

PEKING REVIEW

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November 15, 1963

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Brooding Storm Over India

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Visit to a Commune at Harvest Time

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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ANNOUNCEMENT

From January 1, 1964 the French and Spanish editions of **PEKING REVIEW**, which now appear fortnightly, will come out weekly. The price of single copies will remain unchanged, but subscription rates will be doubled and will be the same as those for the English edition. The old rates will, however, continue to apply to all overseas subscriptions placed before February 1, 1964.

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

November 15, 1963 Vol. VI No. 46

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November 15, 1963

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• The nation hailed the shooting down of the U.S.-made U-2 espionage plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang and the knocking out of action of nine groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents. Peking and other major cities held mass meetings to celebrate this victory and condemn U.S. imperialism for its aggression against China and for directing the Chiang Kai-shek gang to harass the mainland.

• Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent messages to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, greeting the 10th anniversary of the complete independence of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

• The Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFU), the first world sports meet free from imperialist control and domination, opened in Djakarta on November 10. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to President Sukarno, initiator of GANEFO, warmly greeting the holding of the games. Three world records were set on the first two days of competition.

• The China Fishery Association and the Japan-China Fishery Council signed a fisheries agreement for the Yellow Sea and the East China Sea. A joint statement issued by five Chinese and Japanese organizations hailed the agreement as of great significance in promoting co-operation between Chinese and Japanese fishing interests and Sino-Japanese friendship.

• The holding of joint U.S.-U.K.-India air exercises in India near the Sino-Indian border was censured by many countries as a new threat to peace. *Renmin Ribao* carried a commentary by Observer, denouncing it as a grave step taken by India in collusion with the United States to intensify its anti-China campaign and preparation for war and to threaten the security of Southeast Asian countries and peace in Asia.

• The Chinese press published the full text of the November 10 editorial of *Akahata*, organ of the Japanese Communist Party, entitled "Strive for the Genuine Unity and Development of the International Communist Movement."

Report on Chairman Liu's Korean Visit

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress met last week to hear a report on Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit to Korea in September this year by Lin Feng, its Vice-Chairman. A member of Chairman Liu's party, Lin Feng told the committee that Chairman Liu had held cordial talks with Premier Kim Il Sung, President Choi Yong Kun and other leaders of the Korean Workers' Party and Government. They discussed the present world situation, vital questions in the international communist movement and the further consolidation and development of the friendship, unity, mutual assistance and co-operation between the Chinese and Korean Parties and the two countries. Both sides also exchanged views on ex-

periences gained in building socialism. On all questions discussed, Lin Feng said, the views and stands of the two sides were in complete agreement.

Lin Feng told of the warm reception the Korean leaders and people gave Chairman Liu and his party throughout the visit. "This," he said, "shows that the great and militant Sino-Korean friendship cemented by blood has deep roots in the hearts of the people, and is indestructible." Based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, this friendship had stood severe tests in protracted revolutionary struggles against imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism. "Our two countries," declared Lin Feng, "have supported and learnt from each other and marched forward together in the building of socialism. In the struggle against modern revisionism,

the stand and views of our two Parties and peoples are identical."

Though more than half of the past 15 years since the founding of the Korean Democratic People's Republic had been spent in resisting U.S. imperialist aggression and in rehabilitating the war-devastated economy, Korea had nonetheless raised its industrial output to 15.5 times what it was before liberation. Now Korea produced more in a year than had been produced altogether in the first 11 years after liberation. Agriculture, education, public health and culture had also made rapid progress—all in the past ten years since the Korean Armistice when reconstruction was started practically from scratch due to the unprecedented havoc wrought by the U.S. invaders. Lin Feng warmly praised the Korean people for their successes in reconstructing their country and building socialism. "Socialist construction in Korea is advancing rapidly in all spheres, and the achievements are indeed remarkable," he told the committee. "New cities, new villages and a new culture are growing constantly. Building a new Korea, the Korean people are full of energy and confidence, and brimming over with a noble and optimistic revolutionary spirit." Lin Feng said that all these successes were the result of the correct leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung. He expressed confidence that the Korean people would translate Korea's Seven-Year Plan into reality and that they would triumph in their noble cause of peacefully reunifying their fatherland.

Cambodia's Complete Independence Anniversary

November 9 marks the 10th anniversary of the complete independence of the Kingdom of Cambodia. On the eve of the anniversary, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent messages of greetings to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, congratulating him on this happy occasion.

In Peking, Cambodian Charge d'Affaires ad interim Kim Son gave an anniversary reception. Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Premier Chou En-lai, and Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien were among those present. In his speech at the re-

ception the Cambodian Charge d'Affaires ad interim stressed that the Kingdom of Cambodia led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk adhered to a policy of neutrality which was in conformity with the aspirations of the Cambodian people. Placing a high value on Sino-Cambodian friendship, he described Chairman Liu Shao-chi's official visit to Cambodia in May this year as the beginning of a new page in the history of Sino-Cambodian friendship. "It is very pleasant to underline," he pointed out, "that during the most difficult moments in our fight for our survival China has never failed to give us her powerful support."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi also spoke of the friendly relations between the two countries. Referring to Cambodia's support for the Chinese people's struggle to liberate Taiwan and oppose the "two Chinas" plot, and for the Chinese Government's proposal for a world conference for the complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, the Vice-Premier said: "This fully demonstrates the sincere friendship of the Royal Government and people of Cambodia for us."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi warmly praised the great achievements of the Kingdom of Cambodia in all fields. Paying tribute to Cambodia's firm stand in pursuing a foreign policy of peace and neutrality and her resolute struggle against the imperialist provocations, he stressed: "The righteous stand and just struggle of the Royal Government and the people of Cambodia against foreign interference and provocations, in defiance of the powerful and truculent, have defended not only Cambodia's national interests but also the cause of peace in South-east Asia." He pledged that the Chinese people would for ever be the most reliable friends of the Cambodian people in their struggle to maintain their policy of peace and neutrality, to oppose foreign aggression and interference and to safeguard their national sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as in the cause of strengthening Asian-African solidarity and defending Asian and world peace.

The China-Cambodia Friendship Association also gave a reception on November 8 to celebrate the occasion.

Sino-Japanese Fisheries Agreement

A Sino-Japanese non-governmental fisheries agreement was signed in Pe-

king on November 9 by the China Fishery Association and the Japan-China Fishery Council. An accompanying Sino-Japanese statement was also signed on the same day by five Chinese and Japanese organizations.

The statement declares that the agreement is of great significance for the growth of friendly co-operation between fishing interests of China and Japan and of friendship between the two countries.

The new agreement makes provision for the facilities needed by the fishermen of both countries in the Yellow and East China Seas. "It will also help protect fishing resources, increase technical exchanges and contacts between fishery interests of both countries, enhance Sino-Japanese friendship and make positive contributions to normalizing the relations between the two countries and to defending Asian and world peace," says the statement.

Latest Reports on Good Harvests

"Better than last year's" is the message contained in the latest harvest reports from both people's communes and state farms in various parts of the country. Late rice is better this autumn in most parts of provinces on the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtse River. Here in China's major double-cropping rice area, earlier this year, higher yields than 1962 were also obtained with early and semi-late rice.

Hupei Province is gathering an excellent crop of late rice on 4.4 million *mu*. The Huangkang Administrative Region, the biggest late-rice producer in Hupei, achieved a per-*mu* yield on 1.4 million *mu* 50 per cent higher than last autumn. Neighbouring Kiangsi Province by October 10 had reaped more than 2.3 million *mu* of late rice and scored a considerable increase over last year in the north and central areas. In Anhwei Province, where early and semi-late rice harvests were above last year's figures, the late-rice crop yielded a higher output than 1962. Many regions here threshed 10-20 per cent more late rice than they did last autumn.

Following early and semi-late rice gains, Kiangsu Province further down the Yangtse brought in an excellent harvest of late rice on 10 million *mu* thus far harvested. A welcome sign in the northern part of this province was that per-*mu* yield of late rice was

as good as that of semi-late rice and already was much higher than last year's. About one-sixth of the more than 6 million *mu* of single-crop late rice was harvested in the seaboard province of Fukien by mid-October. Per-*mu* yield was more than 10 per cent higher than 1962. Late-rice yields on 140,000 *mu* in the eastern part of the province were 20 per cent above last autumn. Harvesting on more than 33 million *mu* of late rice in Kwangtung, China's southernmost province, is under way and big increases have been reported. The famous rice-growing Pearl River delta is getting a much larger autumn harvest of late rice per-*mu* on its more than 6 million *mu* than last year.

Grain production by people's communes in several counties making up the Heiho area in the northeastern province of Heilungkiang rose 30-40 per cent, and state farms between the Heilungkiang and Ussuri Rivers reaped 20 per cent more grain this autumn over last autumn on more than 6 million *mu* of recently reclaimed wasteland. Further south, state farms along Pohai Bay in Hopei Province did even better, producing 50 per cent more grain from more than 2 million *mu* of former saline wasteland.

While harvesting is still under way in some areas, people's communes in the northern part of China by the last week in October had completed winter wheat sowing on 202 million *mu*, 30 million *mu* more than the area sown last year. These figures are based on reports from six major wheat provinces in the Yellow and Huai River basins, the outskirts of Peking, and Sinkiang. Efforts are also being made to extend high-yielding wheat farms; sights are being trained on ensuring a bigger 1964 summer harvest.

More Workers of Minority Origin

Many former serfs, nomad herdsmen and hunters of minority origin in Inner Mongolia are now in industry — workers, technicians and administrators. China's first national autonomous region now boasts a working class of 79,400 minority people. This is nearly 11 times the number in 1947, the year the autonomous region was founded. Mongolians, numbering 58,000, form the largest group; the rest are Manchurians, Koreans, Tawals, Owenkes and Olunchuns.

In pre-liberation China Inner Mongolia was considered a backward area. The only industry consisted of a few score small factories and coal pits where work was done partly by hand.

Industry has grown rapidly in Inner Mongolia in a planned way since 1947. The giant Paotow Iron and Steel Works, one of China's biggest, has gone into production. A lumber industry base has risen in the Greater Khingan Range area; light industry, communications and transport, and post and telecommunications have all forged ahead swiftly. Last year gross industrial value output was more than 22 times as much as the 1947 level; it made up half of the aggregate value output of industry, agriculture and stockbreeding in the region where stockbreeding used to predominate.

Following liberation skilled workers and technicians have been trained from among the minority people in various ways. They were trained on the job with the help of veteran workers, in local training classes and in enterprises in other parts of the country. Many minority workers at the Paotow Iron and Steel Works are former serfs and poor herdsmen who had never seen a machine in their childhood. But after serving their apprenticeship at the Anshan Iron and Steel Works, China's leading steel base in the northeast, they returned to Paotow as qualified steel makers, power shovel operators and foremen. Hundreds of workers from seven minority groups in the Inner Mongolian Woollen Mill, China's second largest, received their training in Peking and Tsingtao textile mills.

Minority workers have done so well that over 4,000 have been cited as outstanding workers or red flag bearers. Many have become highly skilled. In all there are more than 5,000 engineers and technicians of minority origin in the region.

Inner Mongolia is not alone in having its minority people trained as skilled workers. Recently, 260 Tibetan technicians — geological and medical workers, veterinarians and the first group of skilled machinists in Tibet's history — trained in the Central and Northwest Institutes for Nationalities in Peking and Lanchow have gone back to Tibet to take part in socialist construction. In the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region, another more backward area in the past, 330 Hui

technicians trained after liberation are serving in the region's agricultural, industrial, transport, post and telecommunications and medical departments.

New Metallurgical Records

China's steel industry recently performed two rare feats in steel making. One was accomplished at the Anshan Iron and Steel Works by the use of alumina magnesite bricks, a new type of refractory material developed in China. As a result the Anshan Works, tapped 622 heats of steel in 325 days from a large stationary open hearth without relining its top.

The second was in the north China port city of Tientsin where a steel mill also using alumina magnesite bricks tapped 1,304 heats of steel from a medium-sized open hearth without stopping to reline its roof. The performances in Anshan and Tientsin established two new records in China.

The roof is the most important part of an open hearth. Although the walls and bottom can be settled in enough time between tappings when the furnace is being prepared, work has to stop for several days to reline the corroded roof. Thus, by prolonging the life-span of the roof, the Anshan and Tientsin open hearths are able to increase their annual output by many thousands of tons of steel.

In the past, silica and chromite magnesite bricks were used in lining open hearths. The former has a low melting point and consequently does not last long. The latter, being more durable, is generally considered the best refractory material for the purpose in all countries. But China could only supply a limited amount of chromite magnesite bricks to her steel mills. So Chinese metallurgists decided to create a new type of refractory material suited to specific domestic conditions. Since China is rich in alumina deposits they experimented with this material. The result was the first alumina magnesite brick in the world.

Now Anshan-made alumina magnesite bricks are used in more than 30 steel mills throughout the country. All Anshan open hearths are lined with this type of brick. Between January and September of this year, the average life-span of open hearth roofs at Anshan was 395 heats, 10 per cent more than when chromite magnesite bricks were used.

The Victorious Road of National-Liberation War

by KAO KO

Following is a translation of an article published in "Renmin Ribao" in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the publication of Mao Tse-tung's book "On Protracted War." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, when the large-scale attacks of Japanese imperialism had brought the Chinese nation to a crisis in which their survival was at stake, Comrade Mao Tse-tung published his book *On Protracted War*. In it he made a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the whole situation of both sides in the war, foresaw the trends of the war's development and its prospects, laid down a whole set of policies and methods for winning victory in the war and mapped out the strategy and tactics by which the weak could overcome the strong. Thus he armed the Chinese Communist Party and the whole Chinese people ideologically and theoretically and gave them the most reliable guarantee of their victory in the war. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and under the ideological guidance of *On Protracted War* the Chinese people, after eight years of bitter fighting, gained the final victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

SHOULD NATIONAL-LIBERATION WARS BE WAGED?

