences, but would create new ones.

“However, initiating and finalizing of bilateral talks between Parties, plus the circulation of their viewpoints to others of the world Parties, would lay the basis for an overall assessment of ideas.

“The Parties could examine their own formulations and approaches in the light of the results of the bilateral discussions. They could then relate them to their own experiences and, where necessary, make the required adjustments.”

The statement said: “On this basis, a meeting of the world Parties could go a long way on the road to the restoration of the fundamental unity of the Marxist parties. This, in turn, would lead to a tremendous development of unity of all progressive forces for peace and socialism.”

Pen Probes

A Tale of Two “Times”

IT doesn’t take the “free” Western press long to catch on! After years of harping on the theme of China’s supposed “warlike intent” and theory of the “inevitability of war”—a game of make-believe in which the Soviet press has more recently joined—both the London and New York *Times* on October 2 made a brilliant discovery of the obvious.

Taking up a Reuters dispatch from Peking the two eminent *Times* displayed shock headlines: “China Hints at New Attitude to War” and “Red China Eases Stand on Inevitability of War.” They found their “new attitude” in the National Day speech of Peking’s Mayor Peng Chen, who said that with world unity, “a new world war can be prevented, world peace can be preserved and the future of mankind is infinitely bright.” This, they said, quoting Reuters’ man in Peking, was seen by “observers” as “a new formulation of the Chinese attitude to the future of the world.”

All we can say is that, like the "observers" in Peking, the *Times'* China experts have neglected their homework rather badly. Where have they been for the last three years—and longer? What Peng Chen said on National Day should not be news to anyone remotely concerned with China. For years China's leaders and newspapers have been saying that "world war can be prevented if the peoples of the world unite."

Let us only look at statements made on National Day 1960 to 1962—years in which the Western press was fulminating about China's belief in "the inevitability of world war."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, 1960—

So long as the people of the world further unite to form a powerful, broad anti-imperialist united front and wage an unremitting struggle, they will certainly be able to frustrate the policies of aggression and war of imperialism. . . . (*Peking Review*, Oct. 4, p.24.)

Renmin Ribao, 1961—

By standing firm in solidarity and struggle, the people of the world will certainly be able to defeat the policies of aggression and war of the imperialist bloc headed by the United States and stop the outbreak of a new world war. (*Peking Review*, Oct. 6, p.8.)

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, 1962—

. . . All countries that oppose war and all the peace-loving forces must unite and act together in waging a blow-for-blow struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Innumerable facts have shown that the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war can be frustrated and will surely be frustrated. (*Peking Review*, Oct. 5, p.8.)

Actually these were not new statements of policy. As far back as 1947, Chairman Mao Tse-tung said:

If everyone makes strenuous efforts, we, together with all the democratic forces of the world, can surely defeat the imperialist plan of enslavement, prevent the outbreak of a third world war, overthrow all reactionary regimes and win lasting peace for mankind. ("Present Situation and Our Tasks," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, p.173.)

Taking the two *Times'* rate of discovery about China's policy on war and peace as a yardstick, "observers" here have still not been able to figure out how long Western news-hawks and editorial pundits may take to acknowledge some other facts about China which they have been burying or distorting for years.

"Kennedy Notes From All Over"

THERE was the U.S. President on board a jet waving good-bye, here his wife posing with the Greek royal family in Athens, there his 3-year-old son crying in the doorway of a White House helicopter. The *New York Times* (Oct. 4) which carried these three photos headlined them "Kennedy Notes From All Over, One Discordant."

Is tearful Johnny's note the only discordant one in the White House? If the Kennedy heir could be interviewed, perhaps he could throw some light on the matter.

"One day Daddy got real angry reading a big book in his rocking chair. He threw it into the waste basket. Mommy asked: 'Is there anything the matter dear?' Daddy said something about incon-sistency. When Daddy and Mommy walked out, I pulled the big book out and had a peek into it; it must be a very dull book for I could find no pictures in it. It was a book by a fellow called L-a-s-k-y."

