

PEKING REVIEW

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March 25, 1966

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Reply of the Central Committee of The Chinese Communist Party to The C.P.S.U. Central Committee

The Chinese Communist Party cannot send
its delegation to attend the 23rd
Congress of the C.P.S.U.

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They Farm for the Revolution

THE story of how the outlying districts of the nation's largest metropolis, Shanghai, have been transformed beyond recognition received front page coverage in the national press last week.

Many factors have contributed to the steady rise in farm output and the prospering conditions throughout China's countryside. Some of them are: the collective strength of the people's communes, extension of irrigation, introduction of mechanized or semi-mechanized farming and popularization of improved techniques. But the propelling force that makes for phenomenal changes is the revolutionary enthusiasm of the country's 500 million peasants.

Formerly small producers whose chief concern was to make a living, the peasants are now commune members working in large-scale collective farming. Educated by the Party in the socialist spirit, they have gradually broken away from old customs and habits and changed their outlook. Linking their interests with those of the collective and the state, they farm not only for themselves but for the revolution.

This change in outlook leads to unprecedented enthusiasm for production. And it is this urge to do more and continually raise output for the revolution that accounts for the astounding transformation in Shanghai's suburbs. It is a success story resulting from the heightened revolutionary fervour of the commune members.

The ten counties around Shanghai, endowed with favourable natural conditions, are often referred to as "a place where rice and fish abound." But before liberation, per-*mu* yield of paddyrice here was only about 400 *jin*, that of ginned cotton 20 to 30 *jin*. Last year, however, per-*mu* yield was more than 900 *jin* for grain, over 100 *jin* for ginned cotton and 240 *jin* for rapeseed. In addition,

there has been a rapid growth in the area's diversified economy, and income from sidelines made up some 30 per cent of the total output value of both agricultural production and side occupations. All this means improved well-being for the peasants whose average income last year nearly doubled what they earned in 1957.

The establishment of people's communes all over the country in 1958 opened up new vistas for the countryside, but old ideas which the peasants still retained were obstacles to rapid growth in agriculture. In order to develop the socialist economy in the rural areas, it was necessary to combat petty-bourgeois ideas and continually educate the peasants in collectivism and socialism.

This was particularly important with members of the rural communes around Shanghai. Living near this great metropolis, well-off peasants, besides taking part in farm work, had gone in for trade to get greater profits before liberation. This carry-over from the old days had a corrupting influence on others. Through struggles against their capitalist tendencies and against the sabotaging activities of former landlords and other illegal elements, the Party organizations helped the peasants to see how their real interests lay in the collective. The upshot was a heightening of socialist consciousness among the great majority of peasants and a burst of fresh energy for developing production. Thus, even during the difficult years 1959-61 the peasants on Shanghai's

outskirts kept up a steady supply of poultry, eggs, fish and vegetables to the city and sold what surplus grain they had to the state.

With the consolidation of the communes' collective economy and with several good harvests under their belts, some peasants began to feel complacent. A few even thought that production in their communes had reached the maximum, and this amounted to putting a halt to the revolution. With politics always in command, the Party organizations at once set out to help the peasants see how harmful such ideas were and how they should further boost agricultural production.

Fired by revolutionary ideals, the peasants began to see beyond their own communes. Emulating advanced units in other parts of the country and learning from these units' successful experience to improve their own techniques, they went in for further extension of irrigation, soil amelioration, seed selection and scientific experiments — all aimed at creating an optimum for boosting farm output to a new high.

Doing their bit for the revolution, the peasants around Shanghai have turned their region into a rich storehouse of food products. The vast expanse of land on the city's outskirts is now crisscrossed by irrigation canals, cluttered with power-operated pumping stations and dotted with commune-run enterprises and workshops — sinews for further strengthening the collective economy of the communes and for speeding up the modernization of agriculture on the region's 5.4 million *mu* of land, all within hailing distance of this sprawling city.

Johnson's Unpopular War

AT home and abroad, the U.S. Government is facing more resistance and opposition to its dirty war in Vietnam than it ever faced in any war in its history. Washing-

ton's efforts to dragoon Western allies to help fight its war of aggression have suffered firm rebuffs. A recent editorial in a West German newspaper signifies what Johnson is

up against. "The Vietnamese war is no concern of ours. We must loudly and unequivocally make this clear," wrote the *Neue Rhein-Zeitung*.

In the United States, where this war is the most unpopular in U.S. history, March 25 and 26 have been set aside to voice continued opposition to Washington's policy.

Censure by the American people has been mounting. From coast to coast Americans have spoken up against their Government's aggression in a country separated from the United States by a vast ocean. Protest demonstrations are frequent, and more and more people are taking part, demanding that the Johnson Administration "bring the boys home" and let the Vietnamese people settle their own internal affairs.

Last week a group from the newly formed "Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam" organization demonstrated in front of Hubert Humphrey's house in suburban Maryland. They wanted to return their discharge and separation papers as well as medals and campaign ribbons. During a demonstration on February 5, members of the organization had tried to leave the documents at the White House but no one accepted them. Since both Johnson and Humphrey dared not see the demonstrators, a spokesman of the group said that they would burn their papers in New York's Union Square on March 25 at the end of a candlelight vigil.

What with hunger strikes, the burning of draft cards, the publication of open letters by American

scholars and the "Tower of Protest" erected by American artists in Los Angeles, Johnson continues to run up against greater and greater resistance to his unpopular war.

Anti-War Leaflets. One of the various means the American people are using to oppose the war is sending leaflets to U.S. troops, urging them not to take part in the dirty war. Officers and men of the U.S. 3rd Marine Division, the 1st Infantry Division, the 173rd Airborne Brigade and other units in south Vietnam have received leaflets in increasing numbers over the past few months. One of them reads:

- "McNamara says: 'Americans will have to learn to accept casualties.' And that means you, brother. You won't find him eating in the jungle or going home in a coffin. There aren't any bombs planted in the Pentagon like there will be in your barracks, your base or local bar."

Another reads:

- "We hope that you, too, find yourself as a human being, unable to tolerate this nightmare war, and we hope that you will oppose it. . . . Growing numbers of G.I.s have refused to fight in Vietnam, and have been court-martialed, they have shown great courage."

A third reads:

- "As a soldier you have been trained to obey orders, but as a human being you must take responsibility for your own acts. International and American law recognizes that an individual soldier,

Chairman Liu to Visit Afghanistan

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his wife will visit Afghanistan at the invitation of Mohammed Zahir Shah, King of Afghanistan.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi and his wife will be among those accompanying Chairman Liu on his visit.

even when he is acting under orders, must bear final legal and moral responsibility for what he does. . . . This principle became a part of law after World War II. . . . This principle was the basis of the Nuremberg trials. We believe that the entire war in Vietnam is criminal and immoral. We believe that the atrocities which are necessary to wage this war against the people of Vietnam are inexcusable."

Washington's anxiety over this development is reflected in the Department of Justice's study of the possibility of invoking "anti-sedition statutes" to persecute the organizations or individuals sending out these leaflets. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is doing everything possible to track down those posting them.

The anti-war movement in the United States is expanding. The impact on the American people cannot be overestimated. Rising against imperialism in their own country for the first time in history, the American people will, together with the people in other parts of the world, hasten the defeat of U.S. imperialism and bury it for good.

Philippine Senator in Peking

Mrs. Maria Kalaw Katigbak, a Liberal Party Senator and head of a Philippine exploratory mission to China, arrived in Peking on March 13 with the members of the mission.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi met Senator Katigbak on March 16. Three days later Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling had a friendly talk with the visiting Senator. The guests left Peking for home on March 20.



New Yorkers demonstrating against the U.S. war of aggression against Vietnam

Chinese Communist Party Cannot Send Delegation to C.P.S.U. 23rd Congress

—C.P.C. Central Committee's Reply to C.P.S.U. Central Committee—

March 22, 1966

**The Central Committee of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union**

Dear Comrades,

The Communist Party of China has received the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated February 24, 1966, inviting us to send a delegation to attend your 23rd Congress as guests.

In normal circumstances, it would be considered an indication of friendship for one Party to invite another fraternal Party to send a delegation to its congress. But around the time you sent this invitation, you distributed an anti-Chinese document in the Soviet Union both inside and outside the Party and organized a whole series of anti-Chinese reports from top to bottom, right down to the basic units, whipping up hysteria against China. Moreover, you sent an anti-Chinese letter to other Parties, instigating them to join you in opposing China. You wantonly vilified the Chinese Communist Party as being "bellicose" and "pseudo-revolutionary," as "refusing to oppose imperialism" and "encouraging U.S. imperialist aggression," and as being guilty of "adventurism," "splittism," "Trotskyism," "nationalism," "great-power chauvinism," "dogmatism," and so on and so forth. You have also been spreading rumours alleging that China "is obstructing aid to Vietnam" and that "China has been encroaching on Soviet territory." You have gone so far as to state that "China is not a socialist country." These anti-Chinese activities all go to show that your present invitation is merely a gesture and is sent with ulterior motives. In these circumstances, how can the Chinese Communist Party which you look upon as an enemy be expected to attend your Congress?

The Chinese Communist Party has attended many of the Congresses of the C.P.S.U. Also, we sent delegations to your 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses, after the Khrushchov revisionist group usurped the leadership of the C.P.S.U. But at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. you suddenly lashed out at Stalin. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. In attacking Stalin you were attacking Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union, Communist Parties, China, the people and all the Marxist-Leninists of

the world. At the 22nd Congress, you adopted an out-and-out revisionist programme, made a wild public attack on Albania and reproached the Chinese Communist Party, so that the head of our delegation had to leave for home while the Congress was only half way through.

Russia is the native land of Leninism and used to be the centre of the international working class movement. After Stalin's death, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. headed by Khrushchov gradually revealed their true features as betrayers of Lenin and Leninism and embarked on the old path of the German Social Democrats Bernstein and Kautsky, who betrayed Marx and Engels and Marxism. As a result, the leadership of the C.P.S.U. has become the centre of modern revisionism.

Over the last ten years, we have made a series of efforts in the hope that you would return to the path of Marxism-Leninism. Since Khrushchov's downfall, we have advised the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. on a number of occasions to make a fresh start. We have done everything we could, but you have not shown the slightest repentance.