Whether oppressed nations should struggle resolutely against imperialism or not and whether or not they should resort to national-liberation wars to oppose the armed aggression of imperialism is a basic question concerning the fate of the oppressed nations. Twenty-five years ago the Chinese people was faced with this serious question and all along there had been a fierce struggle over it between the Chinese Communist Party, which represented the fundamental interests of the people and the nation, and the Kuomintang reactionaries who stood opposed to these interests. In *On Protracted War* Comrade Mao Tse-tung restated the viewpoint and opinion consistently held by the Chinese Communist Party that the war between China and Japan was inevitable and that China must resist Japanese aggression resolutely, pointing out that the war was rooted in the sharpening contradictions between China and Japan in the 1930s and that now it had broken out there was no choice but to engage the enemy in a life and death struggle.

The settled policy of Japan was to destroy China and turn her into her colony. Japan's armed aggression against China had begun as early as 1894. When in the 1930s the further development of the general crisis of world capi-

talism brought the world capitalist system and the fascist states in particular to the brink of general collapse, the internal and external contradictions of Japanese fascism sharpened and its end was in sight. The changes of this period did nothing to alter the aggressive nature of Japanese imperialism. Just the opposite: they impelled it even more urgently towards unleashing adventurist war. The first object of its aggression was, as ever, semi-colonial and semi-feudal China. At the time the United States and Great Britain, in the grip of a severe economic crisis, were temporarily powerless to compete with Japan for China; and the reactionary government of Chiang Kai-shek, concentrating on the civil war against the Communists and the people, had no intention at all of resisting Japanese aggression. Japan therefore took advantage of this opportunity to launch, on September 18, 1931, a large-scale attack on China's northeast, which she soon occupied in its entirety, thus opening a new stage in Japan's colonization of China. After this Japan made increasing use of its counter-revolutionary dual tactics: on the one hand it used armed force to create the "North China Events"* and the Shanghai "January 28 Incident,"** and on the other

* These events were:

(1) In May 1935, the Japanese invaders demanded that the Kuomintang government grant them administrative authority in northern China.

(2) In June, Ho Ying-chin, the Kuomintang government's representative in northern China, signed with Yoshijiro Umezu, commander of Japanese armed forces in northern China, an agreement which virtually surrendered China's sovereignty in the provinces of Hopei and Chahar.

(3) In October, a group of collaborators seized the county town of Siangho, eastern Hopei, in a revolt instigated by the Japanese.

(4) In November, the Japanese sponsored the "movement for autonomy in the five northern provinces" which led to the establishment of the puppet "Anti-Communist Autonomous Administration" in eastern Hopei.

(5) In the same month the Kuomintang government formed the "Political Affairs Commission for Hopei and Chahar" to meet the Japanese demand for a "special political power in northern China."

** The Japanese invaders attacked Shanghai on the night of January 28, 1932, in an attempt to take the city and turn it into a base for colonizing China. The Chinese army and civilians of Shanghai rose in heroic fight, repeatedly repulsing the invaders. But Chiang Kai-shek forced the 19th Route Army then fighting against the aggressors to withdraw from Shanghai and concluded with Japan the Shanghai Armistice Agreement which stipulated that China should not station troops in Shanghai and should ban the anti-Japanese movement throughout the country.

hand it put up a smokescreen of "joint Sino-Japanese resistance to communism," "Sino-Japanese economic co-operation," "Sino-Japanese friendship," "guarantees for peace" and so on in order to split the anti-Japanese forces of China, paralyse the Chinese people and cover up her own war preparations and aggressive activities, as well as to put herself in a favourable position for sudden attack on a still bigger scale. With the Lukouchiao Incident of 1937* began the phase of full-scale military action on the part of Japan to destroy China. The frenzied aggression of Japanese imperialism faced the people of China with a serious problem: Should they be slaves in a subjugated country or should they resolutely drive out the Japanese aggressors? It had to be one or the other.

Compromise and Concession or Resolute Resistance?

There were two diametrically opposed lines in China on how to deal with Japan's rabid aggression. One was the Kuomintang reactionaries' line of compromise and concession and the other was the Chinese Communist Party's line of a resolute war of resistance.

The Chinese big landowners and big bourgeoisie represented by the Kuomintang reactionaries were utterly corrupt classes fundamentally opposed to the people. Only by relying on the strength of imperialism were they able to repress the Chinese people and prop up their rule. They always maintained that ". . . revolution of whatever kind is worse than imperialism."** This fact determined that the Kuomintang reactionaries should all along carry out policies of national betrayal, civil war and dictatorship. In the long period before the Lukouchiao Incident they carried out treacherous policies of compromise with and concessions to Japan with the support of Britain, the United States and the then League of Nations; and after selling out China's four northeastern provinces they made a deal to sell out northern China. Internally they waged a frantic civil war against the Communists and the people and repressed savagely the people's anti-Japanese movement. But the treacherous policy of compromise and concession did not satisfy Japanese imperialism and stop its aggression against China; on the contrary, it only incited Japan to a full-scale attack. This threatened the vital interests of the major ruling group of the Kuomintang reactionaries and their British and American imperialist bosses. Their anti-Communist civil war and repression, far from succeeding in crushing the people's just patriotic indignation, only stimulated even more the rapid growth of the Chinese people's movement to unite in resistance to Japan, a movement which was already directly threatening their own reactionary rule. In these circumstances they were forced to fight a war of resistance against Japan. Their anti-Communist, dictatorial and treacherous character was, however, unchangeable. Throughout the War of Resistance they never abandoned their plots of compromise and capitulation or of splitting and civil war.

* On July 7, 1937, the Japanese aggressors attacked the Chinese troops stationed at Lukouchiao, about ten kilometres southwest of Peking. The Chinese troops resisted the Japanese and thus began the heroic eight years' War of Resistance of the Chinese people.

** Mao Tse-tung, *On the Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p.5.

But China in the 1930s was no longer the China of the past: she was a progressive China in the era of a great people's revolution against imperialism and feudalism. Her fate was no longer something she would allow imperialists to meddle with or domestic reactionaries to arrange: it could only be decided by the people themselves under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. The determination of the Chinese people to win independence, freedom and complete liberation could neither be shaken by the armed invasion and political chicanery of the Japanese invaders nor altered by the Kuomintang's concessions, attempts to capitulate and threats of civil war. The Chinese Communist Party gave a clear reply to Japanese imperialist aggression on behalf of the Chinese people: ". . . defeat the infamous Japanese invaders and strive for a new China of independence, freedom and happiness."* "Like the people of the whole country, the Chinese Communist Party will not allow Japan to retain an inch of Chinese territory."**

The Chinese Communists understood fully that the contradictions between the Chinese nation and Japanese fascism were irreconcilable and that war was inevitable. They understood fully that China's War of Resistance Against Japan would be a just, revolutionary war. It would not only create the necessary conditions for the birth of a new China but would also make a mighty contribution to the causes of world revolution and world peace. From the "September 18 Incident" [the Japanese invasion of northeast China in 1931] onwards the Chinese Communist Party unceasingly exposed the aggressive nature and deceitful propaganda of the Japanese invaders and pointed out that Japan's war of aggression against China was inevitable, while at the same time actively mobilizing and organizing the people's anti-Japanese forces, getting ready for armed resistance against Japan and waging a resolute struggle against the Kuomintang's policies of national betrayal, civil war and dictatorship. The Chinese Communist Party was the first to raise the slogan of a national war of self-defence against the Japanese invaders and actively led both the anti-Japanese movement of people throughout the country and the anti-Japanese guerrilla war of the people in the northeast. Later it put forth a proposal for an anti-Japanese national united front and through its own model conduct hastened its realization. After the Lukouchiao Incident it put forward a programme to resist Japan and save the country, reorganized the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army into the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army and sent them to the front to fight and mobilized Party members to stand in the forefront of the war and fight to the last drop of blood in defence of their motherland. The correct stand and model conduct of the Chinese Communist Party received not only nationwide support and respect from the people but also support and aid from the revolutionary peoples of the whole world including Japan. It was thanks to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the struggle of the people of the whole country and the aid and support given by the peoples of the whole

*Mao Tse-tung, *Struggle to Mobilize All Forces in Winning Victory in the Armed Resistance*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p.10.

** "On Protracted War," *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1963, p.193.

world that China was able to start the War of Resistance Against Japan and carry it through to victory.

Dare to Wage a Tit-for-Tat Struggle Against Imperialism

The Chinese people know full well from their own experience of struggle that the contradictions between imperialism and its colonies and semi-colonies and those between oppressor nations and oppressed nations are matters of antagonism to the death. As long as these contradictions remain the roots of war between aggressors and those who will resist them also remain. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly said: "War is simply the continuation of politics by other . . . means." When politics develops to a certain stage beyond which it cannot proceed by the usual means, war breaks out to sweep away the obstacles in the way. . . . The semi-independent status of China is an obstacle to the political growth of Japanese imperialism, hence Japan has unleashed a war of aggression to sweep away that obstacle. What about China? Imperialist oppression has long been an obstacle to China's bourgeois-democratic revolution, hence many wars of liberation have been waged in the effort to sweep it away. Japan is now using war for the purpose of oppressing China and completely blocking the advance of the Chinese revolution, and therefore China is compelled to wage the War of Resistance in her determination to sweep away this obstacle. When the obstacle is removed, our political aim will be attained and the war concluded. But if the obstacle is not completely swept away, the war will have to continue till the aim is fully accomplished. . . . anyone who seeks a compromise before the task of the anti-Japanese war is fulfilled is bound to fail, because even if a compromise were to occur for one reason or another, the war would break out again, since the broad masses of the people would certainly not submit but would continue the war until its political objective was achieved."* Imperialism can use armed repression as its means of aggression or else political trickery. Sometimes it uses them at the same time and sometimes it alternates them, but its aim is always the same: to enslave and to plunder the people of colonial and semi-colonial countries. This is in its very nature. It will not change its nature merely because it is nearing its doom; on the contrary, it will struggle desperately and become even more cunning and adventuristic and may carry out armed attacks or armed repression at any time in order to gain its aggressive goals. The peoples of the colonies, semi-colonies and oppressed nations must, therefore, be fully aware of the aggressive nature of imperialism, wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it and cherish no illusions. They must unite, get organized and arm themselves and be ready to deal with the armed repression and armed attacks of imperialism at any time. They must dare to wage wars of national liberation in resistance to imperialist aggressive war and must carry these wars through to final victory. They must be on the lookout for all kinds of domestic and foreign plots for compromise or capitulation and must overcome them. Compromise with and capitulation to imperialism only increase its aggressive fervour and bring about the defeat of the cause of national liberation. The proletariat and its political party must be fully aware of their responsibilities in

* *ibid.*, p.227.

the causes of national liberation and people's liberation and must be fully aware of the contributions made by the cause of liberation in striking at imperialism, advancing world revolution and safeguarding world peace; they must stand firmly in the forefront of the struggle and lead the people forward to victory.

II

CAN WEAK COLONIAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL COUNTRIES DEFEAT POWERFUL IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES?

Are weak colonial and semi-colonial countries capable of defeating powerful imperialist countries? This was a most important question to which the Chinese people, then engaged in the War of Resistance Against Japan, urgently needed the answer. In *On Protracted War* Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly analysed the special features of the era in which China and Japan found themselves and the contest between the basic factors in the two countries, refuted the "theory of national subjugation" of the time and affirmed that China could not be subjugated and that final victory was bound to be hers.

Japan Was Bound to Lose and China Bound to Win

Japan was a powerful imperialist country and China was a weak semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. These characteristics of the enemy and ourselves determined that Japan would be able to continue to ride roughshod over China for a certain time and up to a certain point and that, if we failed, China was in danger of being subjugated. But Japan was an imperialist country and was, historically, in a period of retrogression while China was a newly rising country and in a historical period of progress. While Japan was fighting a retrograde and counter-revolutionary war China was fighting a progressive and revolutionary one. The retrograde nature of Japan's war was bound to make her isolated in it; while the progressive nature of China's war meant that she was bound to get support for it from many places. Moreover, Japan was a small country while China was a big one. These mutually contradictory factors and the effect of their interaction in the war determined that Japan was bound to lose and China bound to win. In other words, victory and defeat were not determined only by the contest in strength between the enemy and ourselves but by the contest between the sum total of the basic factors on each side; they were not determined by the contest between the temporary relative military and economic strengths of the two sides but by the nature of the war and the contest of the human power and morale thus engendered.

The retrograde nature of Japan's war and, in addition, the peculiar savagery brought to it by the military-feudal character of Japanese imperialism could not but greatly stimulate class antagonism inside Japan, antagonism between Japanese fascism and the Chinese nation and antagonism between Japan and the great majority of the countries of the world, thus causing Japan's complete isolation. The superiority which Japan enjoyed in military, economic and political-organizational power was bound to be worn down gradually; she was bound to be reduced to a posi-

tion of inferiority and then to defeat because she was unable to get the support of the people of her own country and of the rest of the world and because she met with the stalwart resistance of the Chinese people. "One is bound to destroy oneself if one does too much evil." This is the logic of history.

China was progressive because, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out, she was in the period of her democratic revolution and had new people, a new party, new armies and new policies. The new people were the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and other patriotic anti-Japanese elements who, tempered by nearly a century of the liberation movement, had already realized or were just in the process of realizing that they had to hold the destiny of their nation and their country in their own hands. The new party was the Chinese Communist Party, a Party which, having been through great revolutionary victories as well as serious defeats, was very rich in experience. The new armies were the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the other anti-Japanese armed forces of the people led by the Chinese Communist Party; they were people's armies of a completely new type and constituted the main force in the War of Resistance Against Japan. The new policies were: the line of the Chinese Communist Party in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the policy of the anti-Japanese national united front, the policy of the people's war and a number of other Party principles and policies. These were the crystallization of the rich revolutionary experience of the Chinese people. All of this was concentratedly represented in the fact that we had the leadership of the Party's Central Committee with our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung at its head. This was a long-tested Marxist-Leninist leadership, very good at combining the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, and further developing Marxism-Leninism through practice. With this correct and brilliant leadership and with the people's armies as their main force the hundreds of millions of the Chinese people who were already politically conscious or in the process of awakening were quite capable of defeating something as paltry as Japanese imperialism. China was also favoured by international conditions better than those at any other previous historical period, namely ". . . worldwide popular movements, extraordinary in breadth and depth, which have arisen or are arising and which are supporting China."* This kind of help was also a necessary precondition of the Chinese people's gaining ultimate victory.

