

PEKING REVIEW

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

Radio Peking

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRANSMISSIONS

	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres
EUROPE	04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30 (G.M.T.) 21:30-22:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	6210, 7080 9457	48.3, 42.4 31.7
	05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30 (G.M.T.) 22:30-23:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	6210, 6270 7080, 9457	48.3, 47.9 42.4, 31.7
NORTH AMERICA (East Coast)	09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	7035, 9480 11945, 15095	42.6, 31.7 25.1, 19.9
	10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	7035, 9480 11945, 15095	42.6, 31.7 25.1, 19.9
NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)	11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00 (F.S.T.)	7080, 9457 15115, 11820	42.4, 31.7 19.9, 25.4
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AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND	16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	9457, 11650 15060, 17835	31.7, 25.8 19.9, 16.8
	17:30-18:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	9457, 11650 15060, 17835	31.7, 25.8 19.9, 16.8
SOUTHEAST ASIA	20:00-21:00	19:30-20:30 (Djakarta, Singapore) 20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila) 19:00-20:00 (Bangkok) 18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)	1190, 7035 9650, 11800 15060	252, 42.6 31.1, 25.4 19.9
CEYLON, INDIA, NEPAL & PAKISTAN	22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 19:00-20:00 (West Pakistan) 20:00-21:00 (East Pakistan) 19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)	7300, 7350 9480, 11740	41.1, 40.8 31.7, 25.6
	23:00-24:00	20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 20:00-21:00 (West Pakistan) 21:00-22:00 (East Pakistan) 20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)	7300, 7350 9480, 11740	41.1, 40.8 31.7, 25.6
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	01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 20:00-21:00 (Dar Es Salaam)	7350, 9860 12055, 15095	40.8, 30.4 24.9, 19.9
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April 10, 1964

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the Royal Government of Laos, visited Peking on April 4-7.
- The delegation of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party returned to Peking after its visit to the Korean Democratic People's Republic.
- The head of the Chinese delegation to the Eighth Congress of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers in Budapest denounced the splitting activities of the Soviet delegate and called for adherence to the line of unity against imperialism and opposition to the line of capitulation and split.
- The Cambodian military delegation left China after a visit of more than three weeks.
- China refutes fresh Indian fabrications and slanders aimed at poisoning the eased situation on the Sino-Indian border.
- The spring farming season is in full swing throughout the land.
- The Chinese press reported a resolution by Marxist-Leninist members of the Communist Party of Chile condemning the leadership of their Party for following the revisionist stand of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Laotian Premier Visits Peking

Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the Royal Government of Laos, and the government delegation led by him paid a four-day friendly visit to Peking over the weekend at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai. They arrived in the capital on April 4, and were warmly welcomed at the airport by Premier Chou and other leaders.

In the evening of the same day, Premier Chou En-lai gave a banquet in honour of the delegation in the Great Hall of the People. Toasting and welcoming his guests Premier Chou recalled Prince Souvanna Phouma's several meetings with Chinese leaders (this is the Prince's fourth visit to China since 1956), meetings which had fostered Sino-Laotian friendship. Together with that traditional friendship between China and Laos he stressed the common wish and interests of the two countries in combating imperialist aggression and safeguarding peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. China and Laos based their

friendly relations on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference, he said, and the continued growth of those friendly relations not only conformed to the desires of the people of China and Laos, but was also in the interest of safeguarding peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

Referring specifically to the Laotian question, the Chinese Premier emphasized that "the countries concerned must strictly abide by the provisions of the Geneva agreements and undertake to respect the independence and neutrality of Laos." He charged the U.S. imperialists with repeatedly violating the Geneva agreements and ceaselessly creating tension in Laos.

"As a close neighbour of Laos and a participant of the Geneva Conference," Premier Chou said, "China is deeply concerned about the development of the situation in Laos. The Chinese Government consistently respects the independence and

neutrality of Laos, faithfully fulfils the international duty it has undertaken and resolutely opposes imperialist aggression and interference in Laos.

"We are confident that, free from foreign interference, the Laotian people, by relying on the unity and co-operation of the patriotic forces throughout the country, will be able to overcome the obstacles in their way, get over their difficulties and embark on the road of independence of their own choosing," the Premier declared.

Premier Chou expressed China's support for the Cambodian Government's proposal to convene an international conference to guarantee Cambodia's neutrality; he also declared China's opposition to the criminal U.S. imperialist activities in turning south Viet Nam into a U.S. colony and military base and violating the Geneva agreements. He stated: "In discussing the Laotian question, we cannot fail to see the present grave situation involving all Indo-China."

On behalf of the Laotian delegation, Prince Souvanna Phouma thanked his Chinese hosts for their enthusiastic welcome. "Our visit today, like our previous visits to you, signifies that we wish each time to strengthen further the ties of friendship between our two countries," he added.

Foreign interference had not ended in Laos in June 1962, he went on. The Laotian Government of National Union was today dispersed and paralysed. "It is necessary to find a solution as soon as possible in order to give life to the 1962 agreements," the Laotian Premier said.

During his stay in Peking, the Laotian Premier held talks with Premier Chou En-lai in a friendly atmosphere and was received by Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China. The distinguished Laotian guests concluded their visit to Peking on April 7. A joint communique was later published. (See p.10.)

Cambodian Guests Leave China

After more than three weeks' visit, the Cambodian military delegation

left China on April 4. It carried with it the friendship of the Chinese people and, as head of the delegation Lieutenant-General Lon Nol put it, the conviction that "the Chinese leaders and people back Cambodia's struggle against imperialism and new and old colonialism." The warm send-off at the airport by more than 500 officers of the ground, naval and air forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army abundantly proved this.

On March 31, when the delegation returned to Peking after a tour of east China, Chairman Mao Tse-tung received all its members and had a friendly talk with them. On the eve of their departure Marshal Ho Lung, Vice-Premier, and Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A., gave a banquet in their honour.

Toasting Sino-Cambodian friendship on that occasion, General Lo said that the delegation's visit had made fresh contributions to the strengthening of friendly ties between the two countries. The General strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for its continuing subversive activities and provocations against Cambodia.

Referring to Sino-Cambodian co-operation, General Lo expressed the conviction that the people of the two countries would continue to support each other in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism. "The Chinese people," he declared, "are ready to contribute their strength at any moment. They will always be the reliable friends of the Cambodian people."

Lieutenant-General Lon Nol, in his speech, expressed satisfaction that his delegation had fulfilled its mission of strengthening the friendship between Cambodia and China, and especially between their armed forces. "China's support for Cambodia," he said, "is of great significance. It has inspired us in the struggle for world peace and against aggression by imperialism and its lackeys. In this struggle, Cambodia will always stand side by side with China."

New Delhi's Slanders Refuted

After taking the initiative in effecting the ceasefire, the Chinese frontier guards on December 1, 1962, began to withdraw along the entire

Sino-Indian border. By the end of February the next year, they had completed their withdrawal to areas 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control on November 7, 1959, on the Chinese side. This was a major effort on the part of China to stop the border conflict and promote peaceful negotiations to settle the boundary question.

In contrast to these and other concrete steps to lessen tension and prepare the way for fruitful negotiations, New Delhi has resorted again and again to spreading lies and slanders aimed at aggravating the border situation and giving fresh impetus to its anti-Chinese propaganda. Its latest fabrication is the allegation that the Chinese troops on the western sector of the Sino-Indian border have been setting up stone cairns to mark the line of actual control between China and India. This story was put about in the note handed by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs to the Chinese Embassy in India on February 26. The fact is, of course, that since withdrawing on their own initiative the Chinese frontier guards have never entered the 20-kilometre zone behind the line of actual control on the Chinese side, let alone set up stone cairns there.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry in its March 31 reply to the Indian Embassy refutes New Delhi's charge as absurd. The note said: "The Chinese Government consistently holds that its boundary questions should be settled through friendly consultations with its neighbouring countries and then the boundaries should be jointly demarcated. It has never approved of any unilateral action. With regard to the line of actual control along the Sino-Indian border, the Chinese Government consistently holds that, pending a settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, both China and India should strictly abide by this line and neither side may upset the status quo on the boundary by unilateral action. The exact location of the line of actual control along the Sino-Indian border has long been published by the Chinese Government in both descriptions and maps for the

world to see. Any breach of the line of actual control cannot possibly escape notice. Under such circumstances, what is the need for the Chinese side to be anxious to mark the line of actual control by setting up stone cairns?"

It is worth noting that while the Indian Government asserted that Chinese troops were setting up stone cairns in the region of Aksai Chin, it failed to give any specific locations. The Indian note said that the Chinese troops were setting up stone cairns "during these last few weeks" and were still doing so "now." Evidently the Indian Government has overlooked the fact that the period indicated was winter time when the Aksai Chin border region was snowbound. Moreover, the line of actual control on the Sino-Indian border between the Aksai Chin area of China and Ladakh is several hundred kilometres long. It is fantastic to imagine that Chinese troops should be setting up stone cairns along such a great distance in such weather.

In its February 26 note, New Delhi also attacked China for establishing seven civilian check-posts in the western sector of the border. The Chinese note said that this unscrupulous attack exposed the Indian Government's "sinister motives" in playing the "stone cairns" trick. "The 20-kilometre demilitarized zone," the Chinese note pointed out, "which is formed as a result of the withdrawal made by the Chinese frontier guards on China's own initiative from the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, has always been Chinese territory and under the effective control of the Chinese Government." The seven check-posts mentioned are located at places where China used to maintain frontier posts even before November 7, 1959—a fact which India itself partially recognized.

With this fabrication about the stone cairns, the Indian Government charged China with an action "in direct contradiction to China's acceptance 'in principle' of the Colombo proposals." The Chinese note drew attention to the fact that the Chinese Government's support for

the peaceful efforts of the Colombo conference nations had won the appreciation of these nations and other Asian-African countries. "The Chinese Government," the note reiterated, "consistently holds that China and India should immediately enter into direct negotiations on the basis of the Colombo proposals for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question and hopes that the Indian Government will take the same attitude."

Prospering Tibet

Spring 1959 was no ordinary spring for Tibet. It sounded the death knell for the feudal serfdom that held that region in its paralysing grip for centuries. The swift quelling of the rebellion staged by the reactionary clique of the upper social strata there in March that year was the prelude to democratic reform throughout the area and the epoch-making changes of the past five years. Tibet today presents a picture of growing prosperity with the Tibetans building a new and happy life as one of the big, multinational family of China.

The week before last, leading officials and representatives of the people of Tibet held a meeting in Lhasa to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the defeat of the reactionary rebellion and the start of democratic reforms. Panchen Erdeni, Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, and other local officials who spoke gave an overall picture of the advances Tibet had made since 1959 and the promising future ahead.

Statistics quoted showed that, between 1959 and 1963, Tibet's agricultural output rose 50 per cent and its livestock increased 30 per cent. These gains were due, in large measure, to the mutual-aid teams which began to be formed in 1959 and are developing steadily. With nine out of every ten peasant households in the region as members, these teams have built many irrigation projects and brought more land under the plough. Over 70 per cent of Tibet's farmland is now irrigated and the total cultivated area is 20

per cent larger than in 1959. Most of these teams are temporary, seasonal organizations but more than 4,000, or 20 per cent of the total, are now organized on a permanent basis. They have the advantage of being able to do more planning and even set aside joint funds for capital construction. These advanced mutual-aid teams—a step ahead in co-operative activity—are playing an increasingly important role in the region's advance along the road to socialism.

Tibet is building its own industry. Power-generating capacity has quadrupled. Timber output has gone up 40 per cent. Among the new industrial enterprises set up in the past few years are tanneries, workshops for making farm tools, and food-processing and carpet-making factories.

Education and public health have also made rapid progress. Three middle schools have been established in Shigatse, Chamdo and Gyantse, while the one in Lhasa has been enlarged to give a full six-year course. The number of primary school pupils has shot past the 40,000 mark. Several new hospitals have been built, and the number of hospital beds is two and a half times as many today as in 1959.

Panchen Erdeni voiced the conviction of all Tibetans when he told the meeting: "Historical facts prove that the Tibetan people, like the other nationalities of China, can march along the broad road to happiness only when they are led by the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and stay in the big family of the motherland."

The basic cause for these achievements is, of course, the transformation of the social system from feudalism to the building of socialism. As Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, said at the Lhasa meeting: "Such progress would have been impossible if feudal serfdom had not been abolished. Nor would it have been possible if it were not for the revolution and the leadership of the Communist Party."