Since coming to power, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have gone farther and farther down the road of revisionism, splittism and great-power chauvinism. The moment you came to power, you declared that you would resolutely carry out the Khrushchov revisionist general line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses. You told us to our faces that there was not a shade of difference between Khrushchov and yourselves on the question of the international communist movement or of relations with China. Far from publicly retracting the anti-Chinese Open Letter of July 1963 and the anti-Chinese report and resolution of February 1964, you have intensified your activities against China by more insidious tactics. Despite the tricks you have been playing to deceive people, you are pursuing U.S.-Soviet collaboration for the domination of the world with your whole heart and soul. In mouthing a few words against U.S. imperialism and in making a show of supporting anti-imperialist struggles, you are conducting only minor attacks on U.S. imperialism while rendering it major help. In following this tactic you very well know what you are up to, and so does U.S. imperialism. Your clamour for "united action," especially on the Vietnam question, is nothing but a trap for the purpose of de-

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ceiving the Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the world. You have all along been acting in co-ordination with the United States in its plot for peace talks, vainly attempting to sell out the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and to drag the Vietnam question into the orbit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration. You have worked hand in glove with the United States in a whole series of dirty deals inside and outside the United Nations. In close co-ordination with the counter-revolutionary "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism, you are now actively trying to build a ring of encirclement around socialist China. Not only have you excluded yourselves from the international united front of all the peoples against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, you have even aligned yourselves with U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the people of the world, and the reactionaries of all countries in a vain attempt to establish a Holy Alliance against China, against the people, against the national liberation movement and against the Marxist-Leninists.

Disregarding the opposition of many fraternal Parties, you convened the divisive Moscow meeting of March 1965. This was an extremely grave step to bring about an open split in the international communist movement. We demanded that you openly admit that the convening of the divisive Moscow meeting was wrong and illegal. Up to now you have not done so.

We would like to inform you explicitly that since you have gone so far, the Chinese Communist Party, as a serious Marxist-Leninist Party, cannot send its delegation to attend this Congress of yours.

We are confident that in all parts of the world including the Soviet Union, the masses of the people, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population, are for revolution and against imperialism and its lackeys. In the ranks of the international communist movement including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, over 90 per cent of the Communists and cadres will eventually march along the path of Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary people of the world, the great international communist movement, the great socialist camp and the great peoples of China and the Soviet Union will eventually sweep away all obstacles and unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Soviet people may rest assured that once the Soviet Union meets with imperialist aggression and puts up resolute resistance, China will definitely stand side by side with the Soviet Union and fight against the common enemy.

With fraternal greetings,

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China**

Appendix

Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Dated February 24, 1966

Moscow,
February 24, 1966

Comrade Mao Tse-tung

**The Central Committee of the Communist Party of
China**

Dear Comrades,

The forthcoming 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. will be convened on March 29, 1966.

The agenda of the Congress has been planned as follows:

1) The Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. — by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

2) The Report of the Central Audit Commission of the C.P.S.U. — by Comrade N. A. Muravyeva, Chairman of the Audit Commission.

3) The directives of the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. on the Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. from 1966 to 1970 — by Comrade A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

4) The election of the central organs of the Party.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union invites a delegation of the Communist Party of China to attend the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. as guests.

With communist greetings,

L. Brezhnev
**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

Chinese People Reiterate All-Out Support

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

CONTINUED support without reservation for the valiant Vietnamese people in their fight against U.S. imperialism and condemnation of the inhuman use of poison gas and toxic chemicals by the U.S. invaders in south Vietnam. These form the main themes of the messages of solidarity sent by Chinese people's organizations to their counterparts in north and south Vietnam, the editorials in the Chinese press and the many activities which took place in a dozen Chinese cities during the 16th anniversary of the March 19 Vietnam Day of Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism and the Week of Solidarity with the Vietnamese People.

Peking Mass Rally

On the eve of the March 19th anniversary, Vice-Premier Chen Yi, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity Liao Cheng-chih, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Li Tien-yu and more than 3,000 Peking citizens and friends from over 40 countries took part in a mass rally to hail Vietnam's victories and condemn the U.S. imperialist crimes.

Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the China Peace Committee, delivered the keynote address. Emphasizing that the Vietnamese people had set a brilliant example for all oppressed nations and people, he pointed out that their victories had provided further convincing proof that ferocious U.S. imperialism was in reality a paper tiger and could be defeated by a people's war.

Kuo Mo-jo condemned the American "scorched-earth" policy in south Vietnam, and particularly the wide use of poison gas and toxic chemicals. These crimes showed U.S. imperialism to be the most barbarous and shameless aggressor in human history, he said.

Reiterating the Chinese people's resolve to stand together with the Vietnamese people and give them all-out support and assistance, Kuo Mo-jo declared: "Listen, you American imperialists! We 650 million



Soldiers of the south Vietnam liberation forces helping with the harvest

Chinese people are ready. Suit yourself if you insist on another trial of strength with us. Come whenever you like, alone or in company. We won't refuse to fight. We will finish you off, as many as come. The Chinese people will not stint whatever sacrifice is necessary for the great cause of world peace and the liberation of mankind. Fighting alongside other peoples of the world, we will do our share to bury once and for all U.S. imperialism, the arch aggressor and warmonger of our time."

Le Tung Son, Acting Head of the Permanent Mission to China of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, exposed the numerous U.S. crimes in south Vietnam. He denounced the U.S. aggressor troops' mass killing and burning and their use of poison gas and toxic chemicals against his people. All this, he said, has exposed the true colours of the U.S. imperialists — butchers worse than the Hitlerites. He declared that since U.S. imperialism has not learnt its lesson despite its disastrous defeats, the south Vietnamese people will "fight with determination and fight to win." That, he said, was the only road to victory, the only way to realize the Vietnamese people's aspirations for independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and unification of their fatherland.

Vietnam Day Against U.S. Imperialism

ON March 18, 1950, two U.S. destroyers anchored at Saigon while over 70 carrier-based U.S. planes flew above the city. This was meant to notify the Vietnamese people that U.S. imperialism was ready to take over from the French colonialists then reeling under the hammer blows dealt them by the Vietnamese people.

The provocative military show boomeranged. Far from being cowed, the Vietnamese people's forces bombarded the destroyers, and on March 19 half a million citizens in Saigon-Cholon with lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, now President of the Presidium of the South Vietnam N.F.L. at the head, took to the streets to stage a mammoth demonstration against the Yankee aggressors. Anti-U.S. slogans were heard everywhere and U.S. sailors were chased on Saigon's streets. This was the first of the many subsequent rebuffs the Vietnamese people have given to the world's No. 1 upholder of imperialism.

March 19 has since been named Vietnam Day of Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism. This year it was observed throughout the world to demonstrate solidarity with the Vietnamese people.



Man is more important than machines. One link in the far-spread supply network in the liberated areas

Hoang Bac, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Vietnamese Embassy in Peking, declared that no U.S. plots to intensify the war in the south, to extend it to the north, or to launch phoney peace offensives — none of these could ever save U.S. imperialism and its stooges from their ever more perilous situation. He warned U.S. imperialism that "unless it gives up its schemes

to occupy Vietnam, solemnly recognizes the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, and expresses this recognition by action, then as President Ho Chi Minh has declared, 'so long as the U.S. army of aggression remains on our soil, our people will fight resolutely against it.'"

China Strongly Protests Against Worsening of Sino-Ghanaian Relations by Ghanaian Authorities

The Chinese Embassy in Ghana recently addressed three notes to the Ghanaian Foreign Ministry in protest against the moves taken by the Ghanaian authorities to deliberately worsen relations between the two countries. The notes point out that their attempt to avoid responsibility for wantonly undermining relations between the two countries will never succeed, and they must bear full responsibility for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

March 6 Note

China refutes Ghanaian Foreign Ministry's vicious slander which groundlessly charged that the Chinese Government was in diverse ways "assisting Kwame Nkrumah to return to Ghana to stage a counter-revolution."

IN its note under reference the Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs groundlessly charges that "the Government of the People's Republic of China is in diverse ways giving assistance to the deposed regime of Kwame Nkrumah" and that "the Government of the People's Republic of China has begun shipment of substantial quantities of arms and other war materials to the

Republic of Guinea with a view to assisting Kwame Nkrumah to return to Ghana to stage a counter-revolution." This is a sheer fabrication and a vicious slander made by the Ghanaian side against the Chinese Government and constitutes another serious provocation following a series of actions deliberately taken by the Ghanaian side to worsen the relations between China and Ghana. Against this, the Chinese Government cannot but lodge the strongest protest with the Ghanaian side.

Turning the truth upside down, the Ghanaian Foreign Ministry even asserts in its note that "the responsibility for the consequences of any unfriendly act" by the Chinese Government "will entirely rest with that government." It attempts to shift on to China the responsibility for the worsening of the relations between the two countries. But the facts are just the opposite; it is precisely the Ghanaian side that has taken a series of grave steps to worsen the relations between the two countries. It has unreasonably detained and brutally beaten up Chinese experts and a staff member of the Chinese Embassy; it has unilaterally torn up the Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation between China and Ghana and unreasonably demanded the immediate withdrawal of all the Chinese experts and a cut in the staff of the Chinese Embassy; it has subjected the Chinese personnel who were compelled to leave Accra to all kinds of harassment and indignities. All this clearly shows that the responsibility for the worsening of the relations between the two countries rests not with the Chinese side but with the Ghanaian side. The Chinese Government points out in all seriousness that the Ghanaian side must bear full responsibility for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

March 15 Note

The Ghanaian authorities unreasonably declared that they considered the presence of three diplomatic officials of the Chinese Embassy "to be undesirable." This is another serious incident which, in a planned and systematic manner, deliberately worsens relations between China and Ghana.

IN its note under reference the Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs unreasonably declared the presence of First Secretary Hu Ting-yi and two other diplomatic officials of the Chinese Embassy to be undesirable and asked them to leave Ghana within 48 hours. This is another serious incident created by the Ghanaian side to deliberately worsen the relations between China and Ghana in a planned and systematic way. The Chinese Embassy hereby lodges the strongest protest

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with the Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs against this incident.

It must be pointed out that the above-mentioned arbitrary decision of the Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs was made following a whole series of steps taken by the Ghanaian side seriously damaging the relations between the two countries, such as the beating up of Chinese experts and a staff member of the Chinese Embassy, the unilateral scrapping of the Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation between the two countries, the demand for the withdrawal of all Chinese experts and the cutting down of the number of the Chinese Embassy staff. The Chinese Embassy solemnly states that the Ghanaian side must bear full and ultimate responsibility for all the grave consequences arising from its actions mentioned above.

March 19 Note

The Ghanaian side again maliciously slanders China and stands the truth on its head in an attempt to shift on to China the responsibility for undermining relations between the two countries.

IN its note, the Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs hurls at China the absurd slander that she has been "deliberately interfering in the internal affairs of Ghana" and that Chinese personnel "were helping in training saboteurs in Ghana," and groundlessly charges the Chinese side with "molestation and maltreatment" of some members of the Ghanaian Embassy in China. This is obviously an attempt by the Ghanaian side to create pretexts for its recent unjustifiable expulsion of three diplomatic officials of the Chinese Embassy and to shirk its responsibility for deliberately worsening the relations between China and Ghana. The Chinese Government cannot but express great indignation at the fact that in disregard of China's repeated protests the Ghanaian side again maliciously slanders China and stands the truth on its head in an attempt to shift on to China the responsibility for undermining the relations between the two countries; it hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Ghanaian side once again.

As is well known, the military experts as well as the economic and technical experts sent by the Chinese Government to work in Ghana were dispatched at the request of the Government of the Republic of Ghana and in pursuance of the relevant agreements signed by the two countries. They always worked in accordance with the arrangements made by the Ghanaian Government. They are beyond reproach. No one can succeed in distorting all these facts.