It Is People and Not Weapons That Decide the Outcome of Wars

The "theory of national subjugation" was a reflection of the reactionary stand and viewpoint of the big landowners and the big bourgeoisie. Their reactionary interests determined the complete opposition of these two classes to the people and their hostility to the progressive factors in China. Thus they could rely only on weapons in the war and, when they saw that their own weapons were not as good as those of others they would say something to the effect that "China is inferior in arms and is bound to lose the war." They were, therefore, both sub-

jugationists and believers in the theory that "weapons decide everything." Thus in refuting the "theory of national subjugation," Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the same time refuted the theory that "weapons decide everything." He said, "Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale."* From ancient times to the present day all reactionary classes and reactionary dynasties, both in China and elsewhere, were overthrown and eliminated by revolutionary classes and revolutionary peoples not because they were short of the most murderous weapons of the day; they were, to the contrary, in a superior position purely from the point of view of weaponry. What they lacked was the support of the people. In the end they could not avert their fated extinction. On the other hand, the revolutionary wars waged by all revolutionary classes were victorious not because they enjoyed a superiority in weapons over their enemies but rather because their wars, being progressive and just, received the help and support of the people so that they had an absolute superiority in the contest of human power and morale. In the face of this sort of superiority no enemy, however strong he may be, can avoid being defeated. Comrade Mao Tse-tung therefore repeatedly stressed in *On Protracted War* the extreme importance of mobilizing the masses politically to participate in the War of Resistance Against Japan. He said, ". . . our inferiority in weapons and other things is only secondary. The mobilization of the common people throughout the country will create a vast sea in which to drown the enemy, create the conditions that will make up for our inferiority in arms and other things, and create the prerequisites for overcoming every difficulty in the war."** These brilliant expositions of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's of the relations between people and things and between politics and technology not only thoroughly refuted the theory that "weapons decide everything" but also further developed the Marxist-Leninist theory that man is the decisive factor in war. Armed with this theory, the Chinese people were able with their inferior equipment to defeat a powerful enemy fully supplied with up-to-date equipment.

From their own experience of struggle the Chinese people fully recognize that in waging national-liberation wars against imperialism the oppressed nations always fight against enemies stronger than themselves; but that the strength of those enemies is temporary and superficial and that they are fundamentally weak, because the wars they wage are unjust and counter-revolutionary wars of aggression. It is inevitable that in such wars they do not enjoy the support of the people, and their temporary strength is bound to be gradually weakened until they are defeated. A national-liberation war is the opposite of the war waged by the enemy; it is a just and revolutionary war, and the oppressed nation only needs to awake, unite, organize itself and fight resolutely to the end for it to be able to overcome any enemy and make itself unconquerable for any enemy, gradually to weaken the enemy and finally to destroy him and win victory. All revolutionary peoples and all the revolutionary leaders

* *ibid.*, p.200.

* *ibid.*, pp.217-18.

** *ibid.*, p.228.

and political parties that have faith in the strength of the people are fully justified in despising the enemy strategically, in regarding him as a paper tiger and in firmly rejecting all sorts of fallacious arguments which use some superficially strong elements in the enemy to frighten the people and want the people to compromise with and capitulate to the enemy. At the same time, the proletarian political parties must increase the people's strength through their own correct policies and hard work and resolutely rely on this strength to defeat the enemy.

III

PROTRACTED WAR OR "QUICK VICTORY"?

Can victory in the national-liberation wars waged by weak colonial and semi-colonial countries be won quickly, or must there be protracted bitter fighting before it can be won? This was also an important problem which had to be solved by the Chinese people at the time of the War of Resistance Against Japan. At the time many people had not been able to find a correct answer; they believed that China could win victory very quickly and without much effort. This was the so-called "quick victory theory," a kind of theorizing that was also harmful to winning victory in the War of Resistance.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out as early as the end of 1935 that "As the overthrow of Japanese imperialism and of the Chinese counter-revolution cannot be accomplished in a couple of days . . . we must be prepared to devote a long time to it. . . ." This was because Japanese imperialism and its stooges in China were still a serious force and the uneven development of the Chinese people's revolutionary strength was still a serious weakness, so that it was necessary to be prepared to fight a protracted war to defeat the enemy. Ten months after the beginning of the Resistance War Comrade Mao Tse-tung further expounded his thought on the protracted war, basing himself on the mutual relationship between the sum total of the basic contesting factors on both sides. He pointed out that the levels of the strength of the enemy and China were vastly different, and that it was necessary to go through a long period of altering their relative strengths if one wished to alter the situation. The only road to winning final victory lay in strategic protracted war. Comrade Mao Tse-tung scientifically foresaw three stages that had to be gone through in this process of development. They were the enemy's strategic offensive and our strategic defensive, the enemy's strategic consolidation and our preparation for the counter-offensive, and then our strategic counter-offensive and the enemy's strategic retreat. He also showed the basic trends of the changes in the strength of the two sides during these three stages, and demonstrated that these changes would involve a complicated, tortuous, tough and bitter struggle, and that the most complex, tortuous, tough and bitter part of that struggle would be in the second stage. This struggle had two sides: one was the struggle between China and Japan each striving to build up its own strength and weaken that of its opponent and the other was the struggle between the rotten and the progressive forces in the camp of Chinese resistance. This latter struggle was of decisive

significance in upholding the Resistance War and gaining victory.

Changing Relative Strength of China and Japan

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also pointed out that the general trend in the changing strengths of China and Japan in their struggle would be that Japan would move from superiority to parity and then to inferiority while China would move from inferiority to parity and then to superiority. In other words, the direction of Japan's change was downward while China's was upward. Within this general trend of change, Japan might have temporary and limited turns for the better and China temporary and limited turns for the worse.

In the first stage of the war Japan used her main forces to attack China's regular battlefronts, and the rottenness and incompetence as well as the wrong subjective direction of the Kuomintang government caused successive defeats, so that a large part of China's territory, population and resources fell temporarily into the evil clutches of the Japanese invaders. What was an even more important aspect of this stage, however, was China's change for the better, which appeared mainly in the enemy's rear, in the great development of anti-Japanese guerrilla war under Chinese Communist Party leadership and in the setting up of many Liberated Areas. The development of this force compelled the enemy to halt his strategic offensive on the regular battlefronts and use the main part of his troops to deal with the Chinese Communist Party-led battlefronts behind his lines. Thus after October 1938 the Sino-Japanese war entered its second stage. In this long stage Japan, in view of the Kuomintang government's tendency to compromise and capitulation, adopted a policy towards it of primarily using political inducements to surrender and using military pressure only secondarily; with regard to the people and soldiers of the Liberated Areas Japan carried out frequent and extremely savage and ruthless "mopping up" actions and the totally inhuman policy of the "three alls" — burn all, kill all, loot all — and imposed an extremely severe economic blockade. In this ruthless struggle the Communist Party led all the soldiers and the people in a heroic struggle, wearing down and destroying large numbers of the enemy and preserving and developing the people's democratic anti-Japanese strength.

The struggle between the corrupt forces represented by the Kuomintang reactionaries and the progressive forces led by the Chinese Communist Party grew daily sharper with the development of the Resistance War. From the time Japan halted her general attack on the Kuomintang battlefronts onwards the Kuomintang reactionaries adopted a policy of passively resisting Japan and actively attacking the Communists. In the political sphere they secretly colluded with the Japanese and the puppets and perpetrated all kinds of criminal acts of surrender to Japan; in dealing with the people they practised fascist dictatorship and savagely crushed the anti-Japanese democratic forces. Militarily, not only did they shift the burden of the anti-Japanese war to the battlefronts of the Liberated Areas but even made many of their commanders surrender with their troops to become puppet armies and join with the Japanese invaders in attempts to "mop up" the Liberated Areas. Twenty members of the Kuomintang

* Mao Tse-tung, *On the Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p.23.

Central Committee surrendered to the Japanese invaders at one time or another, as did over 60 senior officers and 500,000 men (making up 62 per cent of the puppet armies of 800,000 men); in the meantime, the Kuomintang sent over 700,000 troops to surround and attack the Liberated Areas in conjunction with the Japanese invaders. From 1939 to 1943 it unleashed three anti-Communist onslaughts, and other major and minor military "friction" never ceased. Economically it blockaded the Liberated Areas just as the Japanese did, reckoning that they could starve out the soldiers and people of these areas. The result of all this was, of course, to "lift a stone to crush one's own foot," but it also greatly increased the hardships, sufferings and sacrifices of the Chinese people.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, ". . . the Chinese people are confronted with a formidable national enemy and powerful domestic reactionary forces which are actually assisting the enemy."* The Chinese people's resistance forces under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party were born and grew up under pincer attacks from two powers each stronger than themselves. The course of development of the Chinese people's resistance forces was extremely tortuous. From the beginning of the war to its third anniversary in 1940 the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, armed forces of the people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, grew from their original 30,000 or so men to nearly 500,000 men while the population of the Liberated Areas and the guerrilla areas increased to 100 million. The most difficult period of the war was 1941-42, during which the Liberated Areas shrank in size, their population sank to below 50 million, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army were reduced to over 300,000 men, and life in the Liberated Areas was extremely hard. But, undaunted by this critical situation, the soldiers and people of the Liberated Areas under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung relied on their own efforts and overcame all kinds of difficulties. Gradually the size of the Liberated Areas once again expanded, and by April 1945 their population had risen to 95,500,000 and their armies had grown to 910,000 men in addition to over 2,200,000 in the people's militia.

Correct Policies

That the Chinese people's forces were able to survive, develop and grow stronger in the course of bitter struggle is inseparable from the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. In order to overcome difficulties and go forward to victory the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid down a series of correct policies for all the soldiers and people of the Liberated Areas. Anti-Japanese democratic political power was set up in the anti-Japanese base areas and the "three thirds system" in the organizational forms of political power** strengthened and widened the anti-

* Mao Tse-tung, *On Coalition Government*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p.5.

** The "three thirds system" was the Chinese Communist Party's policy for united front organs of political power in the Liberated Areas during the War of Resistance Against Japan. According to this policy, the proportion of personnel in the anti-Japanese democratic political organs was about one-third each for Communist Party members, for Left progressives, and for middle elements and others.

Japanese national united front. They genuinely put the policy of reduction of rents and interest into effect in order to encourage the peasants to be active in the fight against the enemy and in the production movement, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, and support the War of Resistance Against Japan. They developed a mass movement on a huge scale to support the government and cherish the people and another mass movement to support the army and give preferential treatment to the families of the armymen who fought in the War of Resistance. This welded the Party, government, army and people together and increased their solidarity in order to expedite the war against the enemy. They raised the quality of the troops and simplified the administration of the government; they economized in men and materials and overcame material hardships; and they adapted the organization of the war to meet changing circumstances and further raised efficiency and strength. Party and government, army and people, men and women, young and old in the base areas, developed a mighty production movement and overcame all difficulties with their own hands with the result that the people and the army in these areas were well provided with food and clothing and the army was strong and powerful, thus greatly raising their own fighting strength and preparing the material foundations for continuing resolutely with the War of Resistance and for winning victory. From 1942 onwards the Chinese Communist Party conducted a great rectification movement, which was a widespread movement of intensive education to arm the whole Party with Mao Tse-tung's thinking; the outcome was that the Party achieved unprecedented ideological, political and organizational solidarity and unification. The result of carrying out this range of policies was that the army and people of the base areas triumphantly passed through the most difficult period of the War of Resistance Against Japan; it also guaranteed that the Party would successfully guide the war to victory and that the Chinese revolution would be victorious.

The course of China's War of Resistance Against Japan and its victory give irrefutable proof that in an era when the whole imperialist system is heading for collapse and the people's revolution is heading for victory, the aggressions of an imperialist country, no matter how powerful, must and can be defeated. But the weak countries which are the victims of aggression must themselves pass through a long period of bitter struggle before they can gain victory in the revolutionary war. They must whittle down the strength of the imperialist aggressors and develop and accumulate their own strength bit by bit; they must without exception reckon on a protracted war; and must rely principally on their own strength to achieve regeneration. Although this road is very difficult and tortuous and involves a certain price and a certain sacrifice it is the only reliable one to win victory.

IV

PARTY'S LINE AND POLICIES IN THE WAR OF RESISTANCE

How is victory in national-liberation wars to be won? In *On Protracted War* Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that "in seeking victory, those who direct a war cannot overstep the limitations imposed by the objective con-

ditions; within these limitations, however, they can and must exercise conscious activity in striving for victory.”*

Our Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid down a correct line for victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, carried out the policy of an anti-Japanese national united front and waged a genuine people's war.

The line of our Party in the period of the Resistance War was to go all out to mobilize the masses, to build up the people's strength and, under the leadership of the Party, to defeat the Japanese aggressors and construct a new China. It was by carrying out this line that it was possible to bring the national-liberation war to the conclusion of a people's victory.

The United Front

The anti-Japanese national united front was the guarantee of victory in the war. Our Party waged a continual struggle to uphold, consolidate and broaden it. In the united front our Party upheld the principle of independence and the policy of developing the progressive forces, struggling to win over the middle forces and isolating the diehard forces. In dealing with the attacks of the Kuomintang reactionaries, we followed the principle of self-defence, namely, to wage struggles with good reason, with advantage and with restraint, and never attack unless attacked but always counter-attack when attacked. Through carrying out these policies and principles the Party struck powerful blows at the Kuomintang reactionaries' schemes for splitting and capitulation so that they were unable to have their way and the anti-Japanese national united front was consolidated and developed; in addition it made the united front a powerful guarantee of victory.

A little over a month after the outbreak of the Resistance War the Central Committee of our Party pointed out that “the key to victory is to develop the War of Resistance already begun into a total nationwide anti-Japanese war.”** In other words, it is necessary to rely on the masses of the people totally to mobilize and organize the strength of the nation and wage a true people's war. To this end our Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid down a whole series of policies and measures.