In his book *JFK: the Man and the Myth*, which has received wide publicity, Victor Lasky documented some of the many inconsistencies of Kennedy's political career. *Time* reported: As a congressman, Kennedy had said that "our resources are not limitless. Mere grants of money are debilitating and wasteful." Then recently, when the House cut his foreign aid requests by \$1 billion, he denounced the action as "short-sighted, irresponsible and dangerously partisan."

Little Johnny could possibly give a first-hand account of the presentation to comic Bob Hope of a congressional commendation. One unkind critic said it was the only bill the Administration had got through Congress recently, a dig at Kennedy's highly unsuccessful efforts to get his legislation passed.

And could Johnny's account of why he cried go something like this?

"Daddy has many foreign friends who come to see him in his office. But he isn't pleased with one who is also a president like Daddy. He lives in a faraway land called Sai-gon. I heard that Daddy didn't like him because he had a brother with a funny name Nhu, who was an important man in the government. I don't see what's wrong with that. Aren't Uncle Bobby and Uncle Teddy also very important men in our country? Daddy likes them! And when I began to tell Daddy what I thought, he dismissed me with a 'Run along and play, it's not for little boys to ask questions. You wouldn't understand.' I was very hurt and I cried."



"Mr. President, smile, please!"

Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

ROUND THE WORLD

Workers' Solidarity

Backing S. Viet Nam's Struggle

Trade union delegates from 31 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and Australasia were gathered in Hanoi on October 20-23 to discuss the south Vietnamese people's fight against U.S.-Diem aggression and persecution and the ways and means to lend international support to the struggle. Held at a time when the Kennedy Administration, knee-deep in the quagmire of its "special war," is calling in a U.N. "fact-finding" mission to parry world condemnation of its crimes, the conference was both a demonstration of international solidarity with the south Vietnamese people and a call to the peoples of the world to combat U.S. imperialism even more determinedly.

In its appeal to the workers and trade unions of the world, the conference states: "We call upon you to develop and reinforce unity of action of the international trade union movement in the struggle for the immediate end of U.S. aggression and intervention in south Viet Nam; the immediate withdrawal of all American military personnel and war materiel from south Viet Nam; and the settlement of the internal affairs of Viet Nam by the Vietnamese people themselves on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreements. We call on you to make December 20, 1963, the third anniversary of the founding of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front, a great day of international solidarity with the workers and other people of south Viet Nam."

In the message to the workers of south Viet Nam, the conference emphasizes that their "victorious struggle is an encouragement to the working class and the workers in different countries. It has set a shining example and is an invaluable experience for the exploited people and the oppressed nations; it has done much towards safeguarding peace in South-east Asia and the world." The conference also addressed an appeal to the American workers calling upon them to unite with all progressive

and peace-loving peoples to oppose the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war.

The Hanoi meeting has set up a permanent International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity With the Workers and Other People of South Viet Nam.

The Congo

The Cup Is Brimming Over

Premier Cyrille Adoula, who got his present post with the help of the U.S. State Department, is in deep trouble. His foreign-backed regime is fast losing its grip despite the millions spent by Washington—not to help the Congolese people as its propaganda machine would like the world to believe but to buy over more local politicians and pocket-size strongmen like army chief Mobutu and security boss Nendaka.

Strikes and demonstrations are flaring in Leopoldville and other Congolese cities. Braving severe government retaliation, the teachers are still on strike and, as a result, primary schools throughout the land have been closed since May. Many of the teachers have not received any pay for almost a year. The armed apparatus of the state, Adoula's final protection against the wrath of the people, is creaking ominously. Following the short-lived May mutiny of the 2,000 Leopoldville policemen, also on account of overdue pay, a company of gendarmes recently revolted in Luluabourg, capital of Kasai. The mutineers vanished into the bush with their weapons when the government dispatched troops to crush the rebellion.