Following principles guiding international relations, the Chinese side has always given the members of the Ghanaian Embassy in China a friendly reception and offered them all facilities and assistance. Even after the Ghanaian side took a number of actions worsening the relations between the two countries, it has maintained a friendly attitude and ensured them all the diplomatic privileges that are due to them. The charge of the Ghanaian side in this respect is totally unreasonable.

In its note, the Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs repeats the lie advanced in its note of March 4 to the Chinese Embassy, to the effect that China "has sent substantial quantity of arms to Conakry with a view to assisting the deposed Kwame Nkrumah to organize a counter-revolution in Ghana." The Chinese Embassy already sternly refuted this lie in its note of

protest of March 6, pointing out that it was a sheer fabrication and a deliberate slander made by the Ghanaian side against the Chinese Government. The Chinese Government cannot but express great dissatisfaction at these repeated fabrications on the part of the Ghanaian side.

It is very clear that the series of charges against China made by the Ghanaian side in the note are all groundless. It is utterly futile for the Ghanaian side to attempt thereby to escape its responsibility for unwarrantedly expelling Chinese diplomatic officials and wantonly undermining the relations between the two countries; its attempt will never succeed. The Chinese Government solemnly points out once again that the Ghanaian side must bear full responsibility for undermining the relations between the two countries.

Strong Protest Against New Incident by Indonesian Right-Wing Forces

In a March 21 note to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, the Chinese Embassy in Djakarta lodged the strongest protest against another violent attack by Indonesian Right-wing forces on the Chinese Consulate in Makasar on March 18. It pointed out that the authorities concerned had not kept their promise of truly protecting the Chinese Consulate, still less had they taken effective measures to stop the hooliganism as requested by the Consulate. The note reads in part as follows:

AT around 09:00 hours on March 18, 1966, dozens of hooligans organized by the reactionary Indonesian Right-wing forces broke into the compound of the Chinese Consulate in Makasar and wildly did damage while shouting "Kill Chinamen!" They carried away the Consulate's national flag and national emblem, hoisted the Indonesian national flag on its flag-staff and destroyed a portrait of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the beloved leader of the Chinese people, in the hall. They pushed the Consul's car out of the gate and smashed it up. They wilfully wrecked the furniture in the Consulate. They painted the words "Indonesian College Students' United Action Command" (BASMI) on the gate and wall of the Consulate as well as on its car. This outrageous incident lasted about twenty minutes.

It is noteworthy that the same Consulate was seriously damaged by hooligans previously on February 25. The Chinese Government has not yet received a

reply to the demands it solemnly raised in its note to the Indonesian Government dated February 27. In the meantime, the reactionary Indonesian Right-wing forces have been clamouring with still greater vehemence for "thoroughly crushing the Chinese Consulate" and spread all sorts of rumours and slanders. The recent outrageous and disruptive raid on the Consulate was made on the very next day of Consul Shih Chin-kan's departure for Djakarta on business. The facts demonstrate that this is another anti-Chinese activity premeditated and planned by the reactionary Right-wing forces to further undermine the relations between China and Indonesia. The authorities of South Sulawesi have not kept their promise of truly protecting the Chinese Consulate, still less have they taken effective measures to stop the attacks of the hooligans as requested by the personnel of the Chinese Consulate. This cannot but arouse one's extreme regret and indignation.

The Chinese Embassy hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government against the above-mentioned serious incident. It demands that the Indonesian Government immediately make a public apology, return at once the Chinese national flag and emblem carried away by the hooligans, severely punish the culprits and the instigators of the outrage, compensate for all the losses suffered by the Chinese Consulate in Makasar, and take truly effective measures to ensure the safety of the Chinese Consulate and its personnel and to guarantee against the occurrence of similar incidents.

Dialectics in Technology

— Making Turbo-Generators With Water-Cooled Stator and Rotor —

by TING HSIAO-JUN

This is the third in our series of articles on how people in all walks of life in this country are learning to creatively apply Mao Tse-tung's thinking in solving their problems. This article describes how the "established" ways of doing things were overturned in making China's first turbo-generators with direct water-cooled stator and rotor. The first and second of this series — "A Revolutionary Outlook in Treating Burns" and "Learning to View Things in an All-Round Way" — appeared in "Peking Review," Nos. 6 and 10, 1966. — Ed.

THE manufacture of turbo-generators with direct water-cooling of both stator and rotor is one of the creative achievements of China's socialist industry. This technological advance was achieved, under the leadership of the Communist Party, by the co-ordinated efforts of many people, including workers, scientific researchers and technical personnel. Decisive in this success was the application of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teachings and ideas to overcome metaphysical attitudes and make this technical breakthrough despite many objective difficulties. By using the sharp weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and materialist dialectics, the working people engaged in this project were able to give wide scope to their wisdom and talents and successfully tackle problems for which there were still no ready answers.

Starting Point

New China for some time followed in the footsteps of others in making generators. In 1958 when the Shanghai Electrical Manufacturing Works was mapping out new plans for the production of generators, it was faced with the choice of again trailing behind others or taking a new, self-reliant road of China's own. Encouraged and supported by their collaborators in other plants and institutions, its workers and staff boldly decided to strike out in a new direction suited to China's needs and potentialities.

Western capitalist countries long ago came up against the contradiction between the growing capacity of generators and the higher temperatures their coils have to stand. In order to make larger capacity generators it was, therefore, necessary first of all to

find a way of cooling the coils or, more exactly, the winding. Conventional air cooling gave only limited results because the heat to be removed had to pass through the insulation wrapped around the conductor. When hydrogen was substituted for air in the late 1930s, more efficient cooling was achieved. This technique was further improved in 1951 by using the method of direct conductor cooling (with hollow conductors in the coil).

Water as a coolant is about 50 times as effective as air and 12-15 times as effective as hydrogen. The use of direct water cooling was therefore an attractive proposition and many naturally thought about it. In 1956 it was used to cool the stator winding (which does not move), while the rotor winding was still being cooled by hydrogen.

Breaking With Convention

In 1958, the idea was still around that it was not feasible to jump over the "established" steps — first the making of hydrogen-cooled generators and then generators with hydrogen-cooled rotor and direct water-cooled stator. Influenced by this thinking, the Shanghai works set itself a modest target of producing direct hydrogen-cooled generators by 1962. This was later revised but only to make generators with direct hydrogen-cooled rotor and water-cooled stator winding by 1960.

However, rapid growth of the power industry in China, the urgent need for power units of larger capacity and other considerations stimulated the search for new solutions to these problems. More and more of the workers and staff began to ask: Why must we trail behind the others' footsteps and allow ourselves to be tied by "convention?" Why could not we, late comers in the manufacture of generators, learn from others' experience to go ahead faster? Sooner or later we would have to try water cooling when we made generators of very large capacity so why not go straight for it? They revised their target accordingly.

But could such a big jump be made without the most advanced facilities? Successful experimental generators made by a technical college in co-operation with a small factory gave an encouraging answer. Later

events proved that this big forward stride was entirely possible if existing material conditions and the equipment, experience, and technical forces developed in producing air-cooled generators were fully used. Certain material conditions are indispensable in fulfilling a task, but man and man's thinking is of decisive importance. Favourable conditions can be created in the process of doing. Even when conditions have not been fully prepared, the daring revolutionary spirit will bring man's subjective activity into play, objective laws will be grasped and put to use, spiritual force turned into material force and the necessary conditions created.

Workers and staff of the works did not overlook the possibility of failure. Innovation involved certain "risks." But if the attempt failed, the first thing they would do would be to sum up experience and learn its lessons, thereby turning failure into a factor leading to final victory. On the other hand, each actual step was carefully weighed to reduce possible losses to a minimum.

Late comers can surpass the advanced by learning from others' experience and short circuiting some stages the advanced have gone through. A number of late-developing capitalist countries have made such jumps, and they are even more feasible for people under a socialist system which frees the social productive forces to an unprecedented degree. Revolutionaries armed with dialectical thought can consciously exploit these possibilities and jump in a better and faster way.

Research, Designing and Trial Production

In designing such new products the orthodox procedure had been research in the laboratory, designing in the designing office followed by trial manufacture in a factory. Those engaged in making the water-cooled generators took a hard look at this procedure. Its strict observance would slow the project, so they organized the work in a revolutionary way. Under the guidance of the Party organization, research staff and designers joined with the workers in a joint campaign to tackle the common task. Arrangements were also made to pool the wisdom of the workers, technical personnel and leading cadres, and co-ordinate the efforts of the participating industrial plants, research institutes and colleges. The results were very promising. Many long standing problems were thus solved in a short space of time.

A great deal of research work was done in the factory shops. With a rich fund of practical knowledge and well acquainted with the specific problems of the new generators, the workers helped the research staff to apply their theoretical knowledge more effectively and get results faster.

Designers were also doing most of the designing work in the workshop in close co-operation with those actually responsible for making the new generators. Imperfections in design were quickly remedied and improvements readily worked out. Thus, the water-

cooled generator was produced as a result of an integrated process of experiment, designing and trial production that considerably shortened the time normally needed to develop such an elaborate piece of equipment.

Knowledge From Practice

The designing of a new product is a forward projection of the experience gained in production, carefully analysed and summed up. As Chairman Mao says: "When men in society throw themselves into the practice of changing a certain objective process (whether natural or social) at a certain stage of its development, they can . . . create ideas, theories, plans or programmes which correspond in general to the laws of that objective process."¹ Only by launching themselves into the practical task of making the new generators could the workers and staff engaged in this project work out a complete design accurately reflecting the laws elucidated in this practice.

Far from delaying the work, close co-operation in research, designing and trial production speeded it up. The manufacture of certain parts was started without waiting for new completed blueprints. The experience of trial manufacture was analysed in timely discussions and incorporated in the designing; the defects in designs revealed by trial manufacture were promptly corrected.

Working in the workshops enabled the designers to integrate themselves and their efforts with the workers' and workshop practice. They took in the opinions advanced by the workers. These ideas and suggestions gave them rich material to work on and provided the practical experience they lacked. They had also to "refine" the workers' experience, often raw and unsystematized, in the light of theory and careful calculations.

The advance from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge takes place through a process of constantly repeated practice and can be consolidated only on the basis of the masses' practice. Each key step in the designing of the new generators was, therefore, finalized only after repeated discussions, experiments and comparisons made by the masses. The best possible results were ensured by thus thoroughly implementing the mass line in designing.

Tested in Practice

Though it was a big victory, completion of the first water-cooled generator did not end the job. Being a prototype, it could not be expected to be perfect. After it was installed in the power plant and commissioned, experiments and studies continued with the aim of improving it so that new water-cooled generators of better design could be quickly produced.

¹ "On Practice," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, Vol. I, p. 305.