Strategy of "Flexible Response" and Its Contradictions

by HUNG FAN-TI

How flexible is Pentagon's strategy of "flexible response"? Can it solve the hydra-headed contradictions which made for the failure of the erstwhile U.S. strategy of "massive retaliation"?

SINCE the end of World War II, from Truman and Eisenhower down to Kennedy and Johnson, Washington has painstakingly attempted to work out a military strategy that would answer its purpose—world domination. No sooner had Truman failed to "contain communism," than the Republican Administration under Eisenhower came up with the idea of "massive retaliation" with the accent on "atomic retaliation," that is, nuclear blackmail. When this, too, flopped, the Democratic Administration under Kennedy hastened to replace it with the so-called strategy of "flexible response," that is, a strategy with more "flexible" means of aggression. With this strategy in operation for about three years, now apparently endorsed by the Johnson Administration, there already are indications that, compared with "massive retaliation," it has gone farther but fared worse.

The Nuclear Boomerang. After dropping the first atom bomb on Japan in August 1945, U.S. imperialism tried to exploit its monopoly of nuclear weapons in order to push its policies of aggression and war, to enslave the people all over the world. However, it was not long before its nuclear monopoly was undercut. As a result, the contradiction in Washington's old military strategy was that by trying to destroy others with nuclear weapons the United States also would be exposed to similar destruction. This danger was reiterated by the late President Kennedy at his November 14, 1963, press conference when he noted that the United States had not solved the problem of dealing "with a whole arsenal of missiles coming at us at maximum speed with decoys. That, up to now, has been the impossible task." The former strategy of "massive retaliation" was therefore criticized as one based on "a willingness to commit suicide."

Critics of the old strategy also ascribe its failure to overlooking the role conventional forces still can play. The fact is that U.S. policy of nuclear blackmail was unable to prevent the peoples of China, Korea, Viet Nam, Cuba and other countries from winning great victories in their revolutionary struggles. Washington policy makers thus have come to the conclusion that nuclear "threats" have fallen short of the needs of today's complicated world situation. In the face of the

nuclear stalemate and mounting global national-liberation movements, U.S. imperialism, after Kennedy assumed office, while maintaining the means of "massive retaliation," adopted the strategy of "flexible response." And this means preparing for both nuclear and conventional war and continuing strategic nuclear weapon development as a method of nuclear blackmail and threats as well as energetically developing tactical nuclear weapons in preparation for launching "limited nuclear wars" when necessary.

"Versatile Military Forces." The new strategy of "flexible response" consists of three doctrines: the so-called Doctrine of the Controlled Response, the Doctrine of Counter-Force Retaliation and the Doctrine of the Conventional Option.

Cutting through Pentagon gobbledygook, all this boils down to: (a) in a nuclear war it should be possible to "maintain" options and "even a nuclear war need not necessarily be a civilization-destroying 'multi-megadeath' [megadeath being shorthand for a million dead] war"; (b) the United States must have enough non-nuclear power so that it "cannot have nuclear warfare forced upon us because we have no choice"; (c) to preserve the fabric of American society, in the event of nuclear war the principal military object should be destruction of the enemy's military forces, not his civilian population. (Stewart Alsop, the *Saturday Evening Post*, Dec. 1, 1962.)

Thus, Washington's military masterminds have been knocking together assorted plans calling for "versatile military forces" that will enable the United States to fight all types of wars—nuclear, limited or special—and choose from among a number of operational plans "the level and kind of response" that is "most appropriate."

The "flexible response" strategists, therefore, besides favouring the continued, or more fanatical, development of missiles with nuclear warheads (that is to say, continued nuclear blackmail), also insist on the build-up of conventional armed forces to make up for the weakness in their predecessor's military concept. In this way Washington hopes to be able to deal with the people's revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to break the nuclear stalemate, and thereby carry out its plans for worldwide aggression and expansion.

General Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, described the new strategy as one

"geared to no one weapons system, to no fixed concept of future war." Taylor wrote this in his book *The Uncertain Trumpet* and seemed highly elated that this strategy, compared with "massive retaliation," would permit American leaders "a wide range of choice when at some future critical moment of history they must determine the appropriate military reaction required by our national interest." (*The Uncertain Trumpet*, Harper & Bros., N.Y., 1960.)

Falling Between Two Stools. On the surface the new U.S. strategy has somewhat rectified the "deficiencies" in the Eisenhower Administration's military outlook. But there is no such guarantee that in fighting a "conventional war," the other side will not resort to "atomic retaliation" since the "flexible response" strategists not only cling to "atomic retaliation" but actually intend to augment the power of atomic weapons and improve means of delivery. Granted that both sides will not use nuclear weapons, why then not destroy such weapons?

Furthermore, the thinking of U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara itself indicates that he does not believe the United States can possibly destroy its enemy and put down the world revolutionary movement even if it doubles or triples its military strength. Another point is that in the event of a global nuclear war, it is scarcely likely that the other side will not strike back at American cities. And, in destroying military targets, it is well nigh impossible for cities not to be involved. It is no secret that some of the U.S. nuclear arsenals are located close to urban areas. Moreover, the destruction of certain military targets where missiles are dug into the ground, necessitates ground-level nuclear shots which by their very nature mean blasts causing widespread fallout leading to mass destruction even in a so-called "no-cities war."

The "flexible response" idea men for years have been racking their brains for a satisfactory answer to these problems and failed. Under the new strategy, Washington has been spoiling for a fight: it tried "conventional" attacks on Cuba and was foiled; it has been trying "special warfare" in south Viet Nam only to find itself in a worsening situation. If the strategy of "massive retaliation" failed because of overemphasis on "atomic retaliation" while overlooking the role of "conventional warfare," then the strategy of "flexible response" is obviously falling between the stool of nuclear blackmail and the stool of "conventional" and "special" warfare.

"Special Warfare": A Frustrating Struggle

In his book, General Taylor makes specific reference to how the new military concept differs from the old way of looking at things. While the Eisenhower regime regarded the "atomic retaliatory force" as the sword and the conventional force the shield, the strategy of "flexible response," looks at "the atomic retaliatory force" as the "shield of protection" and makes limited warfare forces the flexible sword for parry, riposte, and attack.

Conventional Armament. In building up "versatile military forces" and strengthening "all-round power," U.S. imperialism, after Kennedy took office, reinforced its conventional forces while forcing its "allies" and satellites to follow suit. It envisaged an increase of 21 to 30 divisions within two years in NATO ground forces on the Central European front; it also increased its own combat-ready divisions from 11 to 16 in the last two years and ballooned its special counter-insurgency forces by nearly 600 per cent.

A Vulnerable Goliath. It is true that U.S. imperialism has more than one million men and thousands of planes around the world, but they are scattered in several hundred military bases in dozens of countries. If a conventional war breaks out American conventional forces anywhere may have to be called upon, thereby bringing on an overextended fighting front; widely dispersed, these forces could be subjected to attack from all over. This would be like the man trying to use his ten fingers to crush ten fleas simultaneously but unable to get one without losing the others.

This is how Stewart Alsop saw it in another *Saturday Evening Post* (March 31, 1963) article. During the Caribbean crisis, he wrote, "using American conventional forces to deal with the Castro menace was suggested and considered. But one argument against direct intervention . . . was that it might tie down far too great a proportion of our then available conventional forces. Estimates of the number of divisions needed to take and hold Cuba against determined guerrilla resistance ran as high as six — and higher. Thus between a third



Dangerous Act

Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

and a half of the available American ground forces might have been tied down in one insignificant island." Thus, as Alsop has put it, "it will be difficult — perhaps impossible — to provide Kennedy's 'choice' [for a conventional war]."

The tying down of its armed forces is a problem confronting the United States anywhere in the world. So long as U.S. imperialism makes itself the world's self-appointed gendarme it cannot solve this problem no matter how large the size of its conventional forces. In other words, the ambition of U.S. imperialism far exceeds its power and there is no way to overcome this fatal weakness, the strategy of "flexible response" or anything else.

When a global nuclear war means "committing suicide" and "it is difficult, perhaps impossible," to fight a conventional war Washington is left with no choice but "special warfare" which it has been carrying on for years. Reinforcing its military dispositions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, U.S. imperialism has made great efforts to expand its land, sea and air "special forces" to cope with the people's revolutionary movements in these areas.

Setbacks in S. Viet Nam. South Viet Nam was singled out as the proving ground for "special warfare." Besides shoring up Saigon with arms and money, the U.S. Government studies "anti-guerrilla tactics," trains "anti-guerrilla" troops, tests many weapons, makes full use of helicopters and engages in chemical warfare.

Although Washington has been generous with its handouts of weapons, they have changed hands on the south Vietnamese battlefield. "Viet Cong troops [the people's liberation forces]," reported the *Wall Street Journal* on September 26, 1963, "are known to have seized vast quantities of U.S.-made arms from government [puppet] troops." The paper quoted an American army staff officer as having said: "The Viet Cong has some of the best military equipment money can buy . . . all U.S. made and paid for." Thus, as a UPI dispatch (March 8, 1964) put it, "the massive quantities of American weapons and other military equipment pumped into this country have proportionately benefited the communist guerrillas more than they have the government [puppet] forces. Largely through the capture of these weapons, the Communists have now built themselves a formidable, hardcore fighting force." This is reminiscent of China's Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37). Chairman Mao Tse-tung then said, "We have a claim on the output of the arsenals of London as well as of Hanyang, and, what is more, it is to be delivered to us by the enemy's own transport corps. This is the sober truth, not a joke." (*Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War.*)

In "special warfare," the enemy not only provides the people's forces with arms and ammunition but also suffers great losses. Last year, the latter wiped out or put out of action more than 100,000 men of the 500,000 U.S.-trained and equipped puppet troops, including about 1,000 American military personnel. Beginning from this year, they have scored still more impressive victories.

Nonplussed, Washington has changed its Saigon agents twice in three months; alarmed, U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara has rushed to Saigon three times in less than six months. But neither a puppet shuffling nor a defence secretary's "inspection tour" can rescue "special warfare."

The authors of "flexible response" of which "special warfare" is an important part, claim that "special warfare" is the fruit of their studies of guerrilla warfare waged in China and other countries. They claim that in order to wipe out the people's guerrilla forces, it is necessary to keep the people under control. If the guerrilla forces, they say, are like fish and the people are the water in which the fish swim, and "if the temperature of the water is right, the fish will thrive and multiply." Thus, they reason that the "best way" to wipe out the people's guerrilla forces is to "control the temperature of the water" so that "the guerrilla fish do not thrive and multiply." (*Saturday Evening Post*, March 31, 1962.)

And how do they put their "theory" into practice? The American aggressors hope "to wipe out the communist guerrilla forces in one district within a given period" through their military "mopping-up" operations, i.e., to wipe out the people's guerrilla forces of uncertain whereabouts by means of "mobility" gained by the use of helicopters and amphibious armoured cars. At the same time, "strategic villages" are to be built all over the country to cut off links between the guerrillas and the masses. In other words, the U.S. "counter-guerrilla warfare" still counts on the use of weapons.

At first, according to American "special warfare" thinkers, 600 "strategic villages" could be built per month. Since there were some 15,000 villages in south Viet Nam, it was possible to establish such "villages" all over the country in two years' time. By then, it was calculated, there would be no place for the guerrilla forces and south Viet Nam would be "under control." This was the basis for the Staley-Taylor plan for the winning of the "special warfare" within 18 months, that is, by the end of 1962. As things stand, they grossly miscalculated. Instead, one-half of the population is today freed and two-thirds of south Viet Nam controlled by the people's revolutionary armed forces.

About a month ago, the British weekly *Tribune* summed up the situation: "Despite the presence of 16,000 American 'military advisers,' despite lavish supplies of American arms and equipment, despite the fact that south Viet Nam is under a military dictatorship, the Viet Cong guerrillas are winning the war." The reason, according to the weekly, was that the south Vietnamese revolutionary armed forces enjoy the support of the people.

NATO — "A Fallen Mirror"

The U.S. military-political establishment views its "free world" allies as cannon-fodder for conventional war, all the while maintaining its own nuclear monopoly in the Western world. In order to prevent its West European allies, mainly Britain and France, from having an

independent nuclear force, the Kennedy Administration devised the "multilateral nuclear force" project aiming to incorporate its allies' nuclear forces into the U.S.-controlled NATO.