Lacking popular support, the Adoula regime has to rely more and more on open repression. It has answered the growing popular demand for the release of the nationalist leader Antoine Gizenga with police attacks on demonstrators, arrests of deputies and trade union leaders, and outright banning of the Congolese National Movement and the African Solidarity Party, two of the foremost nationalist parties in the country. When these moves failed to quell the

opposition, the regime finally discarded the last trammel of democracy. It dissolved the parliament where it no longer has a majority, decreed a state of emergency in Leopoldville and set up military courts to wreak summary vengeance on patriots. Meanwhile, Washington is pushing ahead with the "reorganization" of the Congolese national army. Until this is accomplished, U.S. imperialism is relying mainly on the U.N. troops whose stay in the Congo has been prolonged for a further six months thanks to U.S. machinations at the current U.N. General Assembly.

The Congo has trod a tortuous path since its independence three years ago. What at first promised a hopeful beginning turned into a bitter trial as a result of U.S. neo-colonialist violence under U.N. camouflage. As one Congolese writer recently put it, "my country is nothing but a colony governed by U.S. ambassadors from Timberlake to the present Gullion." However, the latest events in the Congo show that the cup of discontent is brimming over. American neo-colonialism, because it ruins the Congolese economy and impoverishes the people, is sowing the seeds for future explosive change.

India

War Drums Beat Louder

October 20, the first anniversary of India's massive attack on China, was a busy day for Mr. Nehru. He spoke at a rally in New Delhi and addressed the armed forces over All-India Radio. The keynote of both speeches was anti-China war hysteria. He managed to speak for yet a third time, and in much the same vein, at the inauguration of an exhibition called "The Nation Prepares," which was a propaganda device to stir up the Indian people for a renewed armed conflict with China. All this was supposed to be part of "National Solidarity Day."

A year ago to the day, on Nehru's personal orders, the Indian army launched an all-out attack on China and was thoroughly routed. Despite the fact that little credence was ever given to his cock-and-bull tales about China being the aggressor, Nehru has kept on talking about a probable Chinese "invasion." He required all those present at "National Solidarity Day" activities to take a pledge that

they would serve the Congress government "however hard and long the struggle and however great the sacrifices."

Press reports from India show that the Indians cold-shouldered this new blatant anti-China campaign. The *Times of India* complained about the public failing to take its cue. "There were those who with flags in their hands almost ran to the public functions to ensure for themselves a good view. Others went about their way merrily; some even forgot to take the pledge."

This lack of enthusiasm is hardly surprising. The Indian people have more to worry about than non-existent threats. As the *Times of India* admitted, "There are increasing signs of a gathering storm. Inflation is getting out of hand, creating serious discontent among the industrial and white collar workers." The mounting cost of living brought on by an inflated war budget and corrupt Congress rule has indeed caused widespread discontent.

Nehru's call to the Indian people to tighten their belts for war preparations against China and his exhortation to the army to "turn a day of setback into a day of victory" show how sincere his government is about reaching a peaceful settlement of the border issue with China. And the joint Indo-U.S.-British "air exercise" which New Delhi is holding this month with China as the hypothetical enemy makes its sincerity about peaceful negotiations doubly suspect.

Tito in U.S.A.

Pedlar of Shoddy Goods

Peddling his bag of revisionist ideas was just as important as briefing his Washington masters in Tito's ten-day visit to the United States. As the American press admitted, the Kennedy Administration was eager to hear what the renegade had to say after his recent meeting with Nikita Khrushchov and following his tour of four Latin American countries. But the U.S. President was also delighted with the latest "theoretical" expositions of "positive peaceful co-existence" coming from the Belgrade apostate.