The making of the first water-cooled generator provided only the most fundamental and limited knowledge about this type of generator. Although many problems connected with this machine had been solved, there were many hidden problems still undiscovered and unsolved. After the generator was commissioned, it needed some time to spot and get to grips with them. Only after prolonged operation could such problems concerning construction, technological processes and materials be seen more clearly. In the course of operation, the principles applied could be further tested and further valuable data collected.

It would be metaphysical approach not to seek co-operation with the power plant where the generator was installed and not to aim by further investigation to effect further improvements. The makers of the first water-cooled generator refused to go that way. Moreover, they put their mass line on a broader basis by extending joint work to the power plant using this generator. Constant improvement of the water-cooled generator, like their initiation, would have been inconceivable without the large-scale co-operation and support of many related organizations.

Close co-ordination between research, designing and trial manufacture ensured that this project was approached in a thoroughly practical way and the mass line implemented. Wisdom came out of practice and the masses. A firm rebuff was given to the metaphysical approach separating research from designing and trial manufacture, workers from technical personnel and leading cadres, and manufacturing works from the enterprises using their products. By further releasing the inexhaustible energies and wisdom of the masses and applying the truths of materialist dialectics, there will certainly be further great revolutionary advances in this sphere of technology.

Inheritance and Innovation

In making the water-cooled generators, all the useful techniques mastered in turning out air-cooled generators were retained at the start so that the main effort could be directed to the fundamental problems of the new machines. The idea of making a new start on everything, as proposed by some designers, would have needlessly complicated matters by making an arbitrary break in the links of technical development. To bring about something new, it is necessary to discard certain old outdated things. But if, in building the new water-cooled generators, too much were negated this would have created unnecessary difficulties in designing and trial manufacture, thereby prolonging the work.

Those engaged in the project took over all that was rational in the structure of the air-cooled generators and, as far as possible, preserved the basic structures of their rotor and stator. This greatly lightened the designing work and permitted the manufacture of many parts to go ahead right away. Innovation did imply negation of the old but only of their irrational part. If everything old had been arbitrarily turned

down, it would only have hampered the birth of the new.

Did this attitude militate against the introduction of creative changes? Certainly not. The essential differences between new and old are often concentrated in a few decisive parts. To change everything old at one stroke would not have helped the project. What distinguishes a water-cooled generator from conventional gas-cooled generators is the flowing water in the stator and rotor windings. This is where the creative effort had to be concentrated. More specifically, the most difficult problem was to get the water flowing smoothly in the rotor winding rotating at 3,000-r.p.m. The workers put it this way: "The water brings the benefits and also creates the main headache."

Could water be made to flow in the fast running rotor without upsetting the rotor's dynamic balance? How to prevent leaks? How should the water be carried from one part to another? Once these problems were solved, the water flow in the stator—a fixed part—could be easily handled.

Some people thought that the problems cropping up in making these innovations were unique and no similar ones existed anywhere. For some time this idea prevented those participating in the new project learning from other works. It was only when they were at their wit's end trying to solve the problem of tightly sealing the water inlet to the rotor that they decided to go to other plants for help. Finally a clue from a shipyard helped them to success.

A dialectical view was needed in handling those parts of the structure of air-cooled generators which had been preserved. They were not altered at the start. However, as work on the new generator proceeded, changes in them became necessary. Resistance to changes in them at that time would have meant a fall into a metaphysical pit.

The trial manufacture of the direct water-cooled generators involved a process in which dialectics fought and defeated all manifestations of metaphysics. Putting politics in command and upholding the dialectical view, the workers and staff of the Shanghai Electrical Manufacturing Works and their co-operators were bold enough to take their own road and surpass the advanced, surmounting all obstacles with the wisdom of the masses.

The guidance of revolutionary theory—Mao Tse-tung's thinking and materialist dialectics—is indispensable in all revolutions in China whether they be social, cultural or technical. Armed with the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, people will be enabled to grasp objective laws and fully mobilize man's subjective activity. His teachings and ideas inspire people not only to be courageous and bold in carrying out the revolution and winning victories, but to become wise and adept at using their brains in the course of the struggle.

In a Production Team

The fourth of a series of six articles by *Peking Review* correspondents. It describes the workings of a production team of the Yangtan People's Commune — planning, distribution of income and organization of work.

TO get a better idea of how a team runs its affairs, we were anxious to visit one that could be considered "average" for Yangtan Commune. The 2nd Production Team of the Baqing Production Brigade was recommended to us and a walk of a couple of kilometres east along Ta-erh Mountain brought us there.

This brigade comprises about 180 households with a population of 850, some 3,400 *mu* of cultivated land and 150 oxen, horses, donkeys and mules. Its four production teams are each basic accounting units owning their own land, livestock and other principal means of production. But the brigade as a whole also owns collectively a certain amount of capital goods, including two water wheels, three pedigree animals for breeding and diesel engines powering an oil press and a flour mill with two milling machines.

The four Baqing teams occupy similar long, rather narrow strips of land lying parallel to each other down the flank of Ta-erh Mountain. We were told that this arrangement had been decided on because it suited the convenience of team members. They can get quickly to their work from their homes.

Second Production Team leader Comrade Tsui had been informed of our arrival and immediately hurried over from the early morning shift to the brigade clinic where we were waiting.

"I was ploughing," he said. "I hope you haven't been waiting long?" He shook hands all round and took a seat with us. He was tall and slightly built, about 36 or 37, copper coloured from the sun and with deep wrinkles at the corners of his eyes. Sweat, gathered on his temples and forehead, trickled slowly down his face.

The wheat had just been gathered in, so we asked that perennial farmer's question: "How's the harvest?"

Comrade Tsui took the towel that hung around his neck and slowly wiped the sweat off his face and neck before he replied:

"It's good! The team had 410 *mu* under wheat. We got an average yield of 304 *jin* per *mu*. That's an increase of 44 *jin* over the 1964 average so we carried out our wheat production plan and fulfilled the task given us by the state." His awareness and stress of

the link between his team's achievement and the wider interests of the state was typical of Yangtan cadres.

Comrade Tsui, also like other leading cadres of the commune, had his basic figures at his finger tips. No rustic vagueness here! Later he explained how the team arrived at the final figures of its plan and how this was geared in with the state's requirements.

Making the Production Plan

"We, as a collective productive unit and a basic accounting unit, make our own team production plan under the guidance of the overall state plan," he said. Then seeing that this formulation didn't quite answer all our questions, he continued:

"In 1964, the people's government told us that since the country needed more grain, we should continue to emphasize grain production, but at the same time increase our output of cotton, our main industrial crop here. This was the general directive we worked to in making our plan. Our task was to integrate in our plan the state interests, the collective interests and the sort of farming activities our team's members are accustomed to.

"On the basis of the Commune Management Committee's proposals for the 1965 production plan, our brigade recommended that we reduce our wheat area from 460 *mu* to 400 *mu* and increase our cotton area from 200 to 260 *mu*. With a simultaneous increase in yields, this meant that our team would get about as much wheat as in 1964 but much more cotton. Climaxing the discussions on our plan, a general meeting of team members was called to settle these and other final figures. Everybody was naturally anxious to give full consideration to the interests of the state and of the team and its members, but various opinions were expressed. I remember that Chia Hung-lai, one of our older members, expressed the general opinion rather well on the wheat and cotton issue. He said: 'During the last few years our team has steadily increased its output of wheat and cotton. Now we have more than enough to eat but not enough ready cash to spend. So I agree with the idea of planting more cotton. But I don't think our reserves of wheat are quite large enough so we don't want to cut back wheat area too sharply. That might harm our plan to supply the state with

more wheat and also hold back the building of our grain reserves.' So he suggested that we plant not 400 *mu* but 410 *mu* to wheat. This was 10 *mu* more than the brigade had suggested. And he proposed 250 *mu* for cotton, an increase of 50 *mu* over the 1964 figure. His proposals were supported by the majority of members.

"When we had worked out our draft plan, we passed it on to the Commune Management Committee via our brigade. The C.M.C. in its turn discussed it in the light of the commune's needs and obligations and the plans and opinions of all the other production brigades and teams. Necessary adjustments were made here and there in a collective spirit and it was agreed that we should plant the acreage of wheat and cotton we had proposed but increase our total output of wheat by increasing yields."

One of us asked Comrade Tsui: "How did you reckon to increase your wheat yields and by how much?"

"We were pretty sure that with additional fertilizer we could increase our average yield by at least 40 *jin* per *mu*. Our members are raising more pigs than before and that gives rich manure. Last season we put on 6,000 *jin* of farmyard manure per *mu*, 50 per cent more than the season before. The team members did a good job of this. Besides that we cultivated the fields more carefully and skilfully to preserve moisture. So we raised yields from 260 *jin* per *mu* in 1964 to 304 *jin* in 1965. That raised total output by 5,040 *jin* compared with 1964 and we overfulfilled our plan."

Comrade Tsui again stressed that in this struggle for better yields a decisive factor was morale, the revolutionary spirit of the commune members inspired by their desire to serve the collective and the revolution. This is the spirit that works miracles.

Principles of Distribution

We asked: "You raised a good harvest, how did you divide it up?"

After a moment's thought Comrade Tsui said: "Let's get our accountant to give you all the details."

Walking from the clinic to the office of the second team, Comrade Tsui briefed us on the principles governing distribution of the team's income. "Our commune members today have a much better understanding of our national affairs than they did some years back. We realize that we raised a good crop not only because we worked hard and well and because our socialist collective farming is far superior to individual farm, but because the whole country supported us and we all pulled together. So we understand that in distributing the harvest we must take individual, collective and



Rebuilding a terrace embankment

state interests into account. We have often discussed this in big and small meetings and in our study groups. Our own living experience has taught us that the socialist state is our mainstay in raising production and living standards. The state supports us with machines, chemical fertilizers and insecticides; and we get the help of the working class and people in all other branches of the national economy and life. At the same time we must do our share for the common good. Our work is part of socialist construction, and our harvest is part of the fruits of that construction. So we paid our agricultural tax in kind promptly, sold as much surplus grain as possible to the state and kept enough for ourselves to eat and build up a reasonable reserve."

Walking and talking, we reached the team office. The accountant, Comrade Tou, was there at work. Like every other office we had visited in Yangtan it was light, airy, spartanly furnished and spotlessly clean. Two desks stood by the window with straight-backed chairs and benches. There were various notices pinned on the walls. One was a copy of the team's regulations on financial matters, another detailed rules for the supply of manure to the team from members and a third, regulations on labour days—the number of days each month that each team member is required to work in the team. A small wall chart gave the basic figures of the team:

Families	No. of Persons	Manpower	Draught Animals
42	182	87	35

The young accountant was busy with his abacus totting up the work points earned by team members in the last month. We were introduced and learnt that he had had a full primary school education, and had been elected accountant in 1964 when he was 17. He did this work part time and also worked in the fields. When he learnt what we wanted, he took the following chart from a cupboard:

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF 1965 SUMMER HARVEST

Second Team of Baqing Brigade

Amount produced (jin)	Distribution (jin)	Amount	Percentage of total
124,290 ¹	Agricultural tax ²	13,764	11.1
	Surplus grain sold to the state	25,636	20.6
	Kept for team (seed, reserves, etc.)	28,560	23.0
	Distributed to members	56,330	45.3
124,290	TOTAL	124,290	100.0

He explained: "The total amount of the summer crop was distributed in four parts: what we delivered to the state as tax, what we sold to the state, what we put to reserve and what we distributed to our team members. The income from grain sold to the state will go to the team's treasury, most of it will be distributed to the members. In settling the distribution of summer grain to our members we decided that we must take into first consideration the living needs of members and also encourage good work. The team ensures that the sick, the old, the infirm and the children are looked after. Working members receive payment in kind and cash according to the number of work points they are credited with for their work. A good worker more, a poor worker less."