Blows at U.S. Defence Policy. Britain takes strong exception to the project because it means dependence on the United States as far as nuclear force is concerned.

De Gaulle's France opposes the project even more strongly. Today, the deterioration of military relations between Paris and Washington finds expression not only in the question of nuclear arms but also in conventional forces. Paris is no longer a willing partner in NATO. It has withdrawn all its naval forces, its air force command and most of its ground forces while shifting its main naval port from Toulon in the Mediterranean to Brest in the Atlantic. Washington, too, has revamped its military posture in this part of the world. It has moved its main supply bases in France to West Germany and prolonged the use of Spanish bases—something which looks very much like an encirclement of its own ally!

The Lost Nail. Thus NATO becomes more divided than ever in the face of Washington's strategy of "flexible response." The British weekly the *Economist*, as early as July 28, 1962, comparing it to "a fallen mirror cracked by so many disputes," expressed doubt as to whether "it will ever reflect the unity of 1949 whole and clear again."

There are good reasons for the *Economist's* uncertainty. "The nail," it added, "that held the alliance in place was the nuclear monopoly of the United States" and "this has now been removed with shattering consequences."

Contradictions Among U.S. Ruling Circles

In carrying out "flexible response," Washington also encounters insurmountable contradictions within its own ruling circles.

Each Service Wants Its Own Way. Whatever general military strategy is mapped out by different administrations, each of the three services, in contending for and parcelling out military expenditures, always makes the specific armament programme a manifestation of its own thinking and aims. The Army, for instance, stockpiles its materiel on the basis of a prolonged war of attrition; the Air Force is ready for a short, lightning nuclear war; each of the three services develops its own missile systems. Speaking to the American Society of Newspaper Editors last year, McNamara remarked that "each of the services had a different concept of what kinds of wars we should be prepared to fight with the result that the forces under the Army, Navy and Air Force simply did not fit together in the way they must to maximize their combat effectiveness." This not only results in confusion in the implementation of military strategy but also in large-scale waste and armaments that overlap. In addition, it causes adverse effects on operational plans as well as added difficulties for the U.S. economy.

The new strategy thus calls for highly centralized military leadership. Defence Secretary McNamara, on the authority of the late President Kennedy, in recent years has searched for a number of measures supposedly geared to the new military look. These include giving the President and his defence secretary absolute control over wars; reorganizing the military command, depriving the chiefs of staff of the three services of their authority over direct command of the armed forces; unifying intelligence work, communications and logistics, and giving the Administration the final say in the development of major weapons systems and their purchases.

Struggle for Power. McNamara has thus not only aggravated the clash of interests between the various services but also has sharpened the traditional struggle for power between the non-military and military staff within Pentagon.

Far from solving the contradictions between the services and between the military and the Administration, McNamara has instead further deepened them. If the Eisenhower Administration's strategy of "massive retaliation" emphasizing a strategic air force brought forth Army opposition, the present strategy of "flexible response" has caused great dissatisfaction on the part of the Air Force and the Navy. Former Air Force Chief of Staff General Thomas White, in an article published in the *Saturday Evening Post* (May 4, 1963), criticized the prevailing military concept for having accepted the "atomic stalemate" and the new military programme for its "ever increasing dependence on static, inflexible, single mode weapons" as well as for its "major emphasis on conventional forces." Admiral George Anderson was removed from office because of his objection to the reorganization of the Naval Department which weakened his power as Chief of Naval Operations.

Hanson Baldwin, military commentator of the *New York Times*, wrote on Feb. 18, 1962, "In all of the services, but particularly in the Air Force and the Navy, there has been increasing frustration in the last two years and considerable resentment at what many officers consider to be the down-grading of military advice and the pronounced trend towards centralization of authority in the office of the Secretary of Defence."

Because Washington's military strategy is determined by monopoly capital, those contradictions that bring on wrangles between the Administration and the military and among the three services also reflect contradictions within the monopolies themselves which cannot be done away with.

Bone of Contention. Military contracts which promise huge profits have long been the bone of contention among various grasping business groups. All U.S. monopolies have their own representatives in the Army, Navy and Air Force. Many top brasshats are former high-ranking big business managerial personnel while the ranks of leading corporations have been swelled by retired military bigwigs. According to data given by a subcommittee of the U.S. House Military Committee there are over 1,400 retired high-ranking of-

ficars, including 261 generals, working for 100 military contractors. Thus, military leaders, in plumping for a particular military strategy, often have in mind the interests of a particular business or industry.

One such case was the quarrel over the 6,000 million TFX fighter-bomber contract between General Dynamics and Boeing last year. Although Boeing reportedly submitted a lower tender and better design, the Defence Department decided to order the new aircraft from General Dynamics; for this McNamara was accused of "favouritism" and "personal interests" because of his connections with the Rockefeller group, one of the financial giants behind General Dynamics.

Tying Its Own Feet

While the purse of the "defence industry" (missiles, electronics, conventional armaments, planes and subsidiary industries) is bulging greater than ever the same cannot be said for many sectors of the American economy.

The strategy of "flexible response" has added to the tax burden of the American public, with the bulk of it falling on those in the lower income brackets. The Kennedy Administration allocated about \$6,000 million more than the Eisenhower government to improve Washington's ability to deliver nuclear weapons to targets. It also invested some \$8,000 million more in non-nuclear "defence" than the previous Administra-

tion. The result has been that within the three years the new strategy has been in operation there was a thumping budgetary deficit to the tune of more than \$21,000 million, or almost as much as in the entire eight-year period of Republican rule, 1953-60. The U.S. national debt jumped from \$290,000 million at the beginning of 1961 to \$309,000 million in early 1964.

In his January 21 budget message to Congress, Johnson emphasized the "further strengthening of the most formidable defence establishment the world has ever known." He declared, "We have chosen not to concede our opponents supremacy in any type of potential conflict, be it nuclear war, conventional warfare, or guerrilla conflict."

Regardless of whether the Republicans or Democrats rule in Washington the inexorable contradictions of U.S. imperialism make themselves manifest. On a world scale its goals and actions run counter to the demands of tens of millions striving for independence and liberation as well as to the wishes of its fellow imperialists. At home it is confronted with the scramble for super-profits and the never-ending threat of economic turmoil. All these pitfalls have become more apparent since the strategy of "flexible response" was brought into play.

There is a Chinese saying, "A silkworm spins its own cocoon to tie itself up in." The same can be said of Washington's grand strategy of "flexible response."

Document

China-Laos Joint Communiqué

Following is the text of the China-Laos joint communiqué issued on April 8, 1964. — Ed.

1. At the invitation of Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the Royal Laotian Government, paid a friendly visit to China from April 4 to 8, 1964, at the head of a delegation of the Royal Laotian Government. During their visit, the distinguished guests were accorded cordial hospitality and warm welcome by the Chinese Government and people.

2. Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, received Premier Souvanna Phouma and all the other members of the Delegation of the Royal Laotian Government and had a friendly conversation with them.

3. During the visit, Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, held talks with His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the Royal Laotian Government. They had an exchange of views on the current situation in Laos, the development of the friendly relations between China and Laos and other questions of interest to both parties. Also taking part in the talks were, on the Chinese side, Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Chi Peng-fei, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Liu Chun, Chinese Ambassador to Laos; Tsao Ke-chiang, Deputy Director

of the Second Department of Asian Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ko Pu-hai, Deputy Director of the Protocol Department; and on the Laotian side, Leuam Insisicmay, Minister of National Education, Youth, Sports and Fine Arts; Bounthong Voravong, Secretary of State for Youth, Sports and Fine Arts; Tiao Souk Vongsack, Secretary of State for Public Works and Transport; Khamking Souvanlasy, Laotian Ambassador to China, and La Norindr, Advisor to the Premier's Office. The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship.

4. The two parties reviewed the situation in Laos since the conclusion of the Geneva agreements on Laos in 1962. They are of the opinion that the correct way to enable the realization of the peace, independence and neutrality of Laos is to strictly observe and effectively apply the 1962 Geneva agreements and to thoroughly carry out the political programme of the Laotian Government of National Union. The Chinese side stated that the Chinese Government and people have always given sympathy and support to the Laotian people in their just struggle for national harmony, unity of the country, peace and neutrality, that they have always faithfully respected and resolutely upheld the Geneva agreements and supported the Laotian Government of National Union headed by His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma in pursuing a policy of peace and neutrality, and that they hope in all sincerity that the three political forces in Laos will get united and co-operate and peacefully settle

their questions free from all foreign interference, so as to build the Kingdom of Laos into an independent, democratic, neutral and prosperous country. The Laotian side expressed its thanks to the Chinese Government for this just and friendly position. Both parties hold that the other participants of the 1962 Geneva agreements should strictly observe and implement the international obligation the agreements impose on them and jointly safeguard peace in this region.

5. The two parties are concerned over the present tension in Indo-China. They praised and expressed support for the struggle of the Kingdom of Cambodia, under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, to defend the sovereignty, independence and neutrality of the country. They fully approve of the proposal put forward by the Royal Cambodian Government for convening an international conference of the countries concerned to guarantee the neutrality of Cambodia, and express the hope that the countries concerned will respond in a positive way so as to bring about the early holding of this conference. The two parties consider that the 1954 Geneva agreements on the question of Viet Nam should be respected and that the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam should be realized in the spirit of these agreements and free from all foreign interference.

6. The two parties hold that the strengthening of the solidarity among Asian and African countries is of great

significance to these countries' struggle for winning and safeguarding national independence, against colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the promotion of economic co-operation among them and the defence of world peace. They actively support the convening of a second Asian-African conference and express the desire of joining their efforts with those of other Asian and African countries to promote the convening of this conference.

7. The two parties pointed out that since the formal establishment of diplomatic relations, the friendly relations between China and Laos have developed and economic and cultural exchanges and friendly contacts between the two countries have gradually increased. The two parties hold that the development of these friendly relations accords with the common aspirations and interests of the two peoples. They affirm that they will continue to maintain and strengthen the friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference.

8. The two parties pointed out that the present visit to China by His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma at the head of the Delegation of the Royal Laotian Government and the talks between the leaders of the two countries have promoted their mutual understanding and made favourable contributions to the continued development of the friendly relations between the two countries.

International Communist Movement

Khrushchov Adulterates Lenin's Ideas

"Zeri i Popullit," organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, published on March 1 an article entitled "Khrushchov Adulterates Lenin's Ideas to Pave the Way for His Pro-Imperialist Line." The article condemns the Khrushchov group for using Lenin's name to apologize for its anti-Marxist, capitulationist line of collaborating politically, ideologically and economically with U.S. imperialism. Extracts follow. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE article recalls that the February 21 issue of the Soviet paper *Pravda* published Lenin's November 14, 1922 letter to "Russian nationals in North America." In this hitherto unpublished letter, Lenin, on behalf of the Soviet Government, thanked the "Association of the Friends of Soviet Russia" and the "Association for Technical Assistance to Soviet Russia," for their aid in the technical improvement of Soviet agriculture.

In this letter, the article points out, Lenin described this aid as a vivid manifestation of proletarian internationalism and fraternal solidarity of the workers. His letter defended the New Economic Policy and refuted the slanderous attacks by the capitalist press and by Russian White Guards in America.

Like all other writings of Lenin, this letter strongly defended the correct policy of the Communist Party,

the Soviet regime and socialism, the article said. As Lenin pointed out, the Russians in America and the friends of Soviet Russia who extended aid to the Soviet Republic had nothing in common with the enemies of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the American imperialists who participated in the intervention to overthrow the Soviet regime, and the White Guards, the Mensheviks and those who fled to America to survive on American dollars. It was quite right for them to extend this patriotic and internationalist aid on their own accord and also for the Soviet Union to accept, the article said.

But Khrushchov, making use of this document, did his utmost to distort Lenin's ideas in such a way that they become the "Leninist foundations" and "Leninist basis" for his anti-Marxist, capitulationist line in order to support his case for closest possible collaboration with the U.S. imperialists to achieve his own aims.

The article noted that it was no accident that this unpublished letter of Lenin was issued simultaneously with the publication of the letter of the American farm proprietor Roswell Garst [in the Soviet paper *Izvestia* on February 13]. This occurred at a time when the Khrushchov group had landed itself in serious difficulties, particularly in agriculture, and when it was

asking for assistance from U.S. imperialism and turning to its experience.