Mobilize and Arm the Peasantry

In realizing the Party's line in the Resistance War, in consolidating the united front and in waging a people's war of resistance against Japan the most important things were the building of a firm worker-peasant alliance, mobilizing and arming peasantry, and establishing the revolutionary battle positions in the villages and developing them. The Chinese peasantry made up over 80 per cent of the country's population, and as they were the primary objects of exploitation and oppression by imperialism, feudal forces and the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie they were extremely revolutionary. The rule of the imperialists and their lackeys in China had created a state of extremely uneven political and economic development: in the big cities capitalism was comparatively developed

while the rural economy was very backward; in the cities the reactionary rule was stronger while in the rural areas it was weak. These circumstances determined that the peasantry should be the main force in China's democratic revolution, that the villages should be the major positions where the Chinese revolution accumulated and developed its strength, and that the revolution would have to follow the course of surrounding the cities with the countryside and taking the cities last. The people's war of resistance against Japan was in essence a peasant revolutionary war under proletarian leadership. In order to mobilize and arm the peasantry and to found revolutionary positions in the rural areas it was essential resolutely to solve the problems of democracy and people's livelihood for the peasants. During the Resistance War the Party carried out policies of reducing rents and interest and improving the treatment of hired labourers and established rural democratic power in the Liberated Areas. This greatly stirred up the revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasants and won for the Party a great ally in the peasants whom it organized into a mighty fighting force. Relying on this force it was able to overcome severe difficulties, maintain a long and bitter resistance war, and give a firm foundation to the anti-Japanese national united front. The struggle between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and between the two lines inside the Communist Party revolved, in the last analysis, round the peasant question. The Kuomintang reactionaries stuck to their policy of cruelly exploiting and oppressing the peasants, thus putting themselves in a position of hindering the Resistance War; the opportunists used the pretext of the united front for not resolutely carrying out the reduction of rents and interest, not daring to mobilize the peasants, arm them and establish democratic power in the villages, thus falling into the mire of class capitulationism.

Guerrilla Warfare

At that time guerrilla war was the best form for the people's war of resistance against Japan, a peasant revolutionary war led by the Chinese Communist Party. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that guerrilla warfare “is, in a backward country, in a big semi-colonial country, and for a long period of time, the indispensable and therefore the best form of struggle for the people's armed forces to overcome the armed enemy and create their own strongholds.”* Comrade Mao Tse-tung's main strategy in guiding the Chinese revolutionary war was to exhaust every possibility of developing guerrilla warfare on a large scale and, under given circumstances, when the strength had been built up, to turn guerrilla warfare into regular warfare. The guerrilla fighting during the War of Resistance Against Japan was, for the most part, not interior-line operations in conjunction with the regular armies but independent exterior-line operations, fighting not on a very small scale but on a very large scale, and it had many extraordinary tasks to perform, such as the creation of anti-Japanese base areas, the establishment of revolutionary political power, the development of the main armed forces, the expansion of the guerrilla units and the founding of the people's militia, the development of guerrilla warfare into mobile warfare and so on. All this made guerrilla warfare a question affecting the war as a whole — that is, a strategic question. This was the main content of

* Mao Tse-tung, “Introductory Remarks to *The Communist*.”

**On Protracted War,” *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1963, p.226.

** *ibid.*, p.195.

the military line laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the Party and the Chinese people for the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan. Carrying out this line, the Party and people created their own revolutionary positions, strengthened the people's armed forces and the various anti-Japanese base areas and placed the Japanese invaders inside rings of encirclement by these forces and these base areas. With this line they also waged a prolonged warfare on a jig-saw pattern in the military, political, economic and cultural fields. Comrade Mao Tse-tung praised this warfare as "a marvellous spectacle in the history of war, a heroic undertaking by the Chinese nation, a magnificent and earthshaking feat."* The reason why the Kuomintang reactionaries stubbornly opposed anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare led by the Communist Party was that they saw that this mighty force was not only going to defeat Japanese imperialism but will also threaten their own reactionary rule. The reason why the Right-opportunists made little of guerrilla war was because they had lost confidence in the strength of the people and cherished illusions of gaining victory through relying on Kuomintang troops. The Japanese imperialists from the beginning suffered greatly as a result of underestimating the power of these forces, and ended up by being beaten by the people's armies after they had developed through guerrilla warfare. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that at first the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare really "... does not bring as quick results or as great renown as regular warfare, but 'a long road tests a horse's strength and a long task proves a man's heart,' and in the course of this long and cruel war guerrilla warfare will demonstrate its immense power; it is indeed no ordinary undertaking."** History has completely proved the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's conclusion.

Anti-Japanese Democratic Base Areas

A basic problem in the strategy of the anti-Japanese guerrilla war was the establishing of anti-Japanese democratic base areas. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that these areas were strategic bases on which the guerrilla warfare was dependent to carry out its strategic tasks and to achieve its objectives of defending and developing itself, and of annihilating and driving out the enemy; they were also bases for long-term military, political, economic and cultural struggle against the enemy. Without these strategic bases there would have been nothing to fall back on in the performance of strategic tasks or in the realization of the war aims. It was through a process of relying on the people's guerrilla warfare, seizing enemy positions one by one and enlarging the revolutionary positions step by step that the anti-Japanese democratic bases were founded and developed; it was the only way to surround the cities with the countryside and finally take the cities. Consequently the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung always paid great attention to the creation and growth of base areas. There were three basic necessary preconditions for founding a base: there had to be armed forces; it had to be possible to defeat the enemy; and there had to be all-out mobilization of the masses. The anti-Japanese democratic bases established by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party were im-

pregnable fortresses behind the enemy's lines from which every kind of struggle was waged against him. Thus they were most powerful supports for annihilating the enemy and protecting ourselves, powerful bases for developing the people's revolutionary strength and models for a new China.

A People's Army

For maintaining and developing the people's war of resistance against Japan and for creating and developing the bases it was necessary to have as a buttress a people's army. The Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army led by the Communist Party during the Resistance War were just such a new-type army of the people. Those who have joined it "have united and fought together not in the private interests of a few individuals or a small clique, but in the interests of the broad masses of the people and of the whole nation." Their "sole aim is to stand firmly on the side of the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly."* Apart from fighting they also did mass work and engaged in production to maintain themselves. Excellent relations existed between army and civilians and between officers and men; the armymen united closely with the government and with friendly armies; they conscientiously carried out their tasks of treating prisoners leniently and disintegrating the enemy armies; and they had a very high level of political awareness and conscious discipline. This was all the result of Party leadership and political work and was inseparable from their education in Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Troops with this kind of political foundation were bound to be invincible. To meet the exigencies of the war they were organized into main forces and regional forces and they also widely developed guerrilla units and people's militia. Thus was brought into being a total people's war with the main forces combining with the regional forces, the regular army combining with the guerrillas and the militia and the armed masses combining with the unarmed masses, all making a mighty sea to drown the enemy.

Flexible Strategy and Tactics

It was necessary to use flexible strategy and tactics in order that a protracted war of resistance may be waged more effectively and victory won. The guerrilla warfare principles of "dividing the soldiers to mobilize the masses and concentrating them to deal with the enemy" and of "when the enemy advances, we retreat; when the enemy camps, we harass; when the enemy tires, we attack; when the enemy retreats, we pursue" and so on had to be conscientiously carried out. It was also essential to take the initiative in carrying out in a flexible, planned way the principle of waging "offensive campaigns and battles within the strategic defence, campaigns and battles of quick decision within the strategic protracted war, and campaigns and battles on exterior lines within strategically interior lines." By fighting in accordance with this policy we were able to concentrate superior forces in battles and campaigns, to pick out the enemy's weak points and destroy him piecemeal. As a result of many victories in quickly decided offensive campaigns and battles on exterior lines we were able gradually to

* "On Protracted War," *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1963, p.222.

** *ibid.*, p.247.

*Mao Tse-tung, *On Coalition Government*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p.17.

strengthen ourselves and weaken the enemy and thus were able gradually but fundamentally to alter the situation of the enemy being strong while we were weak and to bring about the strategic change from guerrilla warfare to mobile warfare.

The War of Resistance Against Japan lasted for eight years of bitter fighting and ended in final victory. This was a victory for the Chinese people's awakening, uniting, getting organized and carrying out the correct line of the Party; it was a victory for the anti-Japanese national united front; it was a victory for the Chinese Communist Party's line of people's war; and it was a victory for Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

In *On Protracted War* Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out the glorious road for a national-liberation war led by the proletariat of the oppressed nation and its political party. It is as follows. It is essential to recognize the aggressive and wild nature of imperialism and the steadfast determination of the people to resist aggression and enslavement; to recognize their historical duty to the people's cause of liberation, in aiding world revolution and in safeguarding world peace; and to stand firmly in the forefront of the national-liberation war and never to be swayed by any fallacious theories. They must make an adequate estimate of the power of the forces of the people when they are united, organized, and armed, and they must have such great courage as to dare to seize victory.

They should also see that it is a struggle that involves protracted and bitter warfare, a process in which the weak overcome the strong primarily through relying on building up the strength of the people and achieving regeneration through one's own efforts, and that they must provide leadership that is skilled in winning victories. They must have courage in the face of any difficulty, setback, suffering or sacrifice, must be able to guide the people with correct policies to steer clear of the obstacles in the road ahead and avoid any sacrifices that can be avoided, and must resolutely lead the people to stride forward heroically to their goal of liberation. In directing the war it is essential for them to go all out in mobilizing the masses, to build up the people's strength, to defeat the aggressors and to win a people's victory; it is essential for them to establish a firm worker-peasant alliance and on this foundation build a broad united front, unceasingly develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate the reactionary forces; and it is essential to employ flexible strategy and tactics taking the peasantry as the main force, the rural base areas as their supports and the people's armies as the mainstay, thus broadly developing anti-imperialist revolutionary guerrilla warfare as well as gradually raising guerrilla warfare to regular warfare and finally winning victory.

This is the Marxist-Leninist road and the fundamental road to victory in national-liberation war.

Whither Nehru?

The Brooding Storm Over India

by YANG CHUN-FONG

There is thunder in the air, as clouds of crisis and demoralization darken our land. We appeal to you, in all earnestness, to act so that the brooding storm may still be averted. — "Blitz's" memo to Nehru.

Jawaharlal Nehru's anti-China policy is coming home to roost.

Confronted as he is with growing economic ills, deepening political crisis and mounting popular discontent at home, the Indian prime minister badly needs something to be used as a red herring. He needs it for both internal and external reasons. That's why he produced out of his hat the bugbear of "Chinese aggression" and still harps on a "Chinese threat." However, recent developments in the Indian situation indicate that Nehru is up to his neck in trouble — troubles of his own making.

INDIA under Nehru is drifting deeper and deeper into economic difficulties. To meet the cooked-up "Chinese threat," the military expenditure of the Nehru government has zoomed in recent years, eating up as much as over 50 per cent of the 1963-64 revenue account, thus causing a deficit of 4,500 million rupees in the budget. This estimated budget deficit represents a nearly twofold increase over that of the previous fiscal year. The result: "a wartime budget, with heavy taxation to raise extra funds for defence, had disturbed and disrupted the country's economy," so Reuter reported.

The foreign trade of India is also in bad shape. The rapid rise in the imports of military supplies presents a sharp contrast to the drastic decline of exports because much material and equipment needed for the manufacturing of goods for export have been diverted to war industry. This has further aggravated the adverse balance of India's foreign trade. The year 1962 witnessed an import excess of 4,100 million rupees. This year things are getting much worse.

Deep in Debt

The servicing of India's foreign debts needs quite a lot of money, costing about 870 million rupees in 1963-64 fiscal year. According to data published in the Bulletin of the Reserve Bank of India, foreign debts incurred by the Nehru government during the four years from March 1959 through March 1963 amounted to 15,200 million rupees. In September 1962, the Indian Ministry of Finance told the Rajya Sabha that 6,917 million rupees would be needed in the Third Five-Year Plan period to pay principal and interest on foreign debts. The British press disclosed that Nehru will have to borrow U.S. \$5,000 million in the next three years to be able to pull through. In the current fiscal year the Indian Government went cap

INDIAN CARTOONISTS' LOOK AT NEHRU'S INDIA



I

From Swarajya

in hand to the Aid-India Club, requesting a loan of U.S. \$1,255 million. Much as Nehru played up the bogey of the "Chinese threat," the club granted only U.S. \$1,052 million.

Apart from heavy borrowing abroad, the Nehru government has turned the screw tighter and tighter on the common people at home. In the name of "emergency," a long list of new taxes and levies including the national defence fund, defence bonds, defence deposit certificates, savings certificates, premium prize bonds, the compulsory deposit scheme, gold control order, gold loan, etc., has been loaded on to the backs of the Indian people. By the end of June 1963, the Nehru government had collected 687.3 million rupees by means of the national defence fund and gold loan.

In the 1963-64 budget, revenue from new taxes amounts to 2,750 million rupees, of which more than 70 per cent is to be derived from indirect taxes, which weigh particularly heavy on the common people. To this must be added the miscellaneous new taxes and levies imposed by the state governments, totalling about 1,180 million rupees.

Drastic Fall in Industrial and Farming Production

India's severe economic difficulties find another expression in the alarming deterioration of industrial and agricultural production. According to a report by India's National Council of Applied Economic Research, the annual growth rate of the national income in 1962-63 showed a "drastic fall," agricultural production was "stationary" and industrial production was at a "slower pace." In spite of the shots-in-the-arm given by the swelling orders for military supplies, the growth rate of industrial production in 1962-63 dropped by one-third as compared with the 1960-61 period. Below-capacity operation presents too much of a problem even in those industrial branches closely related to national defence, such as the chemical and engineering industries. Non-military

industries, the textile industry in particular, are in desperate straits.