Comrade Tou added: "These figures only cover this summer [1965]. To get an idea of the annual figures you can add in those for last autumn. That will give everyone 400 jin of grain (mainly wheat, but some maize) for the year."

We asked: "How much is distributed in cash?"

Tou replied: "In the summer season we only give advances in cash against the amount a member will actually receive in the autumn when the team accounts are made up and every member gets his share of team income. If you want to get an idea of the figures for a whole year we can take a look at the 1964 accounts." And he took another paper from his informative cupboard.

INCOME AND DISTRIBUTION IN 1964

Second Team of Baqing Brigade

Gross income in yuan	Expenditure	Amount in yuan	Percentage of expenditure
33,950	Production expenses	13,124	38.6
	Agricultural tax	2,207	6.5
	Reserve fund	1,697	5.0
	Welfare fund	330	1.0
	Reserve grain	1,488	4.4
	Distributed to members	15,104	44.5
33,950	TOTAL	33,950	100.0

¹ 116,340 jin of wheat and the rest barley.

² Including part of the tax for the autumn season.

"Here is the gross income of the team from all sources. From this we had to deduct production expenses such as seed, fertilizer, insecticide, use of tractor and so on. We paid the agricultural tax in kind: grain and cotton, but listed it in terms of money. What was left is our net income.

"Our reserve fund went to buy livestock and implements, and for afforestation and other work that will basically improve our land. What was left after deducting our welfare fund and collective reserve grain — this grain eventually goes to members — was distributed in cash and kind among members according to the work points they had earned. This worked out at an average of around 83 yuan per capita. The amount in kind was 400 jin of grain, 3 jin of cotton, 5 jin of vegetable oil, 300 jin of cotton stalks for fuel. A working member would get about 52 per cent of his personal income from the team in kind and 48 per cent in cash."

We knew that in general not more than 25 to 30 per cent of gross income should go to production expenditure and that more than 50 per cent should go in personal incomes to members, so we asked Comrade Tsui why his team's distribution figures did not observe these proportions.

"Under exceptional circumstances such proportions do vary somewhat. In 1964 the cotton crop suffered from exceptionally bad weather: cold, a terrific down-pour, hail as big as large peas and insect pests as well. To save the crop we had to use more seed for replanting, more fertilizer, insecticide and manpower. We finally got in a good harvest but it cost more to raise. Our agricultural tax is fixed and we didn't want to reduce our welfare or reserve funds so we had to reduce personal incomes. Members took that bad luck in their stride. They knew that they had still received bigger personal incomes than when they were in elementary and advanced farm co-ops and, of course, much more than when they farmed individually." As the collective reserve grain will eventually be distributed among the members, it could be said that the members got directly about half the team's gross income and about 90 per cent of net income.

The welfare fund, team leader Tsui told us, was used not only to help members in case of sickness or accidents, but for public welfare work — club activities, sports and entertainments. Members discussed and decided how much should be put into this fund and how it would be used. Team members who have no one to depend on enjoy the "Five Guarantees": a suit-

1 mu = 0.066 hectare or 0.1647 acre

1 jin = 0.5 kilogramme or 1.1023 pounds

able place to live in, enough to eat, wear and use, and a fitting burial. All these are paid out of the welfare fund.

"I Began to Live Again"

We later met 80-year-old Mother Chia in her little two-roomed home. She sleeps in one room. It has a dry, mat-covered *kang* (brick bed) with warm quilts neatly piled on one side. She cooks in the other room. She was the wife of a poor, landless peasant in old China under the Shansi warlord Yen Hsi-shan. Her only son was conscripted by the Kuomintang when he was 18 and never heard of again. Her husband died soon after. "I begged. I had nothing and nothing to live for. I thought of killing myself. Then the Communist Party came. I began to live again. The commune looks after me well!"

She offered us cigarettes. How was she getting on? "The team sends me grain, cotton, oil for cooking, fuel and vegetables; and I don't have to worry about such work as fetching water, grinding flour or tilling my private plot. All that work is done for me by someone sent by the team."

We were interested to know why the team had no old people's homes, or, as they are called in the communes: homes of respect for the aged. The reason was, we were told, that there were very few old people in the brigade without close relatives and those few, like Mother Chia, preferred to be with their old neighbours rather than have to put down new roots elsewhere.

Since one of the commune cadres offered to give us some of his time, we took the opportunity to ask what was the relation between the former advanced co-ops and the commune so far as membership went. We found that there is a connection but that it is not as direct as is generally thought. A commune is formed by a number of advanced co-ops; these usually become the commune production brigades while their constituent teams become the commune production teams. But this is not always the exact pattern. For instance, the Yangtan Commune was formed originally by the merger of six advanced co-ops but it now has 10 production brigades. Some of these have basically the same membership as the original advanced co-op which formed it, but the others split on joining or after the commune was formed as this—owing to farming conditions, manpower needs, places of residence and other reasons—made for a more rational arrangement of production brigades. Similarly the Yangtan Production Brigade is basically the same in area and population as the former Yangtan advanced co-op but that comprised six elementary co-ops, while the present Yangtan Brigade has 14 constituent production teams.

The size of brigades and teams also varies considerably. While the Yangtan Brigade has 14 teams, Baqing Brigade has only four and there are three other brigades in Yangtan with only three teams each.

Working With a Small Group

After breakfast one day we went to the cotton fields nearby to work with the team members. We

found ourselves with a group of a dozen middle aged women. They greeted us gaily and we thought that we would have no difficulty holding up our end pruning the plants, but we soon found ourselves lagging further and further behind. They worked swiftly and well. We were surprised that there were no young people among them. "That's just as well," they said, "you'd never be able to keep up with them!" And they pointed to a field some distance away where a brightly dressed group of girls were working.

The one who pruned the two rows next to us was glad to answer our questions. "We work here because it's near our homes. We all have three or four children and more housework to do than the young girls. That is why we form this special group. In allocating work, the team takes things like that into account." We learnt later that the team forms long-term or temporary working groups of from ten to twenty members. They are put in charge of a number of fixed plots and usually work as a group. The team, however, may give a person or two an individual job to do. The working groups are organized on a voluntary basis with the team proposing their composition. Naturally once a member joins a group he must observe group discipline. Some groups are mixed, with men and women; some are all of one sex; others are youth groups. In making up groups such factors as where members live, working ability and skills are taken into account. In emergencies special shock groups may be formed.

A few rows on, another of our women companions trailed the others but was still ahead of us. When she heard us commenting worriedly on our slowness, she paused to encourage us: "I'm a slow worker too! But the main thing is to do the work well. Don't hurry!"

Some were fast and some were slow. "How are work points totted up, then?" we asked.

"You'd best ask our group leader Hou Ta Niang (Elder Aunt Hou)," she said. "She can explain things better than I."

So, as we rested during a break, group leader Hou explained.

"The team gives us a certain job of work to do and, since we are all one collective, we discuss how many work points³ will be given for it. That is not difficult as we have plenty of experience to go by. For instance we all know that pruning cotton carries 5.6 work points a *mu*. Each member of this group does two rows of plants, so we work out how many rows there are and how many points per row. It's easy to calculate how many work points each member has earned at the end of the job.



"Assessing quality is not difficult. Each of us has a number and we always work in the same order. I'm No. 1 so I take the first two rows and then the first two rows again when we start a new set of rows. We all want to do the work well. We have a good team spirit and emulate each other. If anyone sees poor work being done, we criticize it and improve it. The team gives citations or extra points for good work and can criticize or fine bad work."

Much to the amusement of the members of the group, we teased their leader: "Has your group been fined!"

"Oh, no," she laughed. "Anyway although there are rules on fining, that's not a collar to squeeze us with. We don't think of fines. We all want good quality and we help each other to get it. We work to a standard we set ourselves."

We rested and chatted under the shade of an aspen and drank water poured into our tin mugs from a kettle. An impudent magpie, white and burnished blue-black, swooped, settled and looked at us from a branch.

"Then can you work when you want and stop when you want to?"

³All work in the commune is assessed by common agreement of members at a certain number of work points, which are credited to the account of the member doing that work. An average able-bodied member can earn around 10 points a day. The actual value of a work point is decided on at the end of the year, when the amount set aside for distribution to members by the accounting unit is divided by the total number of work points credited to members. The value of a work point thus differs as between basic accounting units.

Special Report

Japanese Economy Going Downhill*

by MING KO

IT is with bank support that credit inflation and larger loan issues have been made possible. The banks not only guarantee, in the form of discount or loans, commercial bills and securities which are issued unscrupulously; they also speed up the pace of inflation by their own lending activities. On the one hand they are overlending. For instance, the loans made by Japanese commercial banks throughout 1964, surpass, on

*This is the second and last instalment of the article. The first appeared in our last issue (No. 12)—Ed.

Hou answered decidedly "No. Not just like that." Such magpie laissez-faire just didn't enter into her scheme of things. "We live in a collective and there must be discipline. Each of us has herself proposed how many basic working days she will undertake to do each year, and the team will naturally take such things as age and health into account when approving the figure. The team decides what work you will do and when. Each member must fulfil his individual quota or how could we plan the work?"

Other women were eager to speak. One said: "In our family we are seven members. My husband, me and five children. The youngest is five years old. The team discussed my case and agreed to allot me 70 basic."

Another woman in a white jacket and black slacks said: "We're six in our family. But my daughter-in-law has a new baby so she stays at home and looks after the house. I have 140 basic days but can do more than that and I do."

"But what happens if anything goes wrong in the family, like sickness . . . ?"

Several voices replied at once. "You don't have to worry!" Then they gave their group leader the chance to continue uninterrupted.

"In that case, the team will democratically discuss things and reduce your basic quota of working days."

Group leader Hou was no martinet but she was a strict disciplinarian. When she thought we had rested long enough, she looked around enquiringly and rose without more ado. We trooped back to finish our pruning. But we soon had no opportunity for more questions. We had been left too far behind. We hadn't yet mastered that Yangtan style of work!

the average, the deposits by 3.7 per cent. This is quite extraordinary. On the other hand, the Japanese banks grant relief loans to those enterprises and securities firms which, overburdened with debt obligations, approach bankruptcy, thus giving rise to still heavier credit inflation.