An Apology for Securing U.S. Loans

"By publishing this letter, Khrushchov, acting in the spirit of his revisionist, pro-American line, seeks to create the impression that his political, ideological and economic collaboration with the U.S. imperialists is Lenin's own policy, and that he is merely following such a policy. Thus, by citing the 'fact' that Lenin had asked for aid from the U.S. imperialists, he vigorously apologizes for the loans he has probably obtained or thinks he can obtain from the U.S. imperialists, in particular agricultural loans which he solicits because of the serious farm disasters created by his revisionist policy.

"In a word, he is trying, by all ways and means, to equate Lenin's Marxist position against the U.S. imperialists with his own revisionist policy.

"Khrushchov's policies have met with continuous failures ideologically and economically, and in particular in the agricultural field. His anti-Marxist line has been exposed not only internationally but also in the Soviet Union by the healthy forces among the Communists and by the revolutionary masses.

"That is why in order to continue his anti-Marxist manoeuvres he has found it necessary to don a Leninist mask and pretend to carry out the behests of Lenin.

"As a pragmatist, Khrushchov cares nothing about principle. He is only interested in how to achieve his aims. To him, all means are justifiable and he will not hesitate in resorting to any vile trick.

"In the present circumstances, for instance, he has to turn to Lenin for 'support' to justify his requests for loans from the imperialists and use Lenin as a key to open the door of the Soviet Union to U.S. imperialism. And he is doing so unhesitatingly.

"Time and again he has appealed to the U.S. imperialists to accept Soviet orders immediately, to grant loans and invest in the Soviet Union."

The article draws attention to the following:

"As far back as 1959, Khrushchov in a speech to the capitalists at Leipzig said: 'When you give us credits, we shall give you orders. We shall develop those branches of industry in which you are interested.'"

When he visited the United States the same year Khrushchov, in an address at a dinner given in his honour by the publisher of the *Journal of Commerce*, also asked American manufacturers to accept big orders from the Soviet Union and to provide the Soviet Union with credits.

"At the October Revolution anniversary last year Khrushchov, replying to a toast by James Linen, president of *Time* magazine, which organized a tour of representatives of American big business to the Soviet Union, said: 'The most reliable investment is an investment in the Soviet Union.' He stressed: 'If you invest

your capital here you will draw good dividends guaranteed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.'

"Speaking at the plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in December 1963, Khrushchov emphasized: 'We will give orders to those who want to earn money honestly, provided the credit is forthcoming, because that has already become a standard in economic relations.'"

"It is futile," the article said, "for the revisionist renegades, Khrushchov and his kind, to use the works of Lenin as a cover for their despicable anti-socialist, anti-Soviet actions. The pure and fiery flames of the revolution that glow in the works of Lenin is reducing the revisionist rubbish to cinders."

Khrushchov's Volte-Face on U.S. "Aid"

The article added: "Khrushchov's attitude towards U.S. 'aid,' dollars and credits several years ago was quite different from his attitude today when he describes them as the 'standard of economic relations' among states.

"In 1957, pointing out the aims of U.S. imperialist 'aid' in his reply to questions posed by the editor-in-chief of the *New York Times*, he said: It must be borne in mind that the nature of capitalism is such that it is impossible for it to aid any country without pursuing its own selfish ends. Therefore, in handling the question of receiving aid from capitalist states, a socialist or any other country must exercise caution so as not to lose its independence.

"A year later, at the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, 'criticizing' the Tito group for accepting U.S. imperialist 'aid,' Khrushchov said: 'Why do the imperialist leaders, who seek to wipe the socialist states from the face of the earth and to crush the communist movement, at the same time finance one of the socialist countries, give it credits on easy terms and hand-outs? . . . Everyone knows that the imperialists have never given anyone money for nothing, simply because they like his "beautiful eyes." They invest their capital only in enterprises from which they hope to get good profits. If the imperialists agree to render "aid" to a socialist state they do so, of course, not in order to strengthen it.'

"Why are the U.S. imperialists who seek to wipe Marxism-Leninism, the world socialist system and the communist and workers' movement from the face of the earth so generous in their help and support for the Khrushchov group? Do two kinds of socialism exist in the world: one the imperialists hate mortally and the other which they provide with credits and wheat? Since when have U.S. imperialists and monopoly capitalist groups become interested in strengthening socialism and communism?"

"The answer is clear. The imperialists help Khrushchov not for the purpose of strengthening communism in the Soviet Union, but for uprooting it, destroying the fruits of the October Revolution, liquidating the socialist system and restoring capitalism. . . .

"The imperialists support Khrushchov because his line is to their advantage. Just as Paul-Henri Spaak, one of the bosses of the Belgian and international social democrats and former Secretary-General of NATO, said: 'Mr. Khrushchov has rendered us services of value.' Similarly, Kennedy the millionaire, in appreciation of Khrushchov's services, declared that with him [Khrushchov], 'a fresh breeze begins to blow behind the iron curtain,' that is, with him the evolution towards the so-called 'free world' begins.

"What does it mean by appealing to the American imperialists for credits and investments in the Soviet economy, some 50 years after the triumph of the October Revolution and in the period of the construction of communism? Does it not mean that even the blood of the Soviet workers and peasants who have long been freed from capitalist oppression and exploitation is going to be drained off by American dollars? Does it not mean a big step backward towards an outmoded form of economy? And does it not mean a terrible disgrace to the Soviet Union, to the Communist Party founded by Lenin and to the glorious Soviet people?

"The following words Stalin said in 1928 ring true today. . . . One thing or the other: either we continue to pursue a revolutionary policy, rallying the proletarians and the oppressed of all countries around the working class of the U.S.S.R.—in which case international capital will do everything it can to hinder our advance; or we renounce our revolutionary policy and agree to make a number of fundamental concessions to international capital—in which case international capital, no doubt, will not be averse to "assisting" us in converting our socialist country into a "good" bourgeois republic."

"Life has borne out the soundness of J.V. Stalin's words," the article declared.

"This is precisely the aims the imperialists pursued and are still pursuing by providing 'aid' to the socialist countries. Today, they are following the same aims in relation to the Soviet Union. The revisionist line of Khrushchov's group serves the imperialists. It helps

them in realizing their general strategy to transform the Soviet Union into a 'good' bourgeois republic, to cause the Soviet system to degenerate.

"Khrushchov's group also distorts and makes free use of Lenin's sound idea of borrowing the positive experience of the capitalist countries, and turns this idea into a fallacy of borrowing everything from the capitalist world, especially the United States. The question of profiting from the positive experience [of the capitalist countries] is an idea long well known and formulated in Marxist-Leninist classics."

Khrushchov Wants to Learn Everything From U.S.

"But in Khrushchov's mouth, the question of borrowing the experience of the capitalist countries and in particular the United States, takes on a different meaning. To him, the United States is a mirror by which one sees and learns everything and from which one borrows all experiences. . . .

"While presenting the United States as the ideal for the builders of communism, Khrushchov underrates the most valuable experience of the Soviet Union. He depreciates the talent of the Soviet people and underestimates the superiority of the socialist order over the capitalist order.

"But, however hard Khrushchov may try to deceive them, he cannot long hoodwink the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. His new attempt to distort the ideas of Lenin and then, by doing so, to present himself as the executor of Lenin's ideas, is doomed to fail.

"The course followed by Khrushchov is a negation of the ideas of V.I. Lenin; it is anti-Leninism in action and the greatest betrayal of Lenin's cause and the building of socialism and communism. That is why Communists and revolutionaries throughout the world have combated and are still combating every day this anti-Marxist course, with united strength. The struggle against the opportunism of Khrushchov's group is one of safeguarding Marxism-Leninism and socialism and defending the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement."

The Correct Way to Defend World Peace

"Hoc Tap" (*Study*), theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, carried in its January issue this year a signed article on "The Correct Way to Defend World Peace." Extracts of the article follow. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

IMPERIALISM, it says, is provocative and aggressive by nature and this nature has remained unchanged despite the fact that important changes have taken place since World War II in the balance of forces

between revolution and counter-revolution on a world scale, with the forces of socialism and peace increasingly surpassing those of imperialism and war.

Modern Revisionists Prettify Imperialism

"However," it continues, "the modern revisionist groups hold that today the nature of imperialism has changed, that it, too, wishes to safeguard world peace, and that the danger of war does not originate from imperialism but from the 'adventuristic' and 'warlike'

policies of a certain socialist country. This way of standing truth on its head is evidently aimed at prettifying imperialism and justifying its policies of provocation and aggression."

The article points out that imperialism headed by the United States has kindled more than ten wars of aggression or local wars since the end of World War II. In the 18 postwar years, the imperialist countries have been frenziedly engaged in an arms drive and war preparations and have organized various aggressive military blocs; they have built thousands of military bases and strongholds on foreign territories in active preparation for a new world war in which they hope to wipe out the socialist camp; they have also unleashed local wars or "special warfare" to suppress the national-liberation movements. The production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons by imperialism has increased the danger of a world war.

However, the day is past when imperialism ruled supreme and could launch world wars as it pleased. Today, the people of the world have the strength to cut the claws of imperialist aggression and to prevent imperialism from provoking a new world war.

There are two ways to defend world peace. One way is to submit to imperialism and beg for mercy and entreat it not to start a nuclear war; to pin one's hopes on imperialism's "desire for peace" or look forward to consultations and "all-round co-operation" between the socialist and imperialist countries. The other way is resolutely to oppose the policies of provocation and aggression of U.S.-led imperialism and to wage revolutionary struggles, so as to repulse and defeat imperialism step by step, weaken it continually and bind it hand and foot so as to make it incapable of kindling world war.

Life itself has clearly shown that the first way cannot prevent world war but will embolden imperialism in its provocations and preparations for war. The second is the sole correct way to defend world peace.

Fundamental Way to Defend World Peace

"The fundamental way to defend world peace lies in vigorously advancing the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and the revolutionary struggles in the capitalist countries, so as to upset and paralyse the rear and home bases of imperialism, weaken it continually and thereby create enormous difficulties for its war preparations. At the same time, the socialist camp should be strengthened politically, economically and in national defence so that its might will far surpass that of the imperialist camp, thereby preventing imperialism from launching a world war.

"The essence of the struggle for world peace lies in the efforts of the international communist movement to strengthen the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces and all anti-war forces continually, while at the same time weakening the imperialist forces of provocation and aggression.

"Therefore, all revolutions against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in whatever form (political struggle, or armed struggle, or both combined), play a positive role in the struggle for world peace. The revolutionary struggles now being waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism to gain or consolidate their national independence and break up the rear of imperialism, are mighty forces contributing to the struggle for world peace.

"That is why the support and aid extended by the socialist camp and the international working-class movement to the national-liberation movements are of immense, practical significance to the struggle for world peace. Revolutionary struggle is never in conflict with the struggle for world peace. Only when these two struggles are closely linked can the imperialist policies of provocation and aggression be defeated and imperialism itself repulsed and destroyed step by step, world peace upheld and national independence, democracy and socialism achieved.

"To play the important role which is theirs in the defence of world peace, the socialist countries should not only work in every way to increase the might of the entire socialist camp, but also give vigorous support and aid to the national-liberation movements and to the revolutionary struggles in the capitalist countries. In supporting and assisting others, the socialist camp is not only fulfilling its sacred international obligations to the world revolutionary movement, but is also supporting and assisting itself, for the advance and victories of the revolutions of other countries help to prevent a new world war, thus creating favourable conditions for the successful building of socialism and communism in the socialist countries."

Imperialists Dare Not Launch Nuclear War

"The modern revisionists argue that at the present stage the appearance of nuclear weapons has changed the nature of war and so there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust wars.

"The fact is that, though a war fought with nuclear weapons is more destructive than one fought with conventional arms, war remains 'the continuation of politics by other means,' and the nature of war remains unchanged."

The fundamental policies of imperialism are provocation and aggression, the article says. "In launching a war, imperialism aims at seizing markets and obtaining super-profits by exploiting the colonies, not at bringing about destruction. The U.S.-led imperialists never dared to use nuclear weapons in the aggressive wars they have launched in Asia, Africa and Latin America since the end of World War II. This is not only because they feared that the people of the world would rise to sweep imperialism out of existence, but also because the use of nuclear weapons in such wars would have defeated their own purposes of seizing markets. Moreover, since in these wars the troops of the

imperialist aggressors fought at close quarters with the people's armed forces, the imperialists would have run the risk of wiping out their own troops if nuclear weapons had been used. As for the struggle of the people in the imperialist countries, it would be still more improbable for monopoly capital to use nuclear weapons to suppress the revolution. It is therefore utterly groundless to contend that a national-liberation war or a civil war may spark off a nuclear war.