Addressing the United Nations General Assembly, Tito pushed many of the new lines he tried to sell in Latin America. Confusing the basic division of the world between the imperialist states and the oppressed nations and peoples, between the forces of aggression and the forces of revolution, he said: "The polarization of the forces of peace and of cold war is being accelerated in the world. An appraisal of any policy today should first of all be based on its attitude towards contemporary trends and changes, that is, the attitude towards peaceful coexistence. The division of contemporary men and states is made more and more often in accordance with this basic question and less and less by the apparent association with this or that party of the cold war."

Again, to whitewash imperialist economic exploitation, Tito called for "economic co-operation" between "underdeveloped" and "developed" countries which he said "would bring benefit directly and simultaneously" to both. According to Tito, "the highly developed areas make up two-thirds of the world total production. Therefore, there exists in the underdeveloped areas of the world an enormous and unexploited potential in manpower and natural resources." (For an exposé of this nostrum, see page 15.)

Boosting the U.N. now under the thumb of the U.S. was another favourite Tito theme. The U.N. should be strengthened and made into a powerful instrument for bringing about a "world community" dedicated to "peaceful coexistence," he urged. "The time is now come which offers more favourable conditions for the United Nations to be the main initiator and protagonist of these principles [of peaceful coexistence]."

Who is Tito and what is he trying to sell? Some kind of an insight into this is supplied by his paymaster. "Tito," writes the *New York Times* Sunday Magazine (October 13) "has occasionally been called 'Khrushchov's stalking horse' for the export of Marxist-Leninist ideas to the underdeveloped countries, but it would be closer to the truth to call him the exporter of his own ideas. . . . From the American point of view he might as easily be 'Kennedy's stalking horse' for the export of Western ideas behind the iron curtain."

Malaysia

U.S. Moves In

There have been several anti-U.S. demonstrations in the Philippines in the past month. The latest involved two hundred university students who protested in front of the U.S. Embassy in Manila against pressure to coerce their country into recognizing Malaysia. The United States, according to Philippine newspapers, had threatened to stop its "aid" unless the Philippine Government acted at once to recognize Malaysia. The students demanded that this impudent demarche be given due publicity.

Philippine official circles, usually amenable to State Department pressure, felt uneasy too. Said Deputy Speaker Pendatun of the House of Representatives: "Even if the Americans really threaten to cut all dollar aid to the Philippines if we do not now recognize Malaysia, I would prefer to lose such aid if only to keep intact and unimpaired our national honour and dignity."

Washington's enthusiasm for the recognition of Malaysia has ulterior motives. As much their own protege as that of the British, Malaysia is regarded by Americans as a happy hunting ground for Big Business.

Within a month of its establishment, two missions were sent to explore opportunities for U.S. interests. A "marketing and industrial development" mission first arrived with 400 business proposals and a plan to boost consumer goods sales. It was followed by a group of American congressmen to "observe" the political, economic and military situations. The U.S. Ambassador to Malaysia, Charles Baldwin, talked of military aid to check the "spread of communism," which is a stock-in-trade pretext for U.S. imperialist penetration.

These moves are seen for what they are by the peoples of North Kalimantan and Indonesia who are redoubling efforts in their *confrontasi* of Malaysia. In a statement on October 21 the Information Department of the Indonesian Government called on the people to keep up their struggle until the strongholds of imperialism and colonialism are finally smashed. The 20th century, it said, is the century of the uprising of the peoples who will create a world free of exploitation of man by man and nation by nation.

LITERATURE

Collective Farmers Tell Their Story

In the last four or five years, a new type of literary reportage has emerged in China—people's commune histories. Many volumes in this genre have now been published. Most are products of collaboration between peasants and intellectuals, and tell the story of China's farmers from emancipation to collectivization. One of the latest of these volumes is *Springs and Autumns at Fenghuo*. It quickly attracted wide public attention. *Renmin Ribao* described it as a book that gives "a heroic picture of China's collective farmers," *Wenji Bao* (the Literary Gazette) calls it "an outstandingly well-written history of a people's commune."