U.S. Penetration. Since 1960, in order to ease off the dollar crisis, the United States has stepped up its economic oppression and penetration of Japan. This again has greatly increased the country's present economic difficulties. The "Buy American and Ship American"

policy, restrictions on increased exports of Japanese goods to the United States and restrictions on lending to Japan as well—all this has made Japan's balance of international payments, which has always been subsidized by the U.S. dollar, increasingly unstable, thereby aggravating the tight money situation at home. Threatened by massive penetration by U.S. monopoly capital and the further development of over-production, the Japanese monopoly capitalists have become even more unbridled in increasing fixed capital investments and expanding the scale of production. Thus, over-production and monetary and financial difficulties in Japan have intensified still further.

For a certain period of time, credit and loans can sustain the growth of capitalist production and promote accumulation of monopoly capital, but capitalist economic activities built on the basis of credit and lavish bank loans are weak. For example, the Sanyo Special Steel Co., which went bankrupt in March 1965, produced more than 60 per cent of the country's bearing steel and more than 90 per cent of its bearing steel tubes. Its capital rose from 1,400 million yen in 1959 to 7,400 million yen in 1963. Output rose by 300 per cent during the same period, and it invested 28,400 million yen. It seemed that all was going well. But an overwhelming part of its development was based on borrowing. Funds provided by the enterprise itself made up only 17.3 per cent. Its total debt obligations amounted to more than 50,000 million yen. Monthly payment of interest amounted to 300 million yen, equivalent to more than 20 per cent of its monthly business turnover. Finally it was declared bankrupt because it could not pay off the matured bills against it to the amount of 1,800 million yen. The case of the Sanyo Special Steel Company is, in effect, a miniature of fast-growing monopoly capital as a whole in postwar Japan. The British have depreciated the Japanese economy as a "bubble." Actually it is symbolic of the whole capitalist economy, with the only difference that in Japan it takes a more conspicuous form than elsewhere.

Vicious Circle. Credit inflation and excessive lending in turn prompt the further development of over-production. Large-scale credit sales and lavish bank loans have created an enormous, false purchasing power in Japan, which conceals the true picture of over-production for a while and continues to promote the unbridled expansion of production. Thus, a vicious circle of over-production and credit inflation has been formed and the nation's economic difficulties have deepened at every step. This tendency cannot but worry the Japanese ruling class. Prime Minister Sato said: "Before they are sold, products have, one after another, turned into notes and bills receivable, and thus the economic dislocation continues unabated." This situation will not change, no matter how the Japanese rulers may worry about it. It is the monopoly capitalist class and the capitalist system which has brought about this contradiction.

Credit inflation has also helped to enlarge the chain reactions which occur among different sections of the

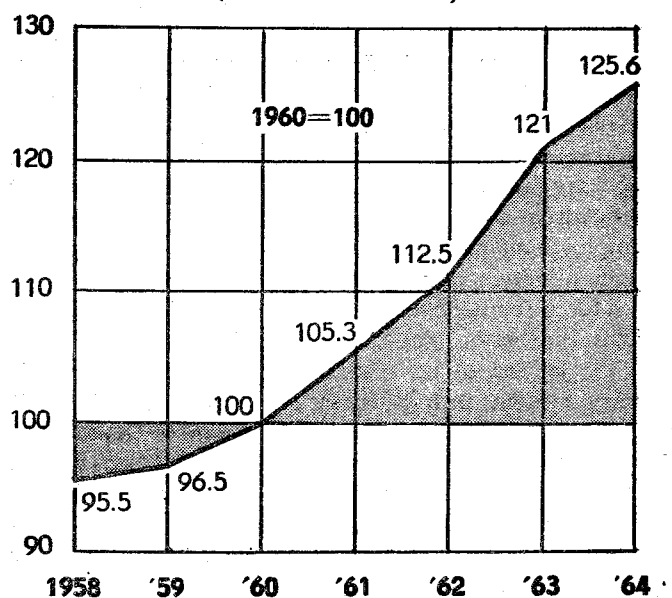
capitalist economy. When a snag appears in one sector the whole will be affected, and so the closing down of one enterprise will inevitably involve a number of others. Naturally the fact cannot be overlooked that credit is used by monopoly capital as a lever to speed up the process of merger and concentration. It is because of credit inflation that many medium and small enterprises and even some big enterprises have been taken over by the monopoly enterprises.

Labouring People Suffer and Medium and Small Enterprises Too

With serious over-production and the worsening monetary and financial situation, the living conditions of the Japanese labouring people have been going from bad to worse and unemployment and partial unemployment increasing noticeably. In the meantime, the numerous medium and small enterprises, as targets on to which the big capitalists try to shift economic difficulties, are victimized by their policy of merger and plunder. Business failures among the medium and small enterprises and their debt burdens in postwar years have never grown to such serious proportions as they have reached today.

Increased Taxation and Soaring Consumer Prices. The Japanese monopoly ruling circles have never relaxed their efforts to plunder the labouring people by measures of state monopoly capitalism. The purpose is to use the funds robbed from them to rescue monopoly capital. First the Japanese people are taxed more extensively than before. The government budget provided that tax revenues in fiscal 1965 would total 4,800,000 million yen, or 600,000 million yen more than in fiscal

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX (Urban Districts)



1964. The amount of taxation increased by 190 per cent, compared with what it was in 1960. The number of taxpayers in 1965 would be well over 20 million, 40 per cent more than the 1960 figure, or nearly 21 times as many as in the prewar year 1935. In addition, in 1965, the Japanese Government successively raised the price of rice to the consumer, bus and privately owned railway fares, and medical charges. The local authorities for their part too have raised public utility charges such as the water rate and expenses for children's welfare. As a result of this, the prices of ordinary consumer goods have also gone up. The figures released by the Bureau of Statistics, Office of the Prime Minister, show that in 1964 the consumer price index (urban districts) was 4.8 per cent higher than in 1963, while in September 1965 it was 8.7 per cent higher than the corresponding period of 1964. It seems strange that consumer prices should have gone up unceasingly at a time of over-production and when wholesale prices fell. But this reflects exactly the inherent nature of capitalist plunder. The monopoly capitalists always reap the advantage while the labouring people suffer.

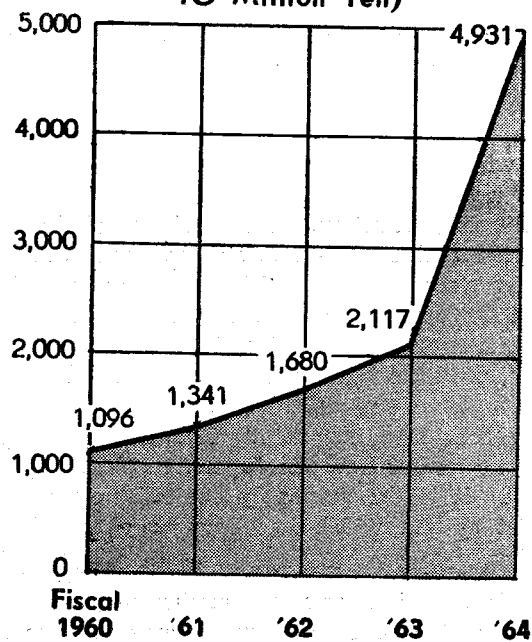
Mounting Unemployment. The worsening of the living conditions of the workers is particularly noticeable. The number of unemployed and especially those who are partially unemployed is increasing. Official statistics for June 1965 put the number of completely unemployed at 390,000, an increase of 22 per cent compared with the corresponding period of 1964. But these official figures, which are no more than an indicator of a tendency, cannot precisely reflect the true picture of unemployment among the workers, because they do not include the great number of unemployed casual workers who work only one or two days a week. Data published by the Ministry of Labour in November 1965 show that in the first half of the year, the average monthly number of women workers who left their jobs was 410,000 or 200,000 more than the average figure during the corresponding period of 1964. The number of new jobs offered is declining from quarter to quarter. Compared with the corresponding period of 1964, it dropped 12 per cent in January-March 1965, 24 per cent in April-June and 30 per cent in July and August. Such a percentage fall in new employment is the largest since 1949 and 1950. It is worthwhile to note that the monopoly capitalists have cunningly introduced a "system of temporary holidays" the purpose of which is to avert the upsurge of the workers' movement which heavy unemployment might help to bring about. In this way certain numbers of workers can also be kept as a reserve force for use when economic conditions are turning for the better. Take, for instance, the Toyo Rayon Co., the largest of its kind in Japan. By putting this holiday system into practice on August 16, 1965, it planned to put 10 to 20 per cent of its more than 29,000 workers regularly on holidays of one to two weeks, during which time they would be paid 70 per cent of their basic wages as living allowances, while the administrative personnel were asked to "wait further instructions at home," and were paid only a part of

their wages. The capitalists would thus be saved 100 million yen in half a year. As to the workers who are temporarily employed, their earnings are even less secure; large numbers of them have been sacked.

Record Business Failures. The medium and small enterprises are also in a very difficult position. In fiscal 1964, there were 4,931 cases of business failure among them, each one involving an indebtedness of more than 10 million yen. This was 2.3 times as many as the figure for fiscal 1963. Their total debts amounted to 551,000 million yen, an increase of 128 per cent. In April-September 1965, 3,064 cases of failure among the medium and small enterprises were reported, 2.6 times as many as the figure for the corresponding period of 1964. This is the biggest wave of business failures that has ever taken place in Japan since the end of World War II. It is mainly due to the monopoly capitalists' efforts to shift the economic crisis on to others. About 60-70 per cent of Japan's medium and small enterprises act as subcontractors or process goods for the monopoly enterprises. The monopoly capitalists who are themselves facing serious over-production and liquidity shortage have done their utmost to delay the acceptance of and payment for the goods processed for them, and also to increase the percentage of payment by bills of exchange and reduce that of cash payment. They have also used the device of credit sales to dump their surplus goods on the medium and small enterprises, and compelled them to speed up the renewal of fixed capital and reduce the cost of processing. The medium and small enterprises, in order to survive, have to follow in the steps of the big monopolists in increasing their fixed capital investments. Consequently, they have to pay high rates of interest

BUSINESS FAILURES

(Firms With Debts of Over 10 Million Yen)



on loans raised for the purpose. They are also placed in a difficult position by the monopoly capitalists because the bills of exchange they get are usually to be honoured six or even ten months later. The result is that difficulties in capital turnover have affected the carrying out of expanded reproduction. Oppressed by monopoly capital, many of the medium and small enterprises are in desperate straits. They are either compelled to close down or become subsidiaries of the monopoly enterprises.

To raise funds for monopoly capital, the Japanese Government has also issued various kinds of bonds. By March 1965, Japan's domestic debt amounted to 430,000 million yen; government short-term securities, 650,000 million yen; and government-guaranteed public bonds, more than 620,000 million yen. Now the Japanese Government has decided to issue "government bonds to cover up deficit," "reconstruction" and "tax cut" bonds. With the public bond issues constantly increasing, monetary inflation is bound to intensify still further and the people's burden will become heavier.