"Now that the world balance of forces has changed, the imperialists are afraid that they may invite their own destruction if they attack the socialist camp with nuclear weapons. That is why they classify war into three kinds: world, local and special. They want now to use special and local wars to suppress the national-liberation movement, with a view to consolidating their rear areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the same time, they want to make use of the modern revisionist groups to carry through their 'peace strategy,' to sow discord in and undermine the socialist camp and bring about, by underhand means, political and ideological degeneration and the eventual restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries. They fondly hope that in this way they can change the balance of forces in their favour so that they can realize their schemes of unleashing another world war. In short, the entire plot of the U.S.-led imperialists for provocation and aggression is to consolidate their rear and weaken the socialist camp for unleashing a world war. . . ."

"All wars, whether world, local or special, started by the imperialists in the interests of a handful of monopoly capitalists, are unjust. All wars are just which are fought by the oppressed nations, the working class and labouring people of various countries against imperialism and monopoly capitalism and for national liberation, or by the socialist countries to defend their revolutionary gains against aggression by imperialism and the bourgeois reactionaries of other countries.

"Communists love peace, but do not believe in bourgeois pacifism. That is why they do not indiscriminately oppose war. They oppose only unjust wars and vigorously support just wars. . . ."

"Today, the struggle for world peace helps to prevent a new world war. But this does not mean that it removes all dangers of war. The hotbed for wars of aggression of all types remains so long as imperialism exists. To rule out the possibility of war, revolutions must be carried out so as to eradicate the source of war—imperialism, first piecemeal and then completely. The social and national sources of war can be uprooted only when socialism triumphs throughout the world."

General Disarmament Demands End of Imperialism

"General disarmament is a concrete slogan to mobilize the world's people in the struggle to oppose the imperialist policy of the arms race, prevent war and

safeguard world peace. With the world balance of forces now in favour of revolution as against counter-revolution, it is possible for the peoples to force the imperialists through struggles to agree to gradual disarmament. . . ."

"So long as the imperialists still refuse to reduce their armaments, the countries of the socialist camp must strengthen their national defence including their lead in nuclear weapons, so that they can more effectively safeguard the entire socialist camp and preserve world peace. Under present circumstances, strengthening the national defence of the entire socialist camp is fully in keeping with its interests and the interests of the peoples of the world, since it is a positive means of defending the socialist camp and preventing world war. On the other hand, all proposals and actions aimed at weakening the defence capabilities of the socialist camp are advantageous to the imperialists and increase the danger of world war."

The article goes on to say that it is true that nuclear weapons possess terrible powers of destruction, but they themselves are not the root cause of modern wars. The source of war is imperialism. "General disarmament can be realized and the source of war removed only when imperialism is wiped out by revolution."

Peace Struggle Must Not Be Simply Reduced To Peaceful Coexistence

On the question of peaceful coexistence, the article says: "The socialist countries stand for a policy of peaceful coexistence in the relations among countries with different political and social systems. This policy is embodied in the following five principles. 1, respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity; 2, mutual non-aggression; 3, non-interference in each other's internal affairs; 4, equality and mutual benefit; and 5, peaceful coexistence."

Imperialism has never abandoned its evil designs to liquidate the socialist countries. "The imperialists are never willing to live in peace with the socialist countries. To attain peaceful coexistence among countries with differing systems, the socialist countries, therefore, must not pin their hopes on the possibility that the imperialists will heed the voice of truth and agree to peaceful coexistence. On the contrary, they must combat resolutely the policies of provocation and aggression of the imperialist powers headed by the United States. The oppressed nations and the people of the capitalist countries must at the same time strive to forestall or smash imperialist provocations and schemes of aggression. They must, in particular, rise in revolution and beat back and crush imperialism step by step and fight for national independence, democracy and socialism, thus weakening the imperialists continually and compelling them to coexist peacefully with the socialist countries. Peaceful coexistence and revolutionary struggle are, therefore, not contradictory; the two help each other forward.

"Peaceful coexistence is one of the aspects of the struggle to safeguard world peace. Communists must not reduce the whole content of the struggle for peace to peaceful coexistence, nor play up peaceful coexistence as the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries. Still less should they regard peaceful coexistence as the path for transition to socialism on a world scale, or as the key strategy for the worldwide struggle for socialism.

"The general line of the foreign policy of a socialist country must comprise the following three main aspects: to realize mutual comradesly assistance and cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries; to fight against the imperialist policies of provocation and aggression and to realize the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence among countries with differing political and social systems; and to give all-out support and active help to the national-liberation movement

and the revolutionary struggles of the working class and other labouring people in the capitalist countries.

"Of course, the socialist countries, in the course of the struggle for defending peace and realizing peaceful coexistence, may enter into negotiations with the imperialist countries and make certain concessions, when necessary. But such negotiations and compromises must be subject to the principle that they proceed from the fundamental and long-term interests of the revolution and that reliance is placed on the peoples' strength in struggle. Unprincipled negotiations and compromise, which do not proceed from the interests of the revolution and do not rely on mass struggle, can only endanger the revolution and world peace. In such cases, the greater goodwill we demonstrate for negotiations, the harder the imperialists will press us; the more concessions we make, the more they will demand. Thus, peaceful coexistence will be rendered impossible and the cause of world peace made insecure."

Belgian Marxist-Leninists Urged to Unite And Rebuild Belgian Communist Party

Appeal by Organizing Committee of National Conference of Belgian Communists

BELGIAN Communists have been called on to stand on the side of genuine Marxist-Leninists so that "the working class may victoriously face the great struggles that lie ahead."

The call was contained in an appeal to Belgian Communists issued by the Organizing Committee of the National Conference of Belgian Communists on December 22, 1963.

La Voix du Peuple, organ of the Belgian Communist Party headed by Jacques Grippa, published the appeal under the title: "Long Live the National Conference of Belgian Communists" in its sixth issue (Jan. 2). It condemned the present Political Bureau (whose leadership has been usurped by the Rightists) for abandoning revolutionary principles, betraying proletarian internationalism, practising reformism and persecuting genuine Marxist-Leninists.

The appeal began with a clear outline of the character and tasks of the Belgian Communist Party. It said: "We have joined the Communist Party to become fighters of the vanguard of the working class, the ultimate goal of whose actions is to build a communist society through socialist revolution.

"This Party should in its actions be guided by the theory of scientific socialism, by Marxism-Leninism whose universal truth it integrates with revolutionary

practice, and with concrete conditions in the country at a given time.

"We should stand at the forefront of the day-to-day struggle waged by the working class and the labouring masses against the attacks of capital, for the defence of freedom and democracy, against the danger of war and for the realization of immediate demands.

"We know that capitalism which has developed to its highest and last stage, that is, imperialism, is synonymous with exploitation and oppression. We know that capitalism, by its very nature, begets misfortune for the people, catastrophes, uncertainty in life, crises and wars.

"We hold that it is not enough to combat the consequences of capitalism alone. It is necessary finally to overthrow the capitalist 'order' which means violence daily exercised by a handful of exploiters against the broad masses of the exploited.

"We know that socialist revolution implies the destruction of the bourgeois state machine; the seizure of power by the working class allied with other sections of the labouring people; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"We proclaim that only by the united struggle of the revolutionary classes and revolutionary peoples of

the world can the common enemy, imperialism, be defeated.

"Proletarian internationalism is a sacred principle for us.

"In substituting the reform of capitalism for the ultimate goal of socialism, reformism aims at deception.

"In advocating the 'patching up' of the capitalist system, reformism seeks to save it from its doom.

"Reconciling antagonistic classes means class collaboration at the expense of the oppressed. The practice of reformism means hostility to the anti-capitalist actions of the working class and labouring masses.

"Condemnation, exposure and liquidation of reformism of various hues and shades is the indispensable condition for ensuring the victory of labour over capital.

"The Communist Parties are founded and have been fighting on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

"We have been, are and will remain fighters of the revolutionary proletarian Party, the vanguard indispensable to the working class.

"Is the present Political Bureau inspired by these revolutionary principles? We all know very well that it has rejected these principles and is therefore no longer a Communist Party.

"The practice of this group is out-and-out opportunism in every respect. It is no longer willing to hear people talk about the vanguard role of the Party. It has even written off this concept from the Party Constitution."

Citing facts to show how this group has abandoned and negated these principles in day-to-day struggles, the appeal pointed out: "The present Political Bureau attempts to turn the labouring masses away from the struggle by spreading illusions about bourgeois parliament which tramples on the will of the people."

"This group, together with the leaders of various bourgeois parties and Spaak, tries to deceive the masses on the question of the Moscow tripartite treaty which sanctifies and encourages the stockpiling of nuclear weapons by U.S. imperialism and its allies, as well as the policy of atomic blackmail.

"According to the Political Bureau, the question is no longer one of opposing NATO nor of withdrawing from this organization but one of remaining in it in order to support the policy of U.S. imperialism and its leaders. . . .

"Thus the Political Bureau has gradually become an appendage of Spaak's policy.

"It has betrayed proletarian internationalism. Its attitude towards the national-liberation struggle of the Congolese people, towards Cuba and socialist China throws glaring light on this betrayal. . . .

"It has liquidated the Party as a communist organization. . . .

"It is revisionist. It practises reformism which it has 'theorized' anew in the Party Constitution and theses of the '14th Congress.' It could not have achieved its purposes had it not deceived the Party, used disgraceful means and persecuted Communists true to Marxist-Leninist principles. We declare, therefore, that this group has no right to speak for the Party.

"No Communist should cherish any illusions about the role of this Political Bureau. Increasing numbers of people are joining our ranks for rebuilding the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

"Communist fighters have rebuilt the Federations in Brussels, Liege and Charleroi. The Party is also being rebuilt in Borinage and other regions of the country.

"Today, we address this appeal particularly to you, comrades who are hesitating. You say we are right, but you think it is necessary to uphold 'the unity of the Party.'

"The very thing we desire is to restore unity. But you should know that the only unity possible is one based on Marxism-Leninism.

"It is the very betrayal of our cause, the cause of the working class and the labouring people, by the despicable revisionist leaders that has compelled honest and sincere Party members to rebuild the Party.

"To 'rectify' the present Political Bureau is no less an illusion than to 'rectify' the leading organ of the Belgian Socialist Party.

"The revisionist leaders are undermining unity both on the international and national planes.

"The leaders of certain Parties, including those of our Party, are all smiles to the representatives of capitalism. They collaborate with imperialism. They sing the praises of the Yugoslav revisionists.

"Yet they are full of hatred towards the Marxist-Leninists. They viciously attack socialist China and socialist Albania.

"The Marxist-Leninists are the most powerful in the ranks of the international communist movement. The Communist Party of China, the Albanian Party of Labour, the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Korean Workers' Party, the United Party of Socialist Revolution of Cuba, the Communist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Japan, the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Communist Party of New Zealand, and large numbers of Communists of other countries have held firmly to their Marxist-Leninist positions despite the manoeuvres of the splitter-revisionists.

"Our action is also a contribution to the restoration of the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties."

The People's Communes Forge Ahead

— Summing Up Five Years' Experience of the Rural People's Communes in Kwangtung Province

by TAO CHU

Following is the second and concluding instalment of a slightly abridged translation of an article by Tao Chu, First Secretary of the Kwangtung Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. It was published in the February 26 issue of "Hongqi" (No. 4). The first instalment appeared in "Peking Review," No. 13. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

To Each According to His Work

The people's commune is a great new creation in our country, so it has naturally had to undergo a process of gradual improvement. As early as August 1958, the nature and fundamental principles of the people's commune were clearly laid down in "The Resolution on the Establishment of People's Communes in the Rural Areas" by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The resolution pointed out that the system of ownership of the people's communes which integrate local government administration with the commune management is still socialist collective ownership and in distribution they follow the principle of "to each according to his work." It further noted that even when they complete the transition to ownership by the whole people, the people's communes, like state-owned industry, will still be socialist in character, where the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" prevails.