Agriculture fares much worse. Reuter reported that the output of food grains in 1961-62 dropped by 1.2 million tons as compared with the previous year. A further drop by 2.2 million tons occurred in the 1962-63 year. The fall from 79.7 million tons in 1961-62 to 77.5 million tons in 1962-63, Reuter added, means that India will not only be unable to provide for her annual population increase of 10 million but must import heavily to feed the present population. During the Second Five-Year Plan period, nearly 18 million tons were imported as against 11.5 million tons during the First Five-Year Plan period. Nehru himself regards the poor showing on the agricultural front as a cause for shame. While inaugurating the agricultural university at Ludhiana, Nehru admitted: "I often hang my head in shame when I think that a nation with 70 per cent of its population engaged in agriculture depends on foreign countries for food."

Soaring Prices - A Terrible Headache for The Common People

Acute shortages of consumer goods, crushing tax burdens and unscrupulous hoarding and profiteering have combined to send prices skyrocketing. Price inflation is not only on everybody's lips but it is also on everybody's mind. According to official data published by the Indian Government, by the end of July 1963, India's wholesale general price index had reached 135.4 and the food index 137.8 (with the 1952-53 figures as 100), an increase of 7.6 per cent and 12.2 per cent respectively over December 1962. When the Nehru government made public its 1963-64 budget in February this year prices rose more rapidly than ever. In the three months between March and July, the wholesale general price index rose by 6.5 per cent and the food index by 11.6 per cent, approximately the same rate of increase recorded in the four years from 1959 to 1962. Soaring prices affect particularly such daily necessities as rice, edible oil, cloth and kerosene.

Workers Suffer. The common people of India have extreme difficulty in keeping body and soul together. Owing to widespread below-capacity operation or suspension of operation in many industrial enterprises, and to the mass close-down of medium and small factories and shops, large numbers of workers have been thrown onto the scrap heap. According to a preliminary survey, 150,000 textile workers have been laid off. The gold control rule deprived India's 500,000 goldsmiths of their only means of livelihood. By the end of June 1963, more than 160 goldsmiths had committed suicide. Speed-up and overtime work without additional pay have added to the physical and economic strain of the working people. Under the cloak of "emergency," an industrial truce resolution was forced down the throat of the workers. While the workers are required to observe strictly both the letter and spirit of the resolution, the employers and the government are free to do as they please, resolution or no resolution. Commenting on a list of violations of the resolution by the employers, *Link* has this to say:

The list was not exhaustive but indicated the trend. It spoke of dismissals, refusal to comply with statutory

obligations regarding payment of wages, provident fund, lay-off and retrenchment benefits. . . . Even the government has failed to act up to the spirit of the resolution. Cases meant for reference to tribunals have been pending before the government for six months in some cases. Many employers simply refused to be present at arbitration proceedings even after four or five notices issued by the arbitrator. The general complaint among trade unions is that the government has taken up an unusually passive role in all cases of disputes between the workers and the employers, although by its own admission, the workers' record in following the resolution has been commendable.

Peasants Groan. The poverty-stricken peasants are groaning under the intolerable load of taxes and levies of all sorts, including among others the 12.5 to 50 per cent increase in land revenue in the 1963-64 fiscal year and higher irrigation rates. Particularly galling to the peasants is the compulsory deposit scheme (C.D.S.) which stipulates that every peasant paying an annual revenue of five rupees and more pay as compulsory savings an amount equal to 50 per cent of the revenue paid in 1959-60. According to Indian press reports, India's land revenue in 1959-60 totalled 951.5 million rupees. If 100 million rupees are deducted for those peasants paying less than five rupees as land revenue, then the total comes to 851.5 million rupees. Thus the yield of C.D.S. from the peasants is likely to reach 425 million rupees. While backing Nehru to the hilt, the Communist organ *New Age* felt compelled to say that "it is a standing joke to ask the peasants to pay 425 million rupees annually as a forced loan to the government while they themselves require 7,500 million rupees annually as credit and are crushed down under the heavy debt burden of 15,000 million rupees." The same journal said that "the Indian peasant is born in debt, lives in debt and dies leaving a debt to his heir."

Urban Middle Class Feels Pinch. The urban petty-bourgeoisie and middle class are also feeling the terrible squeeze. Mr. Kanwarlal Gupta, President of Delhi Citizens' Council, told newsmen on March 1, 1963, that the 1963-64 budget proposals hit hard the middle classes and challenged the very existence of the poor. According to Gupta, people earning 5,000 rupees or less a year made up 30 per cent of the total income tax payers. Each member of this group paid 42 rupees a year under the original income tax structure. But under the new budget provisions he would have to pay 242 rupees, plus 148 rupees in compulsory savings and a surcharge of 30 rupees.

What does all this add up to? Reuter comes to the conclusion that "spiralling prices, scarce consumer goods and smothering taxes have combined to make the life of the ordinary Indian harder than perhaps at any time since India became independent 16 years ago." This picture of the Indian people's miserable life is rounded out by British journalist Arthur Helliwell and photographer George Phillips who gave what an Indian paper called a "heart-rending and down-to-earth account of Calcutta's homeless and hungry millions." Their picture is really a shocking revelation.

Big Business Makes Big Money

A striking contrast is offered by the fantastic profits raked in by Big Business. As *Blitz* put it, "While the

burden on the toiling people and the unhappy middle class is reaching crushing proportions, a handful of rich men continue to fatten, and the law does not seem to affect them." The Tata Iron and Steel Company's gross profit rose from 164.5 million rupees in 1961-62 to 221 million rupees in 1962-63. The Birla Jute Factory reported an increase in gross profit from 16.03 million rupees in 1961-62 to 20.73 million rupees in 1962-63. The gross profit extracted by the Dalmia Cement Factory amounted to 11.6 million rupees in 1962, as against 5.4 million rupees in the year before last. Indian press reports indicate that the House of Tata controls 150 of the biggest financial and industrial units and the House of Birla rules over 300 companies.

Worse Than Dogs' Life. Polarization is growing apace in India, with the rich continuing to grow richer and the broad masses of people continuing to groan and starve. "Ministers and senior officials in India," the *Hindustan Standard* reported, "live in luxury quite out of proportion with the standard of affluence or morality. Even in the most affluent countries there is proportionately less disparity between ministers and senior officials and the common people than in our poor country." This disparity was illuminated during the recent debate in the Lok Sabha on the motion of no-confidence against the Nehru government. One opposition leader charged that a sum of 25,000 rupees was being spent every day on "the man occupying the highest position in the country." He said that while 270 million Indian people live on three annas a day, Prime Minister Nehru spent 16 times as much (three rupees) daily on keeping his dog and a single family of businessmen earned up to 300,000 rupees daily.

The Fruits of Nehru's "Socialism": The Starvation Level

It is all very well for Nehru to talk about building a "socialist pattern of society" in India. But what has he got to show for his "socialism"? Though the aggregate national production increased by 50 per cent over the last 12 years, per capita income rose by a mere 20 per cent—to only 290 rupees per year today. According to *Blitz*, the "fruits of freedom and socialism" under Nehru's leadership amounted to an increase in per capita income of 50 rupees over the last 12 years—that is, an increase of a little over four rupees for each year of sweat and toil! Contrasting this with the corresponding rise in the cost of living, *Blitz* was forced to the conclusion that "the overwhelming majority of our teeming millions have remained where they were before the dawn of the freedom-cum-socialism era—on the verge of the starvation level."

On the other hand, "the world of big business," *Blitz* added, "is becoming more prosperous in the era of socialism." The journal asked Nehru: "Is it not a fact that you have not been able to fulfil your pledges to the people to usher in the dawn of socialism?" After making a survey of the overall situation, *Blitz* concluded that "life is fast ebbing away from socialism in India."

How Much More Remains of India's Independence?

Another banner which Nehru and his Congress Party have been waving for some time is that of independence and non-alignment. True, Nehru and the Con-

gress Party came to power because they had played an active part in the Indian people's fight for national independence. But once in office, Nehru and his Congress Party have steadily gone back on their promises to the people and have crawled further under the thumb of imperialism, thus gravely impairing India's independence. For instance, India's growing reliance on imperialism has disastrously blocked the development of the Indian national economy. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the biggest item in Indian imports from the United States is food grains, particularly wheat. In the past seven years India has imported around 17 million tons of wheat under various PL480 agreements. In the Second Five-Year Plan period (1956-60) imports of wheat under PL480 alone accounted for 13.5 million tons out of the 16 million tons imported from all sources. Growing dependence on U.S. supplies is a disincentive to the Indian peasant. In his presidential address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science on August 30 last, Professor Martin Jones had something interesting to say on this score. "Land in India," the professor pointed out, "has gone out of cultivation because cheap American wheat has become available."

Blitz complained bitterly: "Emergency is being used only to degrade us into a country of beggars . . . our dependence on Western arms—or more correctly alms." In the face of this national humiliation, Acharya Vinoba Bhave asked a pertinent question: "If we import American food, American arms and even American intelligence to solve our problems, what will remain of our independence?"

Press Censorship. Needless to say, all this proves extremely embarrassing to the Nehru government. In order to keep the people in utter ignorance of foreign "aid," New Delhi has clamped down a tight censorship on the Indian press. Indian newspapers may not publish stories of arms aid from other countries unless officially announced, nor reprint such reports published abroad.

Under the pretext of meeting the "Chinese threat," the Nehru government has lined up with the imperialists and fallen further under foreign domination. The Voice of America agreement and the joint air exercise agreement constitute an open infringement of India's sovereignty and independence. It is, therefore, not without reason that *Blitz* felt pretty much worried lest India become a satellite nation. The paper warned: "No nation offers its independence on a platter to a conqueror and not all conquerors come with swords. If the modern history of Latin America, West Asia and even of Western Europe has anything to teach us, it is that in the second half of this century, national independence has been nibbled away piece by piece, in the name of a 'common defence against communism.' Once a nation begins to sway on this slippery path, the status of a satellite is its inevitable destination." The same journal further wailed that "the world is fast coming to the conclusion that we have given up our independent foreign policy of non-alignment. It is this feeling that has

transformed the attitude of the Afro-Asian nations towards our country."

Popular Discontent and Protest

Growing reliance, political, military and economic, on the West, particularly U.S. imperialism, and the steady whittling away of India's independence has deeply hurt the sense of national honour of every Indian patriot. Moreover, further belt-tightening because of increased taxation and soaring prices are meeting with mounting opposition and resentment among various sections of the Indian people. Strikes, protest rallies, petition meetings and demonstrations have been reported among the workers in different branches of industry. Reference should be made to the strike of 30,000 workers of the Bombay Municipal Corporation as well as to the determined fight put up by the goldsmiths. The Bombay strike highlighted the widespread unrest of the city's industrial workers and white-collar employees, who together with their dependents make up nearly four-fifths of the city's population.

The Bombay strike had its political as well as economic significance. Just as one Indian journal explained, the strike was not only a strike on economic slogans, but also "a protest of the working class against the manner in which the emergency is being exploited by the wealthy to make profit out of the sweat of the underdog." The strike showed up the Nehru government and the Indian modern revisionists for what they really are—the sworn enemy of the working class. Mass arrests, ruthless persecution and police brutalities against the strikers were all in the day's work. The renegade Dange came out in the open against the strike and pleaded with the workers to wait and give him time enough to negotiate with the government and employers.

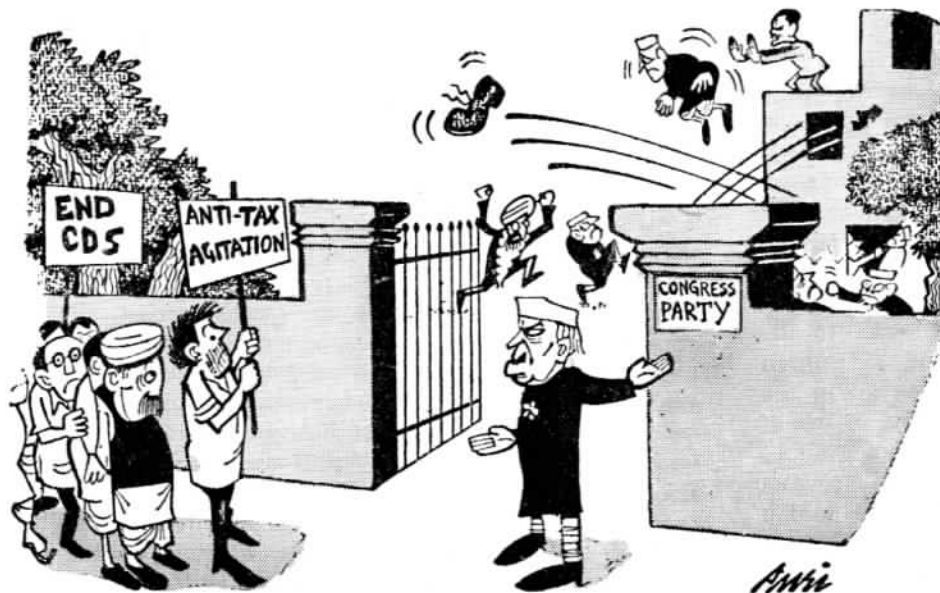
Militancy in Labour. Analysing the present mood of the Indian working class, the *Free Press* journal wrote: "There is a new militancy in labour, unknown since the beginning of the emergency. Strikes are considered no more anti-



A NEUTRAL NOTE

II

From Times of India



"How can you do this—can't you see there is a war on?"

III

From *Hindustan Times*

Political Disintegration Accelerated

social, DIR or no DIR. Already we had one major strike with all its customary trappings in the Bombay docks and there is promise of more to come in the industrial belts in north, south, east and west. Indian labour today is in a near-revolutionary mood, because in the name of increasing output in the long run there has been a reduction in well-being in the short run."

Peasants Fight Back. The workers are not alone in fighting against the Nehru government. The Indian peasants are joining the battle. Crop failures, intolerable taxation and price inflation have combined to drive the Indian peasantry to bankruptcy and desperation. On his visit to rural districts near New Delhi a correspondent of the Japanese broadcasting association reported that he had heard peasants voicing sharp criticism of Nehru and his Congress Party. The *London Times* disclosed in a dispatch from New Delhi that the policy of the Nehru government had aroused bitter resentment in the countryside. This year peasants in various parts of India have put up a sharp fight against the expropriation of their land by the government and clashes with police have become commonplace. In April more than 5,000 peasants from 20 villages in Uttar Pradesh demonstrated in front of Nehru's residence. These mass actions by the long-suffering Indian peasants are significant straws to show in which direction the political wind is blowing in India.