Searching for a Way Out

There is no mistake that with all its acute contradictions, Japan's economy is in serious trouble today. According to official estimates, compared with 1964, the rate of economic growth in 1965 would only be 2.6 per cent, the lowest since 1950. (In the previous crises, 1954 recorded an increase of 2.9 per cent; 1958, 3.4 per cent; and 1962, 5.1 per cent.) It is calculated that even if the possible effects of the whole series of financial measures adopted since last July are taken into account, the increase in 1965 could be no more than 4.1 per cent. This shows how serious are the difficulties that beset the Japanese economy today.

Industrialists in Despondent Mood. In mid July 1965, a number of Japanese monopoly capitalists met in the summer resort in Karuizawa to discuss the question of how to "deal with depression." Matsushita, manager of Matsushita Electric Industrial, said: "The present condition is even worse than the depression in the early stage of the Showa period (referring to the 1927 depression). At the time, sales were indeed no good, but once the goods were sold you could get the money. Now even when the goods are sold you never know whether you can get the money at all." Tashiro, manager of the Toyo Rayon Co., said: "There was too big a boom in the Japanese economy in the past. It must be realized that the future crisis will continue semi-permanently, and depression will be prolonged." Sakurada Takeshi, permanent council member of the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations, one of the major organizations of Japan's monopoly capital, said at a meeting of the federation on October 22, "The present depression cannot be ended in one year or two. With the government borrowing money from foreign countries to promote economic growth beyond its own strength and with the much too fast liberalization of trade it would be strange if there were no profound re-

percussions." These words of the monopoly capitalists are another indicator of the depth of the Japanese economic difficulties. To shift their difficulties on to others, the monopoly capitalists will naturally adopt every possible measure to plunder the Japanese people and attack the working class even more relentlessly. But any such measure can only scratch the surface of the matter; it can't help to resolve the basic contradictions in the capitalist economy. Every step that they take will bring with it new and more serious contradictions.

Expansion in Southeast Asia. It is worthwhile to note however that with the sharpening of capitalist contradictions in Japan, the monopoly capitalists will tend to strengthen their drive for expansion abroad. Their slogan is "Export first!" They have explored every possible means to expand overseas markets. Southeast Asia and Africa in particular have become the major targets for their economic expansion and plunder. They have decided to increase export credits to these areas so as to facilitate sales of Japan's surplus goods. They have vigorously used the Asian Development Bank to increase the government's capital exports and make it a tool for stepped-up expansion in Southeast Asia. By concluding the "Japan-South Korea Treaty" and participating in the U.S. plotted "Northeast Asia military alliance," Japan tries to build a relatively stable sphere of influence for itself. It is also increasing supplies to the U.S. aggressor troops in Vietnam. All this is concrete expression of the fact that the Japanese monopoly ruling circles have gone a step further in pushing ahead with their neo-colonialist expansion and aggression.

Militarization of the Economy. At the same time, the pace of the militarization of the Japanese economy has quickened. The third "defence" plan is one aiming at accelerating the process of rearmament. Another important provision of the plan is to increase, under the slogan "Let Japan make her own arms," the share of the munitions industry in the industry as a whole. Some bigwigs in monopoly capitalist circles are also actively campaigning for the legalization of arms exports, hoping that increased arms exports can help them to get out of their present difficulties.

People's Opposition. The ruthless exploitation and plunder by the monopoly ruling circles, including their attempts to shift their difficulties on to the labouring people, have evoked strong opposition from broad sections of the Japanese people. The manoeuvres of the monopoly ruling circles to revive reactionary and increasingly truculent militarism have made the Japanese people keep a sharp look-out. They are particularly angered by stepped-up U.S. efforts to hold Japan down and use it as a tool for aggression in Asia and by the ruling clique's increased collaboration with U.S. imperialism. As the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries' oppression and plunder intensify, the Japanese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital is heading for a new upsurge.

De Gaulle's New Challenge

The aggressive NATO bloc which U.S. imperialism has so laboriously built up as a pivot for its counter-revolutionary global strategy is falling apart. De Gaulle's new challenge to NATO deals Washington a crushing blow — an indicator of the great upheaval and division of the imperialist camp. NATO may not yet be dead for a while, at least in form, but the days have gone when U.S. imperialism could rule supreme in Western Europe through NATO.

FRANCE'S dissatisfaction with NATO as it is now constituted is no secret. Quarrels around the NATO question have been going on for some time between Washington and Paris with the former trying hard to retain its control and the latter determined to shed its subordinate position. The recent French move to withdraw from NATO's "integration" system marks a new stage in the development of Franco-U.S. contradictions.

Quickened Tempo

De Gaulle acted quickly and sharply this time. At his press conference on February 21, he reiterated his rejection of U.S. guardianship over Western Europe through NATO and his intention to end the system of military integration. He declared that at the expiration of the North Atlantic Treaty on April 4, 1969, all foreign bases and troops in France, "will be answerable only to the French authorities." Two weeks later, on March 7, in a letter to U.S. President Johnson, he raised the question of jurisdiction over the 30,000 American troops and the American bases in France. This is a demand for the Americans to pack up and go home. And soon afterwards, in a memorandum to its allies, which was published on March 12, the French Government stated that France would withdraw from NATO's "integrated" commands although she would remain in the Western alliance.

Why De Gaulle Does It?

The reasons for de Gaulle's action are not far to seek.

(1) The long-range aim of France is of course to throw off U.S. control as soon as possible so as to reassert France's sovereign rights as a great power. At his press conference, the French President said that France's will to self-determination "is incompatible with a defence organization in which it is a subordinate." In its memorandum to the allies, the French Government declared that France, as a power possessing atomic weapons, must take up her own "political and strategic responsibilities."

In a television interview on March 17, French Foreign Minister Couve de Murville was even more outspoken. Obligations of all sorts imposed by NATO, he said, have become "to a large measure anachronistic," and deprived France of "a sense of responsibility in the matter of defence," and "when a country no longer pays attention to its defence . . . it is not far, one must say, from losing its independence."

For a long time France has opposed the arrangements for NATO's military integration, which amounts to Washington retaining its hegemony in Western Europe by putting allied troops under its command. As soon as de Gaulle came to power in 1958, he proposed that a tripartite directorate of the United States, Britain and France be established in NATO. In 1959, France withdrew its Mediterranean Fleet from NATO control and compelled the United States to transfer its strategic bombers in France to Britain and West Germany. In 1963, France withdrew its Atlantic Fleet and in the following year, French naval officers were recalled from NATO's Mediterranean Command and the Channel Command. The present French move to withdraw from the NATO "integration" system would shake off remaining U.S. control. It is a counter-blow to the U.S. policy of depriving the allies of their independence in the name of "integration."

(2) The professed aim of NATO when it was formed was to thwart the "communist menace" and "Soviet expansion." But new circumstances have arisen. The United States and the Soviet Union are working hand in glove to dominate the world. According to its memorandum, the French Government believes that the threat which existed when NATO was formed is no longer immediate and menacing. Therefore, NATO, as it now stands, has lost its meaning. De Gaulle told his press conference: "Owing to the evolution, both internal and external, in the Eastern countries [the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in Eastern Europe — Ed.], the West is in fact no longer under menace as it was when the United States set itself up as the guardian of Europe in the name of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the danger to the West is far removed from now." He added that to a certain extent, the prospect of a world war breaking out over Europe was vanishing and that consequently the NATO military structure did not fit the new circumstances.

(3) Another important factor prompting de Gaulle's decision to rid France of U.S. influence as soon as possible was the fear that continued military subordination would involve France in Washington's war of aggression against Vietnam. The French Government's



—Based on "Washington Daily News"
 "CAN'T HEAR A WORD
 YOU'RE SAYING"

memorandum stated explicitly that the centre of international crisis had moved from Europe to other areas and to Asia in particular, and that the countries of the Atlantic alliance as a whole have nothing to do with what happens there. France, it declared, did not want to "get involved in a war she does not want to fight."

Notre Republique, organ of the French ruling Union for the New Republic, was

more blunt. It said in an article on March 18: "U.S. pressure on its allies aimed at involving them in the Vietnam affair and the U.S. spokesmen's remarks at the latest NATO session fully explain and justify the well-timing of the French Government decision." It added: "France is not willing to and cannot be dragged by the trick of integrated forces into a war which runs completely contrary to her interests." The article incidentally revealed that a part of the arms and equipment stored in France under the cover of NATO has been diverted to the use in the Vietnam war.

Military Implications

The French decision to withdraw from NATO's "integrated" commands is a shattering military blow to NATO. Foreign troops, bases and other installations on French soil will be either removed or answerable only to the French authorities. French troops and officers will be withdrawn from Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) and the Central Europe Command under it. The two French infantry divisions and three tactical wings of the French air force in West Germany will no longer be placed under NATO command. SHAPE and the Central Europe command will be removed from France. Commenting on these serious military implications, the *London Times* (March 9) said: "It would be inconvenient to have to move NATO headquarters out of France. It would be a disruption to have to make certain alternative supply arrangements. It would be a loss to be without the French hinterland for Western forces in Europe." M.S. Johnson, military analyst for *U.S. News & World Report* expressed the view in its March 21 issue that NATO strategy could not be maintained without the backing of France. He wrote: "NATO, in the eyes of a military strategist, cannot wage an effective, sustained military defence of Western Europe without the use of French territory. The physical land area of France is essential for the deployment of the huge logistics establishment necessary to support such a defence."

What is at stake is not only NATO's strategy in Europe but the whole system of aggressive military alliance built up by the United States since World War II for world domination. France may remain in the Atlantic alliance up till the time the organization officially expires in 1969, but if the "integration" system which makes NATO a workable reality collapses, as it certainly will when France puts its recent decisions into effect, then the Atlantic alliance will only exist on paper. It is no exaggeration to say that de Gaulle's recent move to withdraw from NATO's "integrated" commands shakes this aggressive bloc to its very foundations.

Washington's Counter-Move Flops

De Gaulle's new challenge deals U.S. hegemony in Western Europe a serious blow. Washington counter-attacked by rallying 13 of its NATO allies to make a common front against France. Pressure has been exerted on them to reaffirm their faith in the virtues of the military "integration" system. Representatives of the United States and the 13 other NATO allies held four meetings in Paris to draft a joint declaration.

Only Britain and West Germany gave unreserved support to the U.S. call for preserving NATO's "integrated" military structure. This is not surprising. Britain has been obediently trailing behind U.S. policy of war and aggression recently and West Germany wants to use NATO as a camouflage to expand its military build-up with the backing of the United States. Other "smaller partners" either had misgivings or reservations. It was only after much wrangling and bargaining that a so-called joint declaration was drawn up. This is no more than a face-saving formula reaffirming that "this organization is essential and will continue." But what is the use of a joint declaration which merely states the general attitudes of the signatories without touching on the French decision to withdraw from NATO's "integrated commands" and the notice on U.S. troops to get out of France?