In December of the same year, "The Resolution on Some Questions Concerning the People's Communes" adopted by the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at its Sixth Plenary Session again made it clear that the people's communes at the present stage must continue to uphold socialist collective ownership and the principle of "to each according to his work." It also elucidated in detail the differences and interrelations between the two kinds of socialist ownership — collective ownership and ownership by the whole people — and between socialism and communism. Later on, the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung continued to sum up the experience gained since the establishment of the people's communes and raised the questions of unified leadership and management at different levels of the people's communes and making the production teams their basic units. Again and again, they emphasized conscientious and thorough implementation of the principles of "to each according to his work" and of equiva-

lent exchange; they also laid down a series of concrete policies concerning the people's communes in the light of the problems that had cropped up in practical work. As a result, the policies and regulations of the people's communes have been improved. By following this series of decisions adopted by the Central Committee of the Party, the people's communes in Kwangtung Province have, in the past five years, overcome in good time the shortcomings and errors which cropped up in actual work and thus ensured their continued advance in the right direction.

The rural people's communes were formed on the basis of the agricultural producers' co-operatives by amalgamation. Like the advanced co-ops, the communes at the present stage are also characterized by socialist collective ownership and continue to apply the principles of "to each according to his work" and equivalent exchange. They have taken over and further improved certain effective regulations and methods of management and administration which were adopted by the advanced co-ops and are still applicable today — such as the system of fixed responsibility for production, the system of management by production quotas and the system of assessment of work points according to the quantity and quality of the work done. The advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives played an important role in agricultural collectivization in China. They gave a great deal of valuable experience that has greatly spurred the growth of agricultural production. Naturally we should take over and develop all the positive and reasonable features of the advanced co-ops, and not take a negative attitude towards them.

Management at Different Levels

The people's communes are organizations which are bigger in size and of a more developed socialist nature than the advanced agricultural co-operatives; their content is new in many ways. They are organized on a bigger scale and on a higher level of collective ownership. In some places, the people's commune comprises two levels, the commune and the production team, while in other places there are three levels, namely the commune, the production brigade and the production team. In other words, ownership at the commune level is added above the level of the production brigades which are equivalent in size to the former advanced

agricultural co-ops. The production team under the production brigade is still another level of ownership and constitutes the basic accounting unit of the commune. The advantages which the people's communes enjoy because of their greater size and more developed socialist nature and better perfected organizational system compared to the advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives have greatly increased the manpower, material and financial resources of the collective economy and greatly strengthened its leadership. As a result, the people's communes have broken through the limitations of the advanced co-ops and thus facilitated unified planning on a bigger scale of various productive activities and construction as well as the raising of funds, the deployment of labour power, the organization of co-ordinated activities and the initiation of projects which the agricultural producers' co-operatives could not undertake.

Without the relatively greater manpower, material and financial resources of the people's communes, it would have been impossible for Kwangtung Province to achieve the tremendous successes it has achieved in water conservancy construction in recent years. Take, for instance, the Chanchiang Special Administrative Region, where natural conditions were very bad and natural calamities were once frequent. Here, in the past five years the peasants, relying on the strength of the people's communes and working with great spirit to make the country prosperous, have built a large number of water conservancy projects. These projects include 8 big reservoirs each with a storage capacity of over 100 million cubic metres, 40 medium-sized reservoirs each with a storage capacity of more than 10 million cubic metres, and 25 water diversion projects each capable of irrigating over 10,000 *mu* of farmland. As a result, the total irrigated acreage has more than doubled. When all these projects are rounded out by the building of all necessary subsidiary projects, the irrigation problem of the whole region will be basically solved. The total cost of these projects (including manpower and materials) amounts to some 600 million yuan, of which the state investment (including the contributions of the special administrative region and the counties) amounts to 30 per cent (180 million). The greater part of the remaining 70 per cent comes from the communes by way of organizing co-operation among various production teams and labour contributed by the commune members.

The building of the bigger water conservancy projects calls for unified planning because some areas may benefit more from the projects than others which may even lose part of their cultivated land through submergence (or other causes linked with the projects in question). Without the unified leadership of the people's communes and co-ordination within the framework of the communes according to the principles of voluntary participation and mutual benefit, it is hardly possible to resolve such contradictions between areas and units. Likewise, it is by taking full advantage of their bigger size and more developed socialist nature that the people's communes have made marked progress in building

up irrigation on an extensive scale, in making more widespread use of chemical fertilizers and other farm chemicals and in mechanization and electrification of agriculture, in pressing ahead with the technical reform of their farms, in making comprehensive use of resources to develop a diversified economy and in helping their poorer teams to increase production.

Production Team Is Basic Accounting Unit

At the present stage of the people's communes, the production team is the basic accounting unit. Each team keeps its accounts independently and is responsible for its own loss and gain. The distribution principle of "to each according to his work" is applied in the production teams and the principle of equivalent exchange is observed in dealings between the various teams of a given commune and between the teams and the commune as a whole. This fully conforms to the present level of the agricultural productive forces in China and to the growth of production in the production teams.

As we have only just started to mechanize agriculture, most farm work is still done by men and draught animals; the production team is still the unit that directly organizes production. Under these circumstances, with the production team functioning as the basic accounting unit, the unit directly organizing production and the basic accounting unit are one and the same. This helps to enhance the labour enthusiasm of the production teams and the broad mass of commune members. At the same time, because the various teams do in fact stand on different levels of economic development, designation of the production teams as basic accounting units means recognizing the differences between them and avoiding equalitarianism.

Over the past few years, the overwhelming majority of people's communes have made the production teams their basic accounting units; this gives freer scope to the great enthusiasm and initiative of the teams in developing collective production and strengthening the collective economy; at the same time it vigorously promotes the rehabilitation and development of agricultural production. The collective economy of the production teams is everywhere stronger than before; their public reserve funds have increased, and, as a result, they now have more draught animals, farm implements and other means of production. Quite a number of teams have bought pumps and other modern farm machinery. For a fairly long time to come, most communes must continue with three-level ownership [ownership of the means of production by the production team, the production brigade and the commune] with the production teams as the basic accounting units; they must focus their work on strengthening and expanding energetically the collective economy of the production teams.

In most cases, only part of the ownership of means of production is vested in the production brigade and the commune. Nevertheless, this already plays an important role. The role of ownership at the commune level can be seen clearly in the great successes achieved



Using nylon membrane to help breed rice seedlings (Namhoi County)

missible to develop those economies at the expense of the economies of the production teams. So long as we handle these relations correctly, the collective economies of the people's communes will rapidly develop and the economies at the various levels within the communes will expand correspondingly.

At the present time, most people's communes have this three-level ownership which enables the communes, production brigades and production teams to play their role to the full. This has made it possible to find a proper solution for the problem of giving unified leadership within the framework of the commune, and of bringing into full play the initiative of the units which directly organize production. This fits in well with the actual situation in the countryside today. It is envisaged that a relatively

long time will elapse before the rising level of the agricultural productive forces and the further development of the economy at commune and brigade levels will have created suitable conditions for making the production brigade rather than the production team the basic accounting unit. After a further period, the commune will be made the basic accounting unit. In this way, the advantages which the people's communes enjoy because of their size and more developed socialist nature will certainly make themselves felt with increasing force.

Integration of Government Administration and Commune Management

The people's commune is an organization which combines local government administration with commune management. In the light of practical experience in various parts of Kwangtung Province, such people's communes have greatly strengthened the political and economic leadership of the state over the collective economy. Cadres working at the commune level and some of those in leading posts in the brigades are government functionaries as well as cadres working in the collective economic organization. This is of great help in strengthening the leadership of the Party and state over the collective economy; it enables the basic organ of state power to organize and lead production directly and so play its role in leading the collective economy better. The people's communes exercise the functions of the basic organs of state power as well as of the collective economic organizations; in this way they differ from the basic organs of state power prior to the commune movement as well as from the advanced co-operatives which were purely economic organizations. They are in charge of both politics and economy; they must, as basic organs of state power, mobilize the

in the first five years of the people's communes which have been mentioned above. Let us now see what part is played by ownership at the production brigade level in the light of the experiences of Kwangtung Province. Generally speaking, the production brigades are equivalent in size to the advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives. After the setting up of the people's communes, the production brigade still constitutes one level of ownership and plays a very important role, serving as an organization linking the commune above it with the production teams below it; it is also the unit in which the Communist Party has its basic organization — the Party branch. In the case of Kwangtung Province since production teams are small and each commune embraces many teams, it is very difficult for the communes to give them proper leadership without the help of the production brigades. Besides, it is also necessary for the production brigades to give concrete assistance and better leadership to teams whose resources are limited. The brigade should also organize in a unified way the co-operation in production among teams which is indispensable in certain cases as well as the enterprises and undertakings jointly run by several teams. The production brigades and communes have now amassed a considerable amount in public accumulation funds and developed brigade- or commune-run economies which, though on a modest scale at present, already play a positive role and in the long run have bright prospects. As the economies at the different levels in the commune are consolidated and developed, the accumulation funds at brigade and commune levels should be gradually increased at the appropriate time; the commune- and brigade-run economies will develop step by step. Of course, the economies at commune and brigade levels must not be developed too fast at present and it is particularly imper-

masses politically; and at the same time directly organize and lead production. In addition, they must direct efforts to fulfil the tasks set by the state and also look after the people's livelihood. In this way, the Party's policies can be carried to the masses and implemented in a more satisfactory way and the overall planning and unified arrangement of the collective economy can be carried out more easily. In regard to relations between the collective economy and the state, the people's communes can better integrate the interests of the collective economy and the state plan and facilitate socialist planning of the economy. State investments in capital construction in agriculture and other undertakings run by the communes help the gradual realization of plans for water conservancy on a wide scale, the widespread use of chemical fertilizers and other farm chemicals and the mechanization and electrification of agriculture.

The emergence of this new form of social organization—the people's commune, represents another leap in agriculture following the co-operative movement. Led and educated by the Party, the broad mass of commune members are making their own history. The peasants created this new social organization of the people's commune and after five years of practice have summed up their experiences and made the people's commune system more perfect. That means they have got a better grasp of the laws of development of the people's commune; this in turn is bound to produce a still greater material force and further strengthen the socialist position in the rural areas.

Struggle Between Socialist Road and Capitalist Road

The entire history of the agricultural collectivization movement in our country has been one of class struggles in the rural areas. This is true of the organizing of mutual-aid teams and co-operatives in the early period and also of the establishment of people's communes in the later period. The five years following the birth of the people's communes have seen a simultaneous process of class struggle and of the continuous education and remoulding of the peasants with proletarian ideology.

The broad mass of poor, lower-middle and other peasants have warmly acclaimed the bigger size and more developed socialist nature of the people's communes, the initial display of their great advantages and their great achievements. They actively took the lead in joining the people's communes and firmly defend the interests of the collective economy. They are enthusiastic in their praise of the communes and regard them as a broad road of development that will enable them to shake off poverty and backwardness for good. On the other hand, for the overthrown feudal landlord class and the rich peasants, the people's commune movement means yet another crushing blow to their attempts to re-establish a parasitic way of life. Unreconciled to their failure, some of them have engaged in sabotage activities and resorted to all manner of vile means in these attempts. A few well-to-do middle peasants with serious capitalist inclina-

tions have also tried in various ways to weaken the collective economy in an attempt to set things going along the capitalist road. Such is the objective reality of class struggle in the countryside. It cannot be avoided: it is an irreconcilable struggle. As the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party pointed out, "throughout the historical period of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, throughout the historical period of transition from capitalism to socialism (which will last scores of years or even longer), there is class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road." Many vivid facts prove that this dictum is an irrefutable truth.

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the proletariat, the peasants of China are highly revolutionary. They were the main force in China's democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Ever since the nationwide victory of the people's democratic revolution, they have taken an active part in the great socialist revolution. By relying on the revolutionary initiative of the peasants, land reform was successfully carried out and this was followed by the smooth establishment of agricultural co-operatives. Ties of deep revolutionary feeling have been established between the Party and the peasants during these prolonged revolutionary struggles, and the Party enjoys high prestige among the peasants. The peasants, the poor and lower-middle peasants in particular, are the firmest and most reliable allies of the Chinese working class. After bringing about collectivization in the countryside, the Party has time and again defeated the rural capitalist and remnant feudal forces by continuing to rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with the middle peasants, and rely on the organized force of the peasants. With the people's commune as a powerful weapon, the proletarian dictatorship in the countryside can be better strengthened and the growth of spontaneous capitalist forces in the rural areas curbed, and so, in the prolonged struggle over which of the two roads will triumph—of "who will win"—a struggle which will last a long time, the victory of socialism will be better ensured organizationally and institutionally. So long as we bring the advantages of the people's communes into full play, our agricultural productive forces will certainly develop at an increasingly rapid tempo and the socialist position in the countryside will be more firmly consolidated with each day that passes. Moreover, the system of the people's communes will also serve to guide the future transition from socialism to communism in the countryside. This is the great ideal that inspires us; this is the direction of our advance.