Famous Commune in the Northwest

Published by the Dongfeng (East Wind) Literary Publishing House of Sian, Shensi Province, it deals with the life and struggles of one of China's best-known rural communes, the Fenghuo (Torch) People's Commune in Lichuan, Shensi. Its 35 stories are a series of vivid vignettes of the men and women of Fenghuo: the young peasant Wang Pao-ching, always to the fore in the fight for collectivization and known throughout the country as an outstanding farm worker, a tireless, resourceful scientific experimenter, and one of the first Chinese peasants ever to have gone straight from the fields to get a college education; Communist Party Secretary Yuan, forcefully depicted in "Battle Against Drought," and selflessly devoted to the people's cause; "Fifteen Girls" and others presenting a gallery of new women of the countryside, who with Wang Pao-ching's many close men associates, are determined to go the socialist way. . . .

In contrast to these new heroes and heroines, the book also gives a number of sharply drawn portraits of those who took a line against the growth of the collective and its team

spirit, and of the waverers, showing how their various ways of working against the collective alerted those who stood for socialism to the continuing class struggle and the importance of waging it in a steadfast, principled and Marxist way. It is the stories of these real-life people, told with great beauty in peasant language, that fill the pages with life and bring the reader face to face with the reality of China's fast-changing countryside.

Springs and Autumns at Fenghuo is a history of the Fenghuo Commune, not just a random collection of stories about Fenghuo. While skilfully delineating the individuals who made that history, its writers have taken great care to recount events that can best show the commune's historical development. The story "The Sorrows of Father and Son" epitomizes the hard lot of the Fenghuo peasants in the old society. "Down With the Hall of Magnanimity!" takes us back to the stormy days of land reform when, soon after liberation, the peasants rose to overthrow their landlord oppressors. From "Let's Get Organized" onward, we follow the peasants as they move from the simple mutual-aid teams (one of the first steps in co-operation) to the elementary and then to the advanced form of co-operative farm (from co-op to collective farms) and finally to the people's commune which they organized in 1958 and further consolidated in the subsequent years. Lucidly told, these accounts show us that the road forward for the Fenghuo men and women was not by any means all plain sailing. Every step forward was a battle, and one that often comprised a complex series of struggles; between the people and their enemies; the progressives and the conservatives; science and superstition; between those who chose the collective road and those who wanted to "go it alone." It is the truthful reflection of these struggles that has won recognition for the book as a successful and faithful literary record of the road traversed by China's collective farmers.

A Creation of the Chinese People

The writing of people's commune histories, incidentally, is a creation of the Chinese people. They grew up out of the splendid flowering of mass creative activities in art and literature in 1958 which followed in the wake

of the unprecedented upsurge in revolutionary enthusiasm and socialist construction known as the Big Leap Forward. New folk songs were the trail blazers, leaving us a crop of the finest poems ever composed by the people. But soon the people, the workers especially, were not satisfied with folk songs alone to reflect this great epoch. They turned to another form of literature, the form, initiated by Maxim Gorky in the 1930s, that produced the movement for writing factory histories in the Soviet Union. Inspired by this literary endeavour of their worker-brothers, soldiers and peasants followed suit and began to write histories of their own units and farms.

Living Textbooks for the Masses

Over the years the masses have become very fond of these histories. As they say: "If you don't know the bitterness of the past, how can you know how sweet is the present? We like these histories because they are living textbooks which help us to raise our class consciousness." The younger generation is even more enthusiastic. "Now, we've read these histories," they say, "we have a better idea why our parents and grandparents say to us that 'you youngsters don't know how lucky you are!' We certainly used to know too little about class oppression and class exploitation. These books show us most convincingly how our elders suffered in the old society. They teach us to love our new society even more and make us even more determined to do our utmost to defend the hard-earned fruits of the revolution."