The trouble for the United States is that "an independence of attitude," as *New York Times* columnist C.L. Sulzberger said, "is not merely an exclusively French tendency as it is too often assumed." De Gaulle's "fear of American hegemony" in Western Europe, as the *London Times* (March 9) pointed out, "is expressing more forcefully the uneasiness of many Europeans."

U.S. imperialism tries to play the bully all over the world. It even tramples on its own allies. But it has overreached itself. Quagmired in its war of aggression against Vietnam, it has suffered a heavy defeat, and the American people's struggle against imperialism in their own country is rising. All those suffering U.S. aggression, control, intervention and bullying will not miss the opportunity to stand up against an "overlord" whose hegemony is declining sharply.

— Chung Ho

The Aggressive NATO Bloc

SIGNED in Washington on April 4, 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty went into effect on August 24, 1949. Original signatories were the United States, Britain, France, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Canada, Norway, Iceland, Italy and Portugal. Turkey and Greece acceded to the treaty in February 1952, and West Germany joined in May 1955. The treaty is to be in force for twenty years, and Paris was chosen as NATO headquarters.

The North Atlantic Council is the highest authority on civilian and military affairs. The Council is composed of foreign, defence or finance ministers of the member governments. The council normally meets at the ministerial level two or three times a year. In between these sessions, it functions through the Permanent Representatives of the member states. In name, the decisions of the council are taken unanimously. In practice, the United States always has the final say.

The Military Committee under the council is NATO's highest military authority. It is composed of the Chiefs of Staffs or their representatives from the member states. It meets at the Chiefs of Staff level two or three times a year, but remains in permanent session in Washington at the level of military represen-

tatives. The Standing Group is the executive body of the Military Committee, composed of one representative each of the United States, Britain and France.

Subordinate to the Standing Group are seven special military agencies and three commands—Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), the Atlantic Command and the Channel Command. Of the three, SHAPE is the most important. Under it are four commands: the Northern Europe Command, the Central Europe Command, the Southern Europe Command, the Mediterranean Command. There is also the Canada-United States Regional Planning Group.

In the name of integration, NATO's military power is almost exclusively in the hands of the United States. The Military Committee meets in permanent session in Washington. Since its establishment in December 1950, the post of Supreme Allied Commander Europe has been continually held by American generals. General Eisenhower was the first Supreme Allied Commander Europe; he was succeeded by Generals Ridgway, Gruenther, Norstad and Lemnitzer. Other member states play only a minor part.

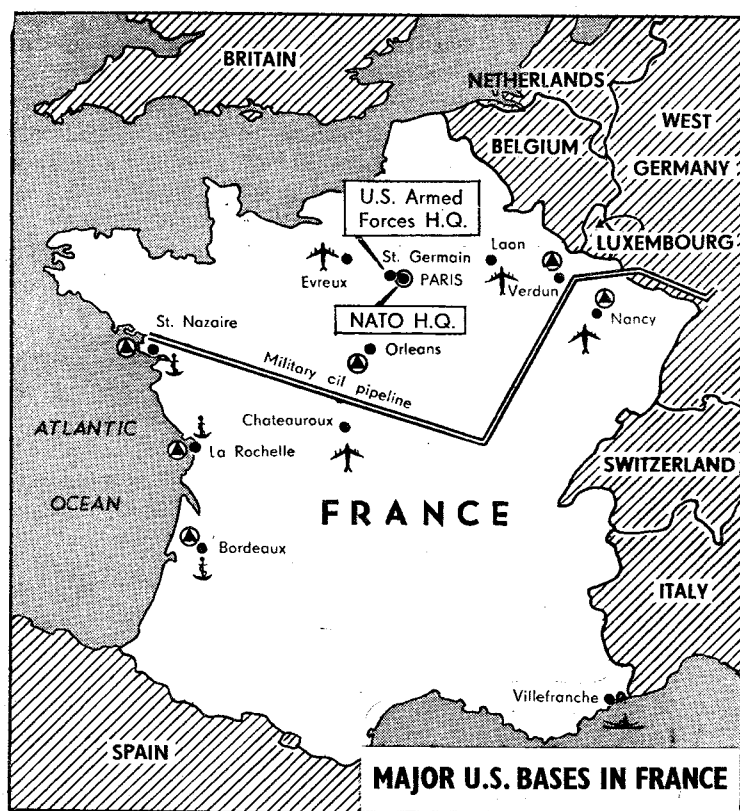
Member states must contribute troops. West Germany and Luxembourg placed all their armed forces at its disposal, while other members also contribute a part of their troops. As most Commanders are Americans, these troops are actually controlled by the United States.

The United States has stationed hundreds of thousands of military personnel and built more than 200 military bases on the territory of member countries. It has also installed atomic weapons on NATO bases. It enjoys extra territoriality and wilfully violates the sovereignty of its "allies."

All in all, NATO's so-called integration serves Washington's counter-revolutionary "global strategy" at the expense of the independence of its "allies." It came as no surprise that de Gaulle said that in Europe, the strategy in NATO was the strategy of the United States.

NATO's activities in the last 17 years have been geared to U.S. plans for world domination. Spurred on by Washington, it has been plunging ahead recklessly with expanding armaments for war. By 1965, military expenses of member states for this purpose had reached more than \$ 900,000 million. NATO has thrown together more than 57 army divisions. It also possesses large numbers of warships and aircraft. To create international tension, NATO troops hold various kinds of yearly military manoeuvres, with the socialist countries as the hypothetical enemy.

Egged on by the United States, NATO has flagrantly interfered in the internal affairs of



- Main ports used by U.S. Army
- Main airfields of U.S. Air Force
- U.S. Army's main depots
- Main port used by the U.S. Navy

Sketch map by Su Li

other countries and tried to suppress the national-liberation movements in Afro-Asian countries. NATO has also been used by the United States to revive West German military forces.

Washington has always sought to lead its NATO "allies" by the nose. This has aroused dissatisfaction and opposition from many members, and France's challenge to U.S. domination is an outstanding example.

U.S. Economic Penetration Of S.E. Asia

U.S. IMPERIALISM has been expanding its exports to Southeast Asia in recent years so that their total value shot up from \$1,680 million in 1960 to \$2,480 million in 1964. Compared to this 47 per cent increase, U.S. imports during the same period from this part of the world were up only 16 per cent, from \$1,220 million to \$1,410 million. Consequently, by 1964 the balance of trade in America's favour had more than doubled from 1960's \$460 million to \$1,070 million.

U.S. exports to Southeast Asia have increased at the expense of the other Western countries, notably Britain. The chart below shows the steady growth of U.S. exports in contrast to the decline in British and French exports.

Southeast Asia's Total Imports From Monopoly
Capitalist Countries

	1960	1962	1964
	%	%	%
United States	17.2	20.6	23.2
Japan	11.9	12.6	14.6
Britain	12.7	12.5	9.2
France	2.3	1.8	1.7
West Germany	6.5	6.0	6.5

The last few years have seen U.S. exports squeezing out those of Britain, Japan and France in India, the Philippines and south Vietnam where U.S. commodities have dominated the market.

In expanding exports to Southeast Asia, the United States has mainly relied on the following:

(1) **Intensified use of "aid."** In recent years Southeast Asia has been bombarded with U.S. "aid." From 1946 to 1961, U.S. economic "aid" to the region, totalled \$7,550 million, an average of \$500 million per year. But in the three fiscal years 1962-64 it reached

\$5,100 million, the yearly average shooting to \$1,700 million. Taking India as an example, before 1961 U.S. "aid" to that country totalled \$3,100 million, an average of over \$200 million a year. But, in the 1962-64 period, it jumped to a total of \$2,300 million to make the annual average over \$700 million.

Since 1960 the proportion of U.S. "aid" restricted to the purchase of American goods has gone up greatly. In the first half of fiscal 1965 it took up 93 per cent of U.S. "aid" loans. This has greatly raised exports of American goods.

The vital role U.S. "aid" plays in Wall Street's struggle for markets is clearly illustrated in the case of India. There, U.S. exports of various types of machinery, steel, non-ferrous metals, transport equipment, petroleum products and other commodities are nearly all financed through loans from the U.S. Export-Import Bank and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

(2) **Increasing private capital investment.** Official U.S. figures reveal that direct American private capital investment in Southeast Asia rose from \$898 million at the end of 1960 to \$1,142 million at the end of 1964 — an increase of 27.2 per cent. Though most U.S. investments have gone into the Philippines, they are also making inroads into other parts of Southeast Asia, such as India, Indonesia and Thailand.

Building plants or factories, joint capital endeavours, "technical co-operation" and arrangements whereby local enterprises manufacture U.S. products under license are some of the methods by which U.S. capital avoids custom duties and gets around trade and foreign exchange restrictions in the imperialist battle for the Southeast Asian market.

(3) **Intensified dumping of "surplus" farm products.** Figures in a report by the U.S. Agency for International Development show that during fiscal years 1955-60 the U.S. Government dumped or signed agreements to get rid of \$2,398 million worth of "surplus" farm products in Southeast Asia, which amounted to an average of \$400 million a year. However, during fiscal years 1961-64, this went up to \$3,127 million, which is an average of \$800 million a year.

Grain remains the chief U.S. farm product dumped in Southeast Asia. However, there has been an increase in variety as well as in quantity in recent years.

U.S. export of grain to Southeast Asia was estimated at 8,300,000 metric tons in 1964. This was 35 per cent more than in 1960. In 1964, India imported 5,600,000 metric tons from the United States, and it is estimated that last year it imported more than 6 million metric tons. Thus, Southeast Asia has become the main area for U.S. dumping of "surplus" grain.

An Epoch of Great Upheavals

READING through the headlines in the newspapers these days one can easily see that underneath the din and turmoil far-reaching changes are taking place all over the world. Where there was seeming peace and tranquility there is suddenly a new turn of events. The world, like a live volcano, is experiencing an epoch of great upheavals. Great upheaval—this is a main feature of today's international situation.

The history of mankind is full of such periods of gigantic struggles and upheavals. Different people react differently. How they react depends on what class interest they represent.

All reactionary ruling classes dream of maintaining their rule as long as possible. To them, anything that upsets the "peace" and "stability" which enable them to enjoy their looted wealth and perpetuate their enslavement of the people is unacceptable. Consequently they fear and curse change and upheaval. This is as true today as it was in former days.

The capitalist system is rotten to the core and on its last legs. Nevertheless, the champions of capitalism are still racking their brains trying to make the world believe that the system can last for ever. Chiming in the modern revisionists sing: "capitalism can grow peacefully into socialism."

A Storm Is Brewing

For revolutionaries, great turmoil and upheavals in the world are no surprise. They indicate that things can no longer go on in the old way and that a great storm is brewing. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has rightly said: "Even great storms are not to be feared. It is amid great storms that human society progresses."

In class society, there exist the exploiters and the exploited, there exist blocs representing different class interests. How, then, can they live peacefully together without conflicts and clashes? Upheavals are inevitable, especially when a new social order is replacing the old.

Take, for example, the fall of serfdom and the feudal system and the rise of the capitalist system. From the middle of the 17th century onwards for almost 200 years, Europe