Socialist Education — A Long-Term Task

It is only a short time since the broad mass of peasants took the road of collectivization. It is not possible in just a short time to bring about a thorough change in the deep-seated ideas of private ownership

and the force of habits which have been with small producers for thousands of years. Fundamental changes, however, have taken place since the setting up of co-operatives and the transformation of the individual peasants into collective farmers.

Nevertheless, before ownership by the whole people is realized in the countryside, peasants are after all peasants and to a certain extent are bound to have a dual character even while taking the socialist road. Capitalist tendencies constantly arise and sometimes become quite serious particularly among the well-to-do middle peasants. There is a constant struggle between the capitalist tendencies of the well-to-do middle peasants and the socialist direction on which the poor and lower-middle peasants insist. Ideological and political work must be carried on for a long time to overcome completely the backward tendencies which the peasants, especially the well-to-do middle peasants, bring with them, tendencies characteristic of the small producers. This is a task which must be carried out throughout the transition period. Lenin said: "The task of transforming the small farmer, transforming his whole psychology and accustomed way of doing things, is a task which demands generations."¹ At the time of liberation Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The serious problem is the education of the peasantry."² In the course of the agricultural co-operative movement, he pointed out that "the capitalist tendencies of the well-to-do peasants are serious. If we allow the slightest relaxation in political work among the peasants during the co-operative movement and for a long period of time after it, these capitalist tendencies are bound to get out of bounds." And again: "Co-operatives must emphasize political work, the fundamental task of which is to instil socialist ideas continuously into the mass of peasants and criticize capitalist tendencies."³ The historic experience of the socialist transformation of agriculture in China has testified to the fact that the above-mentioned views of Comrades Lenin and Mao Tse-tung are correct.

Everyone knows that an advanced social system alone cannot accomplish much without a revolutionary change in man himself. Our socialist system and our people's communes are undoubtedly excellent, but in the last analysis it depends on man himself and his political and ideological state if the advantages of the socialist system and the people's communes are to be brought into full play. Otherwise, even if the system is good, its advantages cannot be brought into play. Therefore at all times we must emphasize politics first. Politics is the commander and inspirer, the soul of action. Throughout the course of agricultural collec-

¹ Lenin, "Report on the Replacing of Food Levies by Tax in Kind," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., State Publishing House of Political Literature, Moscow, 1951, Vol. 32, p.194.

² "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p.419.

³ Editor's notes to *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*.

tivization, we have always put political work for the peasants in first place. In this way we have held steadfastly to the socialist road and continuously criticized and fought to overcome the spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peasants. We must continue to do the same in the days ahead. Socialist education must be carried on as a long-term strategic task in building socialism and in the future transition to communism until the end of the transition period and the final elimination of classes.

At the present time, a wide-scale mass movement of socialist education is being unfolded in the countryside. It is aimed at educating and remoulding the peasants with proletarian ideology, raising the level of class consciousness of the mass of poor, lower-middle and other peasants, organizing a powerful class force of poor and lower-middle peasants, improving the cadres' ideology and style of work, forging closer ties between the cadres and the masses, overcoming and preventing corruption by capitalist ideas, exposing and smashing various sabotage activities of our class enemies, consolidating the socialist position and proletarian dictatorship in the rural areas, consolidating the collective economy and developing agricultural production.

It is now clear that excellent results have been achieved in those places where systematic socialist education has been carried out: heavy blows have been dealt at the disruptive activities of the capitalist and remnant feudal forces; the class force of the poor and lower-middle peasants have been further strengthened; the mass of cadres have raised their level of revolutionary consciousness, improved their thinking and style of work and take an active part in collective production; thus the relations between cadres and masses have become closer and the masses' political initiative and their enthusiasm for collective production has surged to a new high.

An excellent situation has taken shape in the countryside. As the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have pointed out: the present socialist education movement in the rural areas is a very profound socialist revolution; it is also a movement for re-educating man. The victorious development of this movement and its sustained advance for a long time to come will greatly consolidate the socialist position in the rural areas and the proletarian dictatorship, and ensure that the clock will never be set back in our country. With completion of this education movement, the nation will see a prosperous new situation.

We are facing a new upsurge in agricultural production. Thanks to the correct policies and guidance of the Central Committee of the Party, the people's communes are forging ahead each day along the road of sound development and the rural collective economy is being further consolidated and growing stronger under these new conditions. Practice in the past five years has clearly proved the great vitality of the people's communes. The future course of life itself will bear witness to this even more forcefully.

ACROSS THE LAND

Shattering Silence by Surgery

THREE weeks after his operation the patient who had not heard a sound for ten years began to complain of noise. The "noise" was the almost imperceptible hum of an efficient modern hospital. Soon another patient's 29-year-long silence was similarly shattered by Professor Chiang Ssu-chang and his two young colleagues Drs. Tien Chung-jui and Li Chi, all three of the General Hospital of the People's Liberation Army.

In two years the three surgeons have restored or improved the hearing of 32 patients by a recently developed surgical technique — stapedectomy.

First reported by Dr. John J. Shea six years ago, stapedectomy attempts to restore the function of the stapes and is now being used on a larger scale in otolaryngological surgery. It is no longer a little-known technique in China. Cases of deafness from otosclerosis or other causes in which the tiny stapes loses its piston-like function are benefited more by stapedectomy than by the older method of fenestration which is losing ground.

Since January 1962 when Professor Chiang and his colleagues successfully performed the first stapedectomy in this country many otolaryngologists here have mastered the technique and are using it to replace the silent

world of the deaf with the music of socialism.

Spanning the Centuries

THE advent of spring has brought forth a great stirring of activity in the fields of the Tulung River valley in northwest Yunnan Province. Buffaloes, which formerly served as sacrificial burnings, no longer go up in smoke to appease the gods — today they pull iron ploughs and serve man. This phenomenon emphatically illustrates the changed life of the Tulung people who have vaulted over several historic periods in less than a decade and a half. From a primitive family community, living precariously by the crudest farming which had to be supplemented by hunting and foraging, these people have spanned the centuries to arrive at a stage in which farming is now being done by socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives.

The 2,500 Tulungs are one of China's smallest minorities. At the time of liberation 14 years ago they were considered one of the world's most primitive people. Virtually cut off from the outside by the towering Kaolikus Mountains in southwest China, they were in a period of development where the patriarchal family community was breaking up, but class stratification had not gone far. Without a written language, records

were kept by using knotted strings and incised sticks. Although there was no lack of arable land in the valley only 300 *mu* were permanently farmed; yields were low, a fraction of the national level.

Liberation brought agro-technicians with metal tools, improved seed and new farming techniques.

With this and other government aid permanent farms soon covered 4,000 *mu* and yields rose fivefold.

The Tulungs attained national autonomy when the Kungshan Tulung and Nu Autonomous County was set up in 1956. At present 40 Tulungs hold responsible positions, and many are either in the Communist Party or the Communist Youth League. All school-age Tulung children are attending the county's five primary schools and one middle school. Previously undreamt of products — aluminium pots, flashlights and other household articles made in far-off cities such as Shanghai — have found their way into Tulung homes as a result of state-operated stores. Health services and medical care now are available to the Tulung people, whose numbers have increased by a third since liberation.

Not everything from the past has been abandoned. In fact some things have been encouraged. For example, collective work, common ownership of land and the other means of production and the absence of any strong sense of private property have been preserved. In the almost 15 years since the Kuomintang reactionaries were driven out there has not been a single case of theft or robbery. Sacks of food left by travellers for their return trip are hung along the jungle routes. For a Tulung to touch them without permission of the owner is so shameful that one would rather die of hunger.

New and Faster Airlines

PASSENGER service has been extended and flight time cut by the addition of three new through north-south airlines operated by the General Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC). The Peking-Shanghai run, with stopovers in Nanking and other cities, previously took six hours. On March 18 trial flights by four-engine turbo-prop airliners covered the distance in two hours and 25 minutes. Peking-Canton and Peking-Kunming voyages have been reduced by 40 per cent. The new flights will ease the passenger and freight burden on existing lines and help meet the growing demand for speedier service.



Women of the Tulung minority

ROUND THE WORLD

Brazilian Coup

Made in U.S.A.

President Joao Goulart was run out of Brazil last week not so much by the local "gorillas" as by their Wall Street masters. Ever since he assumed the presidency in the turbulent days of 1961 Joao Goulart has had to weather one political storm after another, always blowing from the same direction. The octopus in the north has much of the Brazilian economy in its grip and has never accepted the existence of an independent government in Brazil whenever it could not itself exercise complete control.

President Goulart took over the reins of government in a crisis, plotted by Washington and precipitated by Governor Lacerda and his ilk. The intrigue before his final assumption of office followed the classic pattern of coups and the inauguration of U.S. placemen—almost. The United States failed to replace the deposed Janio Quadros with its own man. Joao Goulart was not Washington's choice but he overcame strong opposition from the Lacerdas. Every day of the two years which have passed since his installation has been marked by a sharp and complex struggle, with Yankee imperialism and its friends on one side and the people of Brazil, including the national bourgeoisie in their ranks, on the other.

This struggle revolved round social reforms, pursuance of a relatively independent foreign policy and certain restrictions of foreign capital, designed to ease internal contradictions and safeguard Brazil's national interests. But even these measures which scarcely touched the vested interests of American monopoly capital in Brazil and the latifundia did not suit the champion of "progress" and the defender of "democracy."

For some time the U.S. press, taking its cue from Washington, had been talking openly about overthrowing the Goulart government.

The Brazilian coup, the *Washington Daily News* disclosed, had been in preparation for more than a year by a "secret revolutionary command" with permanent headquarters in the U.S. capital. AP reported that "the White House and the State Department were hoping for rebel success" and for "the ouster of the Brazilian President." Even before Goulart, the constitutional head of the government, had left the country, the U.S. President wired the putschists "warmest best wishes" and promised "still greater co-operation."

Washington's dirty work in the Brazilian coup has been condemned by public opinion throughout the Western hemisphere and the world. The whole affair is another ugly chapter in the history of U.S. domination of and interference in Latin America.

Indonesia Astir

Confronting Imperialism

The present mass campaign initiated by President Sukarno is giving new momentum to Indonesia's fight against imperialism.

Twenty-five million people have to date signed up as volunteers to strengthen the country's national defence and confrontation against "Malaysia." Students, trade unionists, Communists, nationalists, religious believers, ex-servicemen, members of women's organizations, sometimes entire government offices, including the ministers and their wives, joined. With messages of support pouring into Djakarta from all parts of the republic and rallies and demonstrations reported in the big cities as well as on the far-flung islands, the people are displaying revolutionary fervour and solidarity reminiscent of that shown during the 1961 campaign to liberate West Irian.

The American imperialists are still trying to browbeat the Indonesian Government into backing down from its stand against Malaysia. After the British-inspired Malaysian war moves, the announcement of the

dispatch of the U.S. 7th Fleet into the Indian Ocean and Robert Kennedy's deceptive "mediation"—all of which failed—U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk declared point-blank on April 3 that U.S. "aid" to Indonesia depended "very much on not only the measures that Indonesia is prepared to take inside the country, but also the adjustment of its relations with its own immediate neighbours." Sukarno's reply to Washington's blackmail was "Indonesia will not sell her soul for anything, even millions of U.S. dollars." Speaking before a public function attended by U.S. Ambassador Howard Jones, Sukarno declared: "Indonesia is a rich country with more than 100 million people. Even without foreign aid, she will build herself into a great nation. Indonesia will never collapse. Go to hell with your aid!"

Korean Reunification

Call From the North

Even while the students in Seoul, Pusan and Taegu were braving police clubs and tear gas to protest against dictator Pak Jung Heui's sellout of the country, a clear call had come from Pyongyang, penetrating the barrier of the military demarcation line, passed around in whispers from door to door, and inspiring hope in the hearts of patriotic south Koreans.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, through its Foreign Minister Pak Sung Chul, had given full support to the south Koreans' struggle against the U.S.-masterminded "ROK-Japan talks" and proposed an early joint meeting of representatives of political parties and public organizations from both parts of Korea to discuss national reunification and north-south relations. Ending U.S. rule, reunification and reliance on the country's own resources, it declared, was the only way out of south Korea's present political and economic impasse.