Commune histories do not limit themselves to the period of the establishment of the communes. More often than not they cover the whole process of socialist agricultural collectivization and go even further back to the time the peasants waged their struggles in the democratic revolution before liberation and the land reform. This is true of *Green Trees Spread Wide Their Shade*, the history of a commune in Szechuan, *Torrents That Could Not Be Stopped*, about a commune in Kweichow, and *History of the Maitian Commune* of Hopei. *Springs and Autumns at Fenghuo* is an outstanding new addition to the growing list of books from China's collective farmers.

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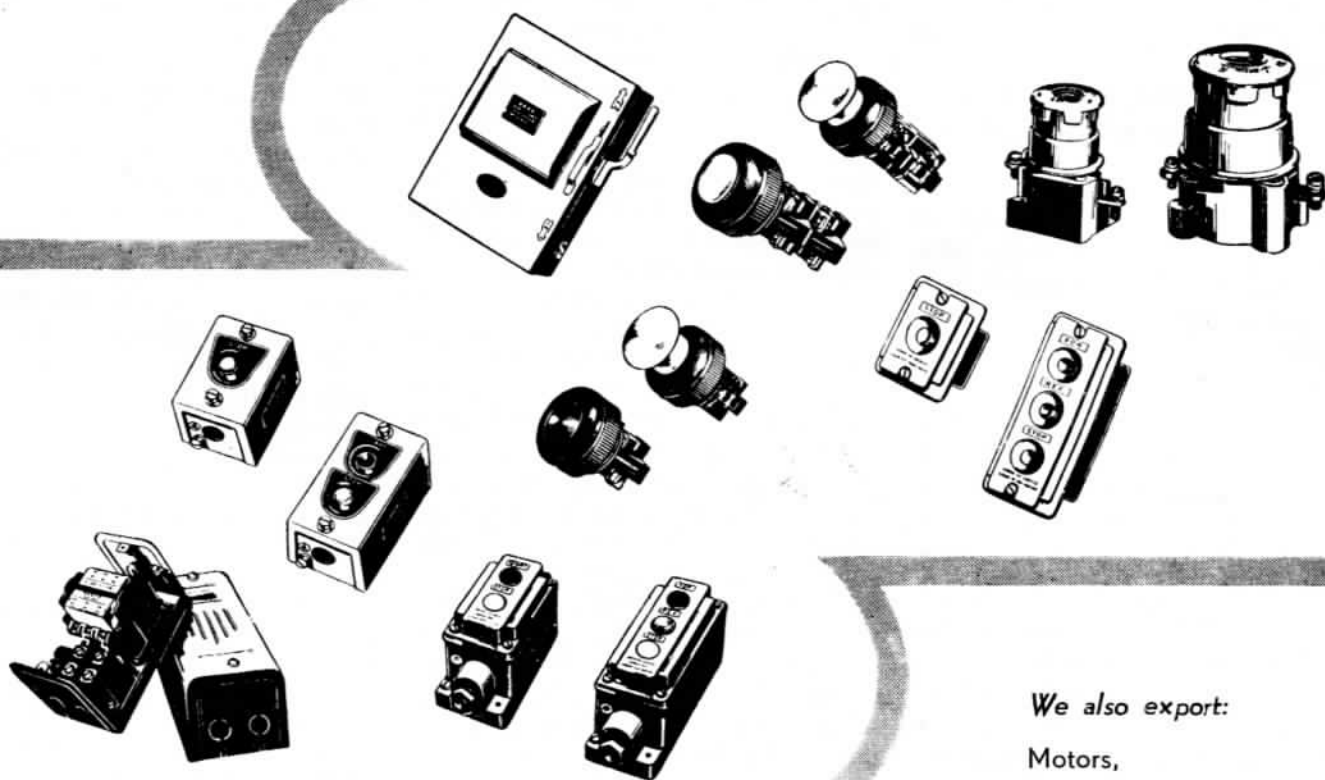
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