Intellectuals on the Move. Discontent and restlessness are on the increase among the Indian intellectuals. Many cases of strikes, petitions and parades to protest against increased tuition fees and soaring prices have been reported among Indian students. More and more students are taking part in the struggle of the workers and peasants. The conscience of the Indian intelligentsia has been so greatly outraged by Nehru's abject grovelling before imperialism that they cannot remain indifferent and silent. "Things cannot be allowed to go on like this any longer, can they?" That's the question patriotic Indian intellectuals are asking themselves these days. And it will not be long before they give the answer. Many leading public figures have already spoken out in protest against the mistaken poli-

cies of the Nehru government. Even sections of the Indian national bourgeoisie are feeling bitter and resentful. They have every reason to do so. Squeezed by domestic monopoly capital, threatened by increasing infiltration by U.S. capital and hit hard by crushing taxation and runaway prices, wider sections of the Indian national bourgeoisie are being pushed to the wall. They feel compelled to fight back for survival.

Mass pressures are building up against the Nehru regime. The partial modification of the much hated C.D.S. and of the gold control order in September by the Nehru government is indicative of the ever growing strength of the Indian people.

The pace of disintegration of the Nehru government and the Congress Party has been quickened as Nehru persists in his anti-China policy in the service of imperialism. The Congress Party, according to *Blitz*, was once considered "the supreme political force in the country" and "the image of the Congressman was a khadi-clad volunteer, tramping the dusty village paths, carrying all his belongings in a bundle on his shoulder." Now all this is radically changed. As *Link* sees it, the picture of the Congress today, "a noisy crowd of squabbling groups swearing loudly at each other" is not one that any man can see "without a sense of disgust." "Today in the minds of many people," deplored *Blitz*, "the Congressman himself projects the ugly image of his being a well-fed, pompous and moralizing minister riding about in a luxury car bought with the people's money."

In August this year, a motion of no-confidence against the Nehru government was tabled in the Lok Sabha and was voted down by the Congress Party's huge majority. But what was politically significant was that it was the first time in the history of Indian parliament during the past 16 years that such a motion had been introduced. "Nehru has won the vote but lost the day," commented a villager as he came out of the public galleries of parliament after attending the four-day debate. No truer words could have been said.

Reshuffle of Cabinet. Under these circumstances, Nehru shook up his cabinet. The Kamaraj Plan for transferring ministers to organizational work in the Congress was exploited by Nehru to kill two birds with one stone. On the one hand, he hoped to create a false impression of a "new deal" to soften up the popular discontent. On the other hand, he sought to get his opponents out of the way and thus consolidate his position. The *London Times* revealed that Nehru used the Kamaraj Plan to "remove from office some half dozen men whom he had in years found no other means of dislodging." AP added that Nehru's "decision to accept the resignation of six heads of state government was based mainly on banishing trouble-makers."

The reshuffling of the Nehru government, however, has heightened factional in-fighting in the government and in the Congress Party as shown in the bitter struggle for power in the central and state governments. In the opinion of the *Statesman*, the Kamaraj Plan is "revitalizing dissidence and factionalism more than the party itself." *Link* reported immediately after the cabinet shake-up that even many Congress members wondered how such a change "will help to solve the problems that the Congress faces." The *Economic Weekly* called attention to the "confused and purposeless state of politics in the country today" and concluded on a pessimist note: "There can be no two opinions on the subject — we are drifting, rudderless."

Where Is Nehru Heading?

In spite of the series of positive steps China has taken to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border question, the Nehru government has adamantly refused to negotiate and has deliberately kept up tension on the Sino-Indian border. The reason is not far to seek. Nehru's anti-China performance is designed to meet the needs of his home and foreign policies. Commenting on the motives behind Nehru's false reports of the massing of Chinese troops on the Sino-Indian border, the British journal *Economist* made the following revealing remarks:

An Indian mission in Moscow had, when the alarming reports appeared, got some but not all of what it wanted

out of the Russians. The United States Congress is discussing foreign aid amidst irritation about Indian fumbings. . . . The internal reasons for disingenuousness are perhaps more compelling. After months of inaction, the emergency has become an object of cynicism. Simultaneously there is mounting discontent over the heavy taxes it is supposed to justify and about rising prices and food shortages. Meanwhile the ruling Congress Party in several Indian states has drifted back to its old routine of mutual eye-clawing and back-scratching. Nothing could suit the party better at the moment than an external threat.

Nehru is trying to bolster up his tottering regime by playing up the imaginary "Chinese threat" to beg for more hand-outs from abroad and step up economic exploitation and political repression of the Indian people at home. However, in doing so Nehru finds himself caught in a vicious circle. The more arms supplies and loans with strings attached the Nehru government gets from abroad, the further India falls under foreign domination. Meanwhile, the further the Nehru government teams up with the imperialists in their anti-China campaign at the expense of India's national independence and the further the Nehru government exploits and represses the Indian people, the more resentful and rebellious the Indian people become. This vicious circle is a trap from which Nehru can hardly extricate himself. In short, Nehru's anti-China policy can get him nowhere except a step nearer to political disaster.

A Blow at U.S. Policies of Aggression and War

— Nation Hails Victory Over U-2 and Armed U.S.-Chiang Agents

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

FOR a fortnight, the downing of the second U.S.-made U-2 plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang and the complete rout of nine groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents on China's southeastern coast earlier this year (see *Peking Review* No. 45) made front-page news in the Chinese press. All over the country people greeted these actions as a big victory in the fight to smash U.S. aggression and the Chiang clique's harassment of the mainland as well as another telling blow at U.S. imperialist policies.

Nationwide Celebrations

A wave of jubilation swept the country. The P.L.A. Air Force unit which knocked the U-2 out of the sky was flooded by congratulatory telegrams and letters from all over. Air force heroes with seven U.S.-Chiang espionage planes to their credit, and army men and civilians in Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang and Shantung Provinces, victors over the armed U.S.-Chiang agents, held meetings to celebrate their new triumphs. Leaders of democratic parties and popular organizations acclaimed the might of the People's Liberation Army, denounced

U.S.-Chiang crimes of aggression and harassment, and extended heartfelt thanks to the fraternal Vietnamese army men and people for completely destroying all six groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents who landed in Viet Nam in an attempt to infiltrate Kwangtung.

The climax was reached when people from all walks of life gathered in the nation's capital and other major cities for rallies on November 11 and 12 to voice China's determination to smash Washington's aggressive acts and defend world peace.

Part of U.S. Aggressive Design

Liu Chang-sheng, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, was the main speaker at the Peking rally. He pointed out that U.S. imperialism has repeatedly directed the Chiang Kai-shek group to send U-2 planes into China's air space for espionage as part of its fixed policy of hostility to China. He briefly related the history of how U.S. imperialism had launched its aggressive war against Korea in 1950 in a vain attempt to use Korea as a springboard for an attack on China to strangle the

young people's republic in its cradle. He told of how at the same time the U.S. Government forcefully occupied China's territory Taiwan and used the Taiwan Straits as an important base for attacking China and threatening peace in the Far East. Liu Chang-sheng also pointed out that Washington had constantly created tension in the Taiwan Straits, violating China's territorial air space and waters as many as 269 times and repeatedly goaded and encouraged its stooge Chiang to harass mainland coastal areas.

All this proves that U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the Chinese people. Voicing the sentiments of all the Chinese people, Liu Chang-sheng warned the U.S. imperialists: "You will eventually have to pay for all your crimes against the Chinese people!"

U.S. — Arch-Enemy of World's People

But, as Liu Chang-sheng pointed out, the U-2 incident was not just part of the American design against China, it was also a component of the U.S. imperialists' efforts to step up their policies of aggression and war throughout Southeast Asia and the world. The trade union leader said: "Pounded by the revolutionary torrent of the people of the world, U.S. imperialism is putting up one last kick. It is cunningly carrying out its 'strategy of peace' in an attempt to lull and dampen the revolutionary ardour of the people of all countries and to subvert and wipe out

and tries to maintain its rule there by a change of puppets; it colludes with Laotian reactionaries in an attempt to subvert the National Union Government of Laos and rekindle the civil war, it introduces nuclear weapons and their carriers into Japan and turns that country into a base for starting nuclear war. In Latin America Washington is intensifying its aggression against socialist Cuba and suppressing the national-democratic revolution which is developing rapidly on that continent. In Africa it is stepping up its infiltration and intervention, scheming to step into the shoes of the old colonialists. In Europe, the Kennedy Administration is fostering West German militarism and tightening control over its allies.

From all this Liu Chang-sheng concluded that "U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war, the chief enemy of world peace and the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world. In order to defend world peace and win victories for national liberation, people's democracy and socialism, the people of the world must form a united front on the broadest scale against the imperialists headed by the United States and carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism through to the end."

Warning to U.S.-Chiang Gang

Speakers at this and other meetings pointed out that the recent victory over the U-2 and armed U.S.-Chiang agents is convincing proof of the splendid fighting spirit and consummate military skill of the People's Liberation Army, equipped with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. It once again demonstrates the might of the great unity between the Chinese Army and people and serves as a serious warning to the U.S.-Chiang gang.

After the first U-2 was brought down on September 9 last year, the Chinese Government pointed out in its statement that there can be no guarantee for China's security and no relaxation of tension in the Far East and the world as long as U.S. imperialism persists in its policies of aggression and war and continues to occupy China's territory Taiwan. This truth has been borne out once again by the second U-2 affair. The people of China and the world demand that U.S. imperialism get out of Taiwan, Japan, south Korea, south Viet Nam, the rest of Asia, and all places it has forcibly occupied.

As for the Chiang cabal, it faces two alternatives: By sticking to its role as a U.S. flunkey and persisting in its hostility to the Chinese people, it will end up no better than Syngman Rhee or Ngo Dinh Diem, whose fate reveals that U.S. imperialism does not hesitate to finish off a lackey who has outlived his usefulness. Otherwise, Chiang's henchmen can cross over to their motherland and render meritorious service for the liberation of Taiwan; in this case, they will be dealt with according to the principle of "all patriots are of one family," and their misdeeds pardoned and services awarded.

Repeated U.S. provocations and aggression against China are a constant reminder that the class struggle is raging in the international arena and that no reactionary class will make its exit from the stage of history of its own free will. The Chinese people are heightening their vigilance, ready to deal fresh blows to U.S. imperialism, which continues to step up its military provocations and war threats against China.



Kennedy's Footprints Cartoon by Cheng Wen-chung

the countries of the socialist camp; at the same time, it is engaged in frantic arms expansion and war preparations and is stepping up its aggressive and war activities all over the world."

These activities were listed as follows: In Asia, U.S. imperialism continues to occupy south Korea; it continues to wage inhuman "special warfare" in south Viet Nam

Hail the First Games of the New Emerging Forces



President Sukarno on the reviewing stand; at his left is China's Vice-Premier Marshal Ho Lung

A NEW era in world sports was ushered in on November 10 in the Indonesian capital of Djakarta with the colourful opening of the First Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO). The 100,000-capacity crowd in the flag-bedecked Bung Karno sports complex came to a hushed silence as President Sukarno officially opened the games. The inaugural ceremonies continued as the athletes' pledge was read, the athlete-relayed torch set aflame the GANEFO fire, and the white-background GANEFO flag was raised to the strains of a military band and a 21-gun salute.

While the flags of 51 participating nations and regions and multi-coloured streamers fluttered over the 270-hectare sports complex, more than 2,000 athletes from 43 countries and regions filed by the reviewing stand in Indonesian alphabetical order. (Countries whose athletes had not arrived in time for the opening were represented in the parade by standard bearers.)

The Chinese team, 42nd to pass by, had 2.03-metre-tall basketballer Chang Kuang-lu as its national flag bearer. He was flanked by two women athletes, basketballer Li Shao-fen and famous high-jumper Cheng Feng-jung. As they marched past, President Sukarno rose to shake hands with China's Vice-Premier Ho Lung who was on the reviewing stand, having been invited by the Indonesian Government to the opening of GANEFO. The final contingent, the largest, was that of the host country. As the Indonesian athletes brought this portion of the festivities to a close the 100,000 spectators let out a great cheer.

Indonesian Minister of Sports Maladi, speaking at the opening ceremony, estimated that in addition to the

100,000 people inside the stadium there were another 100,000 on the outside. On behalf of the 100 million Indonesian people, he warmly welcomed the 2,700 athletes and artists who were there to take part in the first GANEFO.

"GANEFO," he declared, "is a revolution in athletics. Our motto is 'Onward, No Retreat.' Let us look forward to the holding of the second, third and fourth Games of the New Emerging Forces."

A Sports Meet Without Imperialism

The significance of GANEFO lies in the fact that it is the first worldwide sports meet independent of imperialist control and domination. As was proposed by President Sukarno early this year after the Indonesian Government and people rebuffed the arbitrariness of the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) and withdrew from this imperialist monopolized organization.

For many years international sports have been monopolized by imperialism and colonialism, and the I.O.C. and other reactionary international sports organizations have served merely as their tools to infringe on the sovereign rights of other countries and discriminate against the new emerging nations. Furthermore, under the cloak of "sports must not meddle in politics," they are actually playing dirty politics in the field of international sports.

President Sukarno's proposal won wide approval and support from the people of China and many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and led to the successful convening of the GANEFO Preparatory Conference in Djakarta last April. The conference, attended by delegates and observers from 12 countries including China, unanimously decided on the organization of GANEFO and the holding of the first games, declaring that GANEFO is based on the spirit of the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung. It aims to 1) encourage the promotion of the independent development of sports and physical culture and sports movements in all countries of the new emerging forces; 2) stimulate sports competition among the countries of the new emerging forces in order to foster and consolidate friendly relations between themselves in particular, and to promote friendship and world peace in general.

But the handful of imperialists and their followers in the I.O.C. refused to take their defeat lying down; from the outset GANEFO has been maligned, abused and sabotaged by them. Those who dominate and monopolize the I.O.C. even threatened Indonesia, initiator of GANEFO, in many ways and directed the affiliated organizations of the I.O.C. such as the track and field, weightlifting, swimming and football associations, to coerce their members not to participate in the November sports events in Djakarta.

GANEFO: "A Demand of History"

But people throughout the world see GANEFO in a different light. In his speech at the inauguration of GANEFO headquarters early this month, President Sukarno said that GANEFO was not a demand by an individual country but a demand of history. The Indonesian President declared: "We believe that the GANEFO movement will grow stronger because the world trend demands the smashing of the old world order and the establishment of a new world order so that people with different skin pigmentation can live in peace and harmony."

Acting on the instructions of President Sukarno, the Indonesian National GANEFO Committee takes the games as a national cause and as a challenge to the imperialists and colonialists, old and new. Today in Indonesia GANEFO is heard so often that it has become a household word. It is used as a form of greeting to acquaintances, which gets across language barriers between athletes of different countries who have flocked to the capital of "the land of a thousand islands."

While wishing success to the first GANEFO, leading members of participating athletic delegations have expressed the hope that more games will be held in the future to strengthen unity and friendship of the people of different countries. They shared the opinion that this was the common desire voiced by the new emerging forces in the world. The following are some samples:

Vasil Konomi of Albania: "We regard it as our internationalist duty to carry on the struggle against discrimination in sports and against the sinister schemes engineered by imperialism and the reactionaries in the Olympic Games."

Prince Sisowath Essaro of Cambodia: "We have been supporting GANEFO from the very beginning and have exerted ourselves to make it a complete success."

Rafael Campo of Cuba: "In spite of such difficulties [caused by the recent hurricane], Cuba sends a delegation to GANEFO because she is a new emerging country."

Kim Ki Soo of Korea: "All the Korean people are squarely behind GANEFO . . . because it is held under the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist banner."

Mohamed Jama Issa of Somali: "The Somali people who had long been subjected to colonialist oppression believe that GANEFO will strengthen friendship among Asian, African and Latin American countries because we have a common ideal, that is, to live in freedom, free from oppression by any foreign nation."

Phan Nguon of Viet Nam: "GANEF0 brings together and unites the democratic forces of the countries

of the new emerging forces to oppose imperialism and colonialism."

China Hails GANEFO

The Chinese people have given their unreserved support to GANEFO. On November 9, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to President Sukarno and the first GANEFO extending China's congratulations. The message declared:

The holding of the first GANEFO marks a tremendous victory gained by the people of the new emerging countries in their struggle against the manipulation and monopoly of international sports by imperialism and new and old colonialism. We are firmly convinced that the holding of the first GANEFO will contribute to the development of sports in the new emerging countries, the promotion of unity and friendship among the peoples of various countries and the defence of world peace.

In recognition of the great part played by the Indonesian people and their President, the message said:

The steadfastness shown and the outstanding contributions made by Your Excellency the President and the Indonesian people for holding GANEFO have won the praise and respect of the Chinese people.

On November 10 all national dailies in China carried editorials hailing the first GANEFO. *Renmin Ribao* described the games as an embodiment of the Bandung spirit and a manifestation of the irresistible historical current of the contemporary world—the national democratic movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The paper noted that GANEFO is a big step forward in the development of physical culture in the new emerging countries and also a major triumph in the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Concluding, *Renmin Ribao* stated: "GANEF0 represents the vigorous rising forces in international sports. Its torch, once lit, will never go out. However fervently the imperialists and reactionaries may pray for the failure of GANEFO, it will shine ever brighter."

Already, those cynical Western correspondents who shrugged their shoulders at the first GANEFO may be finding it very uncomfortable to make hasty conclusions. On November 11, Chinese weightlifter Second Lieutenant Li Chi-yuan broke the official world record in the bantamweight class snatch event with a mark of 108 kilogrammes. On the same day in Djakarta, a second weightlifting world record, in the bantamweight class, was made when Li Heung Chun of the Korean Democratic People's Republic jerked 141 kilogrammes on his fourth try. On the following day, 24-year-old Sin Kim Dan (Korea) broke the world record in the women's 800-metres with a time of 1 m. 59.1 sec. Thus, as GANEFO got under way, a good start had been made on the field.

Meanwhile, in China interest in the Djakarta games was at high pitch throughout the country. Newspapers and radio were devoting extra space and time to daily coverage of the events. In Peking readers of the twice-weekly *Tiyu Bao* (Sporting News) were given an added fillip in the form of daily editions from the beginning to the end of the Djakarta games.

Visit to a People's Commune at Harvest Time

by WU CHANG-WEN

CHINA'S centuries-old Great Wall divides into two lines in north Shansi where the northern one becomes a natural provincial border. Bounded by the two lines of the Great Wall is the Yenpei region, a battlefield of antiquity long associated with low farm yields and poverty. In post-liberation years, the peasants there have substantially increased farm yields and raised their standards of living.

However, natural calamities have not ceased affecting Yenpei's 11 counties. For three years running, 1960-62, serious drought hit hard. As a local saying goes, "Serious drought won't last more than three years." The peasants expected better weather in 1963. Contrary to other regions in Shansi, from May to September Yenpei battled another drought. With this in mind, I set out for the county of Shuohsien in Yenpei.

Commune Stands on Its Feet

Leaving the county town of Shuohsien, I drove north to the Xiaopingyi People's Commune. The commune stands at the foot of a mountain 10 kilometres to the north of the county town. It has 61,000 *mu* of cultivated land and over 12,000 inhabitants. Its 18 production brigades are divided into 92 production teams. One half of the commune extends to mountain areas.

Approaching Xiaopingyi, things were quite different from what I had imagined. It was early September and harvesting was in progress in the early autumn cold. Stacks of sorghum, maize, millet and other crops were piled high on the threshing grounds.

Soon after arrival, I struck up a conversation with an old peasant. As far as he could remember this was the first time the area had had a rich harvest in a serious drought year.

Xiaopingyi produced less than 100 *jin* of grain per *mu* in 1957 when the peasants were organized in advanced farm co-ops. Even this low yield exceeded what they had reaped working their own farms. In 1958 the new commune gathered in a record harvest. After 1959, drought reduced grain output between 1960 and 1962, but commune members still got harvests better or close to the 1957 figure. Things went much better this year and commune members were expecting to have a harvest almost one-third heavier than in 1957, which meant grain output would near the 1958 high mark.

Like so many others, the peasants of Xiaopingyi look upon the present in terms of the past. Many of them clearly remember the miserable life they led before liberation. More than 80 per cent of the households in the mountain districts had no bedding at all. Only a couple of the 20 villages were self-sufficient in grain. A large number of peasants were hired farmhands or lived by begging. Now every household has adequate bedding. Even clocks, radios and bicycles are becoming a common thing in the commune. Xiaopingyi produces more grain than it needs. This year the commune plans to sell 1,290 tons of surplus grain to the state. People here do not find it difficult to imagine what would have happened if there had been drought year after year before liberation.

Aware of the fact that past sufferings have been overcome, I asked the secretary of the Communist Party branch how this had been done. "At first thought," he replied, "your question seems fairly simple to answer." He paused and then said: "But it needs much more to explain the advantages of the people's commune. We have to go back to 1958, the year of its founding."

What I learnt was how the peasants fought nature and its calamities, and how the commune helped them in their battle.

Water: Decisive Factor

Yenpei is a dry area, but not without water. The difficulty was the resources involved in building projects to store water and lead it into the fields. A few landlords had dug irrigation channels prior to liberation, using them to exploit the peasantry. The farm co-ops extended the irrigated land to some extent, but limited resources made progress slow. Even as late as 1957 there was still only a small area under irrigation. Since water meant grain in Shuohsien County, several co-ops pooled their efforts to build a reservoir in 1958. Then came the formation of the commune. Because it mobilized more manpower and resources than the co-ops and the state and the neighbouring communes all lent a hand in its construction, the reservoir was soon completed.

The work to get water into the fields was not easy. The main irrigation channel had to cut across a ridge and four gullies; the ridge had to be levelled and the gullies filled in. The commune members had failed five times before they finally built this channel. Now, nearly 90 per cent of the commune's land is accessible to irrigation. Yields on 46,600 *mu* are

assured in case of a long spring drought. Crop yields on another 8,000 *mu* will not be affected even if it failed to rain for a year.

A rich harvest in a drought year is not a gift of nature, but the result of extra hard work. Members of the Xiaopingyi Commune won out because they made use of the large-scale collective strength which has been developed in the past five years.

Improved Farming

Machine ploughing, chemical fertilizer and electricity have been introduced on the farms of Xiaopingyi. Apart from running the mills and lifting underground water, electricity is being used to light the homes of one-third of the population.

Reforms have also been made in farming techniques and cultivation. For instance, the local peasants were not accustomed to plant maize which is resistant to wind, hail and frost and is well-adapted to Yenpei weather. Even after they had been organized into collective farming, only a handful of farm co-ops planted it in limited areas before 1958. The Xiaopingyi Commune made a great effort to popularize the growing of maize and sum up its successful experiences year after year. Sown area has now risen to 9,000 *mu* and per-*mu* yields also have risen substantially. This year's harvest owed a great deal to the expanded area sown to maize.

Farming is becoming more intensive step by step. Autumn ploughing used to spare one-third of the fields in the past, now every plot is duly ploughed. Harrowing and hoeing are being done more thoroughly and frequently than before. In short, the commune has begun to switch to intensive farming.

Collective Spirit

While the people's commune has been overcoming low yields, it has also changed the members' outlook. Over the past five years, every time they fought drought they got a deeper understanding of the road to common prosperity by relying on the collective strength of the commune and through determined battle against nature.

A heavy rainstorm flooded the village of Kengchuang in July 1962. Early next morning more than 700 people from 11 brigades rushed to the village. As soon as these commune members arrived, they immediately drained off the waters from the fields, collected property floating about and repaired the dykes. Two brigades sent eight carts to transport grain and fuel, and the commune's hospital dispatched four fully equipped doctors.

Assistance from neighbouring Muchai Village particularly moved Kengchuang's peasants. Instigated by the landlords before liberation, the two villages had quarrelled and fought constantly over the priority to use water. Although strife had diminished in farm co-op days, contradictions still remained over water rights. It was only when both villages joined the same commune that final traces of contention were ended. Though slightly affected by the same storm, Muchai's peasants gave up their own work to close gaps in a breached channel in Kengchuang.

Water quarrels have been replaced by mutual support. The use of water is more beneficial because of better planning. For instance, 7,000 *mu* sown to maize consist of a big tract of land so the fields can be watered more or less simultaneously.

Such collective actions have helped many commune members come through natural calamities. For instance, when peasant Wang Chu saw his collapsed house after last year's flood, he could not help think aloud: "What can I do now?" He was harking back to a childhood flood when his family lost their grain and clothes. Seeing no future in the village, his father went elsewhere to make a living while the boy and his mother were forced to become beggars. This time, inspired by quick support from commune brigades and the concern shown by the commune and local government, Wang naturally sees things from a different angle. Enthused, he went ahead with other members working to save the crops. Now, he is living in a new house and working with confidence in the future.

Cadres Take Part in Labour

Cadres' participation in collective productive labour has played a significant role in the good harvests of recent years. Xiaopingyi's cadres at all levels have consistently worked alongside commune members in the fields. By adhering to this tradition, they unite with the members as a team, understand their feelings, grasp the production situation and spot production problems whenever they emerge. As a result, they are close to the members and able to solve the problems in time by taking them up with the members.

A good example has been set by the Party secretary of the commune. Toiling for the landlords at 14, he has become a veteran peasant skilled in all type of farm work. He uses every opportunity to work with the members and is in the lead wherever there is difficulty. All the cadres in the commune office have a complete set of handy farm tools and like the secretary do collective labour. Inspired by these examples, brigade and team cadres also regularly take part in the productive labour of their respective units.

"Xiaopingyi" in Chinese means small and smooth going. But I discovered that in the commune all was neither small nor "smooth going" in the past five years. In view of its location and general natural conditions, any visitor would be impressed were this commune able to have a normal harvest even when the weather co-operates. In spite of a long spell of drought, what Xiaopingyi got this autumn was an extremely rich harvest.

Many more people's communes in Yenpei experienced the same drought and did equally well in their farm production. To fairly assess their achievements, one cannot limit their success merely to a grain increase. History is being made in Yenpei — turning the traditional lean years of drought and flood into fat years of bumper harvest, turning fluctuating low yields into constantly expanding output, and turning the peasants' passive attitude towards natural calamities into one of positive action against them. As the people's commune grows, nothing will be able to reverse this direction.

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S.-Indian Collusion

Joint Air Exercise

With some 4,000 Indian and 1,000 American, British and other Western air force personnel taking part, the joint war game on China's border is one more visible proof that Nehru now sits in the lap of U.S. imperialism.

New Delhi has gone a long way since it ordered the massive attack on China in October last year. At the expense of India's sovereignty and national interest, the Nehru government has opened the country's doors wide to U.S. penetration. In the military field, U.S. officers have examined India's "defence programme" and evaluated Indian military units, while a permanent U.S. military mission is to "inspect and study" the use of U.S. "aid." New Delhi, furthermore, undertakes to supply military intelligence to the Pentagon. Now that the U.S. air force is allowed to operate right on Indian territory—these air exercises are to be repeated every 3 to 6 months—it can truly be said that, although India has not yet formally joined a U.S.-sponsored military alliance, her rulers have put her and themselves at the disposal of the U.S. global strategy of conquest. This is the price New Delhi pays for the arms, munitions and other war equipment it receives from Washington.

The joint air exercise is clearly directed against China. This neither New Delhi nor Washington bothers to hide. But it is also a fact that the harnessing of India to the American war chariot and the joining of Indian big-nation expansionist ambitions to U.S. imperialist designs pose a threat to South and Southeast Asia. The sharp reaction of the press in Pakistan, Burma and other countries in this region shows that the people there are aware of this.

Nehru tries to justify his sellout to Washington by constant public references to non-existent Chinese "aggression." Yet, while he has stubbornly rejected China's repeated offer to settle the boundary dispute by

negotiation, he has allowed U.S. armed forces to set foot on Indian soil and "exercise" over Indian territory. India is a victim of U.S. aggression, not China's.

The joint air exercise will be another eye opener for the Indian people. It will enable them to see whither Nehru, with his anti-China and anti-communist crusade, is leading their great country. Sooner or later they will rise up to drive from their land the wolf of U.S. imperialism which has stalked in at the back door.

Japan

China, Yes! U.S., No!

At a Tokyo mass rally on November 7, representatives of 63 political parties and mass organizations—including the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the General Council of Trade Unions and the Japan-China Friendship Association—called for the immediate restoration of diplomatic relations with China. Denouncing the U.S. scheme of "containing China," they advocated increased economic and cultural exchanges between Japan and China. At the same time, they demanded the dismantling of all U.S. bases in Japan, an end to the Japan-south Korea talks, a complete ban on nuclear weapons and the setting up of a nuclear-free zone in the Asian and Pacific region.

The Tokyo rally, which was the culmination of a Friendship With China Month, reflects the mood of the Japanese people. It has added a new demand to those put forward by the recent 12th and 13th united actions against U.S. nuclear war preparations and the stationing of U.S. atomic submarines and nuclear-capable aircraft in Japan. With workers, peasants, students, housewives, intellectuals and religious believers supporting them, these demands have become the battle cries for mass movements.

In today's context, the long-standing aspiration of the Japanese people for closer ties with China is playing

an ever greater role in their country's political life. More and more people see that the U.S. policy of hostility towards China is directed as much against themselves as against the Chinese people. Under the pretext of "containing China," Washington imposed the hated "Security Treaty" on Japan to serve its own aggressive designs and speed up the revival of Japanese militarism; it has set up war bases in Japan and is storing nuclear weapons there; it hopes to rig up a northeast Asian military alliance through the Japan-south Korea talks. Each of these moves pushes Japan closer to war. Hence the mounting opposition to Washington's anti-China policy.

The people of Japan recognize American imperialism for what it is. In recent years, they have courageously countered each new U.S. aggressive move. To Washington's policy of using Japan to pull its chestnuts out of the fire and of making Asians fight Asians—they have now answered with a resounding call for friendship with China.

Dry Season in Laos

Plotters Will Get Wet

As the dry season approaches, indications are mounting that the "ugly Americans" are plotting yet another large-scale military venture in the war-torn country of Laos. Washington and its Savannakhet stooges have been worsted time and again by the Laotian people but they are foolish enough to think that this time it will be different.

Lately, military probes have been renewed against the positions of the Pathet Lao Fighting Units and the true neutralists. Simultaneously with "mopping-up" operations in lower Laos, Savannakhet troops and arms have been rushed to Xieng Khouang and the Plain of Jars. Strafings and bombings have increased. In October alone, 208 supply flights by Air America were recorded, showing that preparations for a large-scale offensive are being stepped up. (A C-46 transport of this paramilitary outfit was brought down in September over the Pathet Lao Fighting Units' territory and its mixed American-Thai-Chiang gangster crew captured.)

In Vientiane itself, the Savannakhet forces have continued to harass the residences of the Neo Lao Haksat delegation while evading a meeting of the three parties to the Laotian Government to implement previous tripartite agreement to ensure the city's neutrality.

Another sure sign that Washington is up to its tricks is the new hullabaloo the State Department has raised about alleged Vietnamese supply of arms to the Pathet Lao Fighting Units. Significantly, the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Pacific Forces, Felt, has also told newsmen that "there are bound to be problems" in Laos after the rainy season is over. This brasshat was lately in Bangkok for a SEATO military advisors meeting before engineering the Saigon coup. It all looks like a repeat of Washington's time-worn tactics of "the thief crying 'stop thief'" — so familiar in Laos.

The Neo Lao Haksat has given a timely exposure of this U.S. plot. Its official spokesman has called the world's attention to the danger of Washington's intensified military intervention. Repeating even at this hour its earlier call for genuine negotiations to restore the Laotian Government of National Union, it has rebuffed the latest military provocations as resolutely as it did the earlier political bullyings. Should Washington and Savannakhet insist on a show-down in the field, another Nam Tha is waiting for them.

British Guiana

Whitehall Reneges

Bowing to U.S. pressure, Whitehall has reneged on its 1961 promise to fix within two years a date for British Guiana's independence. Instead, Colonial Secretary Duncan Sandys has imposed on the country a new electoral system intended to unseat the democratically elected government of Dr. Cheddi Jagan. These decisions were dictated to the recent constitutional conference in London.

Despite great odds, Dr. Jagan's People's Progressive Party won a majority in all three previous elections (1953, 1957 and 1961). By right it should become the government of an independent Guiana this year. But because its progressive programme is anathema to British and especially

American imperialism, which regards the entire Western Hemisphere as its own domain, strenuous attempts have been made to overthrow the Jagan government while postponing the date of Guiana's independence. In February and again in April this year London and Washington jointly incited local riots to sow internal dissension, particularly between Negroes and East Indians. Now, by a system of "proportional representation," which will actually deny more than half of the population their right to vote, they hope to defeat the P.P.P. and win a majority for their local henchmen in next year's election.

However, the last word has not yet been said. Dr. Jagan has declared that his government will not be bound by the British decisions. "We shall have to begin a reassessment of the whole situation to find out how much confidence one can put in these so-called declarations and intentions of our colonial masters. Whether the road ahead will be peaceful or violent will

be determined to a large extent by Mr. Sandys' decision," he told a London audience before leaving for home.

Shorter Notes

Belgian Communists who uphold Marxism-Leninism have launched a new fortnightly journal called the *People's Voice*. Wrote Jacques Grippa, First Secretary of the Brussels Federation of the Belgian Communist Party and political director of the journal, in the first issue: Class struggle requires that the Communist Parties issue their own newspapers. He added that in the past few years, militant journals dedicated to Marxism-Leninism had not been published in Belgium. The new magazine would serve the working class and labouring masses in their daily struggle with the capitalists and the capitalist state and act as their spokesman in defence of their genuine interests.

THE PASSING SHOW

Generous Yankees



gress — the Latin Americans get the alliance, and U.S. monopolies make the progress.

You take our junk — we take your company: this is the New Frontiersmen's latest brainstorm for their "cousins" below the border. Under this new "foreign aid" programme, now being studied by the Organization of American States, U.S. companies will pass obsolete tools on to Latin American firms not for cash but for their stock. A true *Alliance for Pro-*

Straight From the Horse's Mouth

On September 23, the *U.S. News and World Report* carried the following item on south Viet Nam:

An American who was instrumental in bringing President Diem into power in south Viet Nam nearly 10 years ago is now trying to break up the Diem family monopoly. He explains: "It's the fortunes of war. First you set them up, then you knock them down."

On November 1, Diem was down — and dead.

Beyond the Pale

Sewsunker Sewgolum, better known as Papwa, is rated one of the best golfers in South Africa. He won the Natal Open this year at the Durban Country Club from a field of 114. But he did not beat South Africa's apartheid policy. All the other place-getters were given their prizes in the club house. Papwa had to stand outside in the rain to receive his — because his skin is dark.



MUSIC

A Unique Vocal Recital

Kuo Lan-ying, 34-year-old prima donna of the Central Opera and Dance Drama Theatre, recently took musical Peking by storm. Her vocal recital was lauded as a major event in the capital's musical life. It was the first ever given on a concert stage by a vocalist singing in the Chinese style. All three concerts sold out in advance and large crowds had to be turned away. Weeks have gone by and the recital remains a conversation piece among music lovers.

Kuo Lan-ying has become a household name in China through playing the title role in the popular opera *The White-Haired Girl* for the past 15 years. But she showed more facets of her talent at the recent recital. Trained as a Shansi *bangzi* opera singer, she has made the most of the possibilities of this style of singing and has gone on to develop a style of her own by combining the best in different types of *bangzi* operas and of north China folk songs.

Her varied programme was made up of four distinct groups of songs: modern songs, selections from traditional *bangzi* operas from Shansi, Honan and Hopei Provinces, folk songs and selections from what is known as the "new opera" (a new form dealing chiefly with contemporary themes that has been evolved since 1919 from traditional Chinese operas by assimilating elements of European opera). She was accompanied by a Chinese-style orchestra using 2-stringed fiddles, bamboo flutes, mouth organs, lutes, dulcimers, etc.

Kuo Lan-ying has a lustrous voice. She is capable of a lyrical legato as well as a ringing fortissimo, and her delivery is intelligent. She lightens and darkens her tone to convey a whole range of emotions. Her singing of the popular *Song of Women's Freedom* was in a class by itself. Not content with using the more superficial means of dynamic and rhythmic variations to contrast the suffering of women in the old society and their happiness in the new, she went much deeper, turning her excellent diction to good account.

Kuo's singing of the three different types of *bangzi* shed light on how she

developed such expressive power. She was, of course, in her element with Shansi *bangzi*, and her middle register was glorious. By adding elements of the deep, sonorous style of delivery of Honan *bangzi* and the soaring quality of Hopei *bangzi*, she had the best of all three.

Kuo Lan-ying is best known as a singer of *bangzi* and new opera. But at this recital she impressed the audience with yet another facet of her talent—folk singing. She sang folk songs from Shansi, northern Shensi and the northeast. One of the songs from the northeast combines dialogue, singing and acting and depicts the working people most vividly. Kuo Lan-ying handled this so well that she had to give two encores.

Her *White-Haired Girl* was as authentic as ever, but the audience also found something new in her opera singing—a refined and penetrating portrayal of Tou Ngo—tragic heroine in *Tou Ngo Is Wronged*. Kuo Lan-ying sang Tou Ngo with a deep anguish and passion that was thoroughly convincing.

SHORT NOTES

Hsu Pei-hung Exhibition. An exhibition of 206 works by the famous Chinese painter Hsu Pei-hung (Ju Péon 1895-1953) recently opened in Peking. The exhibit in the Museum of Chinese Art marks the tenth anniversary of the artist's death.

The most comprehensive collection of Hsu Pei-hung's works, the present showing contains the painter's best and most representative works in traditional Chinese style, oils and sketches, and calligraphy covering the period from his youth to his death. Some paintings have never been shown before. From it viewers can trace the artist's growing maturity and artistic attainment.



Against the Wind

Traditional Chinese painting by Hsu Pei-hung (1936)

Many of Hsu Pei-hung's works before liberation, especially his paintings after middle age, reflect the artist's deep love of his country and sympathy for the oppressed. His many large scrolls and huge oil paintings done at this period depict the unswerving determination and dauntless spirit of the people, conveying their desire for a new life. Hsu Pei-hung was best known for his animals. A galloping horse, a roaring lion, a cock crowing at dawn or a flock of sparrows flying against a swirling wind, all reflect the artist's militant spirit.

Also on display are sketches of his unfinished oils *Chairman Mao Lives Among the People*, *Lu Hsun* and *Chu Chiu-pai*, as well as portraits of peasants, army men and model workers done after the founding of New China.

* * *
"Children's Literature." The first issue of this new quarterly for children came out on October 1 this year, bringing the nation's small fry a wide selection of stories of the revolution, science fiction, fairy tales, poems and comic dialogues. Among its contributors are such well-known writers of children's stories as Yeh Sheng-tao, Chang Tien-yi and Hsieh Ping-hsin. The delightful illustrations by Hua Chun-wu and Huang Yung-yu attract children of all ages.

RADIO PEKING's

English Language Transmissions

	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres
EUROPE	20:30-21:30 (G.M.T.)	6210, 7080	48.3, 42.4
	21:30-22:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	7230, 9457	41.5, 31.7
	21:30-22:30 (G.M.T.)	6210, 6270	48.3, 47.9
	22:30-23:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	7080, 7230 9457	42.4, 41.5 31.7
NORTH AMERICA (East Coast)	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	7035, 9480 11945, 15095	42.6, 31.7 25.1, 19.9
	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	7035, 9480 11945, 15095	42.6, 31.7 25.1, 19.9
NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	7080, 9457 9755, 11820	42.4, 31.7 30.8, 25.4
	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	7080, 9457 9755, 11820	42.4, 31.7 30.8, 25.4
AUSTRALIA and NEW ZEALAND	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.)	9457, 11650	31.7, 25.8
	20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	15060, 17835	19.9, 16.8
	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.)	9457, 11650	31.7, 25.8
	21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	15060, 17835	19.9, 16.8
SOUTHEAST ASIA	19:30-20:30 (Djakarta, Singapore)	1190, 7035	252, 42.6
	20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila)	9650, 11800	31.1, 25.4
	19:00-20:00 (Bangkok)	15060	19.9
	18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)		
CEYLON, INDIA, NEPAL, and PAKISTAN	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo)	6025, 7315	49.8, 41.0
	19:00-20:00 (West Pakistan)	7350, 9480	40.8, 31.7
	20:00-21:00 (East Pakistan)	11740	25.6
	19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)		
	20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo)	6025, 7350	49.8, 40.8
	20:00-21:00 (West Pakistan)	9480, 11740	31.7, 25.6
	21:00-22:00 (East Pakistan)		
	20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)		
	21:30-22:30 (Delhi)	1190	252
	21:00-22:00 (West Pakistan)		
22:00-23:00 (East Pakistan)			
21:40-22:40 (Kathmandu)			
AFRICA	19:00-20:00 (Dar Es Salaam)	6325, 7350	47.4, 40.8
	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury)	9860, 12055	30.4, 24.9
	19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury)	6325, 7350	47.4, 40.8
	20:00-21:00 (Dar Es Salaam)	9860, 12055	30.4, 24.9
	17:15-18:15 (Monrovia)	6290, 7335	47.7, 40.9
	18:00-19:00 (Accra, Freetown)	9860, 12055	30.4, 24.9
	19:00-20:00 (Lagos)		
	20:00-21:00 (Cairo)		
	20:45-21:45 (Monrovia)	5950, 7370	50.4, 40.7
	21:30-22:30 (Freetown, Accra)	7480, 9570	40.1, 31.4
22:30-23:30 (Lagos)			

SCHEDULE SINCE OCTOBER 31, 1963