To help the suffering south Koreans, Foreign Minister Pak offered in the Korean Supreme People's Assembly on March 27 to supply the south annually with 300,000 tons of

rice, 100,000 tons of structural steel, 1,000 million kwh. of electricity and 10,000 tons of chemical fibre plus large quantities of cement, timber and machinery. These are the equivalents of the targets which the Seoul authorities promised in their counterfeit five-year plan. The Korean Foreign Minister also offered to provide jobs for the unemployed in the south who today are numbered in their millions.

Socialist, north Korea advances by leaps and bounds. With a prosperous economy, an advancing industry and a large food surplus, she has set herself the long-term task of eliminating the differences between town and countryside. On the other hand, the U.S.-occupied south, saddled with fascist rule, is teetering on the verge of ruin. There is runaway inflation, a chronic food crisis and large-scale unemployment. The situation is so serious that Washington itself is unable to cope and is turning to Japanese monopoly capitalism for help. This contrast between north and south Korea is telling evidence against the U.S. brand of "democracy," U.S. "aid," and the "free world."

Campaign for Rapprochement

Target of 30 m. Signatures

More and more the people of Japan have come to realize that it is not merely fatuous and futile for the Ikeda government to toe the Washington line of "containing" China. It has worked against Japan's interests in more ways than one. This realization is not confined to the man in the street. Even capitalists—the more realistic members of Big Business as well as owners of small and medium enterprises—have been compelled to face up to the facts. They are adding their voices to the demand that Japan expand its trade with China and resume diplomatic relations. And there are people within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, too, who have endorsed the February 13th Appeal issued by 25 notable Japanese figures calling for the normalization of relations with China.

On March 28 seven hundred representatives from all walks of life met in Tokyo under the joint auspices of the Japanese Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the General Council of Trade Unions, the National Peace Committee and the Japan-China Friendship Association to discuss action. A decision was made to start a campaign to collect 30 million signatures in support of the Appeal, which, apart from the restoration of diplomatic relations with China, asks that the Ikeda government abrogate the "Japan-Chiang Kai-shek treaty" and come out for the restoration of China's rightful status in the United Nations.

This campaign for rapprochement with China is linked with other movements in Japan today, such as those against the Japan-south Korea talks and against Japan's nuclear armament. It is directed as much against the reactionary forces in Japan as against U.S. imperialism which is trying its best to use Japan as a cat's-paw in its policy of war and aggression in Asia. As more and more Japanese see it, the resumption of diplomatic relations with China not only works to Japan's immediate advantage. It is required by the interests of peace in Asia.

Aggression Against Yemen

Britain Indicted

Arab opinion has been outraged by the British attack on the Yemen. On March 28 R.A.F. aircraft bombed the town of Horeib, killing 25 people, mostly women and children, and wounding many more. Horeib lies in southeast Yemen and is close to Beihan, one of the members of the British-controlled "Federation of South Arabia," from which the Colonel Blimps of Whitehall have repeatedly committed aggression against the Republic of Yemen since its birth in September 1962.

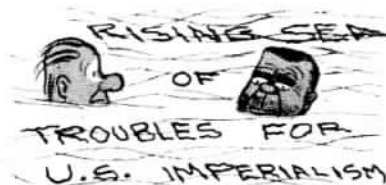
The Arab League Council at once denounced this wanton bombing and warned London that aggression against the Yemen means aggression against all the 13 members of the League. It called for the liquidation of every British base on Arabian soil. In a statement on April 2 Foreign

THE PASSING SHOW

April Fool's Day

UPI, Saigon, April 1—Former U.S. Vice-President Richard M. Nixon met for more than two hours today with his running mate in the last presidential election, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge.

"Let's say we covered the water front," Nixon told newsmen questioning him about his talk with Lodge.



Minister Subhi Abdul Hamid of Iraq voiced his country's condemnation, and so too did the Jordanian and Kuwaiti Foreign Ministers. Kader Hatem, U.A.R. Deputy Premier, said that this act would make the Arab people everywhere more hostile towards British imperialism. The press in Cairo, in Baghdad and in other centres gave full vent to Arab indignation.

For once, and in a cold-blooded manner at that, Britain admitted that the bombing of Horeib was its handiwork. The attack, it said, was "retaliation" for Yemeni "aggression" against the so-called Federation of South Arabia. But this illegitimate offspring of British intrigue is actually the southern part of the Yemen. To drive out the aggressor, the people there launched an armed struggle early this year and in many encounters have inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy. The March 28 air raid on Horeib was simply another attempt to intimidate the Yemenis and prevent them from supporting their brothers in the south.

Britain's aggression against the Yemen has been brought before the U.N. Security Council. There this self-appointed "friend" of the Asian and African peoples has been indicted by one Arab delegate after another. They demand that the Council condemn Britain as guilty of aggression.

Chi Pai-shih, Artist of The People

The centenary of the birth of Chi Pai-shih (1863-1957), the great Chinese painter, was commemorated earlier this year by a comprehensive exhibition of his works at the Peking Museum of Chinese Art. Hundreds of thousands saw the selection of 270 of his traditional Chinese paintings, calligraphic scrolls and seal-engravings collected for the occasion. They saw the painting *Carp* done in 1882, when the artist was barely 19, as well as the boldly conceived studies of flowers done in his nineties.

Man of the People

Chi Pai-shih started life like his father—a poor peasant farmer. Then after an apprenticeship he worked as a carpenter and wood-carver. That early life indelibly influenced his art. He left posterity thousands of paintings and drawings suffused with the sentiments of the working people. The simple things of nature that he loved to paint—such as chicks, crickets and shrimps—delighted the common man. In many of his paintings and in the colophons he inscribed on them, he showed his detestation of

social injustice. A picture of white cabbage, painted before liberation, carries the verse:

*Nearby in the rich man's house
are meats in plenty.*

*Hands stick out from my
mouth,¹*

But in vain. He'll give me nothing.

*Who has caused the faces of the
common people,*

To be as pale as winter cabbage?

Chi Pai-shih, in his late eighties, greeted the liberation of the country with exuberance like every working man. He painted ever-greens in praise of the motherland, the sun, white cranes and pines—symbols of longevity—to praise the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. He died at the age of 94, laden with honours conferred on him by the people's regime and surrounded by the love of the people.

Artistic Development

The *Carp*, one of his earliest works, already shows a sure hand in its brush strokes. It exemplifies that vigour and simplicity characteristic of Chinese folk art which happily

¹ A Chinese proverb says: "Hands stick out of the mouths of the hungry."

persisted in all of Chi Pai-shih's subsequent works.

The *Jie Shan Tu* (Borrowing a Mountain) series of 52 landscapes was the fruit of his travels over half of China when he was 47. Another landscape series, *Shih Men Er Shi Si Jing* (Twenty-four Pictures of Shih Men), was also done at this time. Though neither measure up to the high standard of his later work, they bear the unmistakable impress of his originality. In an inscription on one of his paintings in middle age he expressed his determination to take his own road regardless of the scoffings of hide-bound critics.

Chi Pai-shih reached maturity at a very late age for a painter—when he was little short of 60. Purity of line, simplicity of composition, a wide range of themes and variety of treatment characterized his mature work. He began to use bright colours for his flower paintings; this overcame a certain prosaicism in his earlier work and gave a new liveliness to his paintings. He also began to use a bold combination of Chinese ink and colour—contrasts and harmonies of rich black and bright colour. In his search for beauty, for artistic expression, he strove to bring out the essential traits of his subject. To him, a dull, mechanical representation or reproduction of nature was



Shrimps



Cormorants

unpardonable. His paintings are perfect blends of artistic beauty and objective truth. His style, spontaneous and unsophisticated, raised his paintings head and shoulders above those of many of his contemporaries.

His Technique

The lyrical beauty of Chi Pai-shih's paintings has often been remarked. He saw in an object what others often overlooked. He grasped the essential beauty of a thing with an understanding mind, and his works are pictorial representations of a true aesthetic appreciation. A moth in the summer night, to many minds, is hardly an object of beauty—it can be regarded with truth as a nuisance or fool. But Chi Pai-shih's moth hovering on its tremulous wings by an oil lamp makes one feel its longing for light and blindness to danger, and it becomes an object of sympathy; it takes on a larger dimension.

It is so too with his many other paintings of such "little" things as tadpoles, flies, bees or crickets. Delightful nature studies, they transcend in meaning their subject matter.

Chi Pai-shih was a master of composition, and the composition of practically every one of his pictures has a distinctive character. Like the perfect proportions of the carved spaces in his seals, his pictorial compositions are the result of an immense experience and careful planning that in his years of maturity became almost intuitive.

Chi Pai-shih was a realist, a meticulous student of nature, yet he warned against a "photographic" imitation of nature. "In painting," he said, "truth lies somewhere between likeness and 'unlikeness.' Too much likeness means catering to people's vulgar tastes; too much 'unlikeness' is an imposition." True to his theory, his best works stand in that middle-ground between likeness and "unlikeness." He perceives a thing with mind and heart and paints it in its reality. Take his lotus plants. Their flowers are tinted in creams and pinks while their

leaves are done in splashes of black ink. A similar technique is used in his loquats, strawberries, and convolvulus. Does one think that the leaves are really black? Certainly not. In those dark leaves there is a subtle suggestion which leads one to see instinctively their greenness in the black.

Chi Pai-shih makes other masterly uses of the technique of suggestion. In his paintings he conjures up a vision of the big in the small and the many in the few. Above all, he makes one see things in "empty" space. His paintings play the tricks of the Chinese stage on which much of the action and material props are left to the imagination. He never puts his birds on an azure background, but one feels that they are flying in the sky. His fish, tadpoles and shrimps are always painted in blank spaces on the paper. But the suggestive power of those blank spaces is so strong that one's mental perception of water is no less vivid—perhaps more vivid—than if it were painted in. He is a master of laconic evocation. A few dried lotus pods and a daintily perched dragonfly, a tree sparsely adorned with reddish-brown leaves and the dry shell of a cicada clasping one of the branches—these are enough to evoke the breath of autumn.

Tireless Efforts

Chi Pai-shih was a tireless student not only of past masters but of nature and of everything he saw. Once when visiting a Buddhist temple, he saw white markings on the brick floor which suggested the shape of a bird. He crouched down, took out pencil and pad, and made a sketch of it. That shape later became the basis of a painting.



Lotus and Dragonfly

Traditional Chinese paintings by Chi Pai-shih

He constantly sought innovations and improvements. The work of his later years showed ever greater power in his lines and fertility of imagination in composition. A painting drawn in 1952 has the theme of tadpoles swimming around the inverted shadow of a lotus plant in the water. It is a bold innovation in composition. Some people have asked: can tadpoles see shadows in the water? Chi Pai-shih thought they could, and it is here presented as an interesting thought, not as a scientific study.

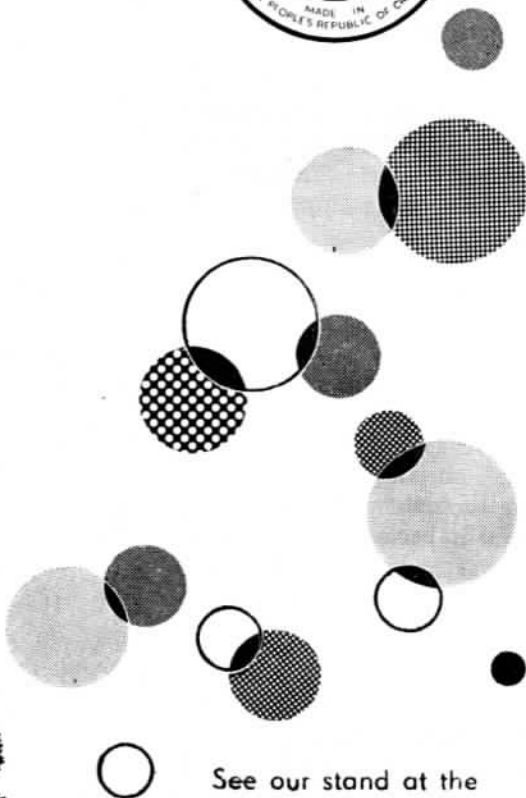
An heir to all the best in China's artistic heritage, he was ever a great innovator who has made his own distinctive and invaluable contribution to that heritage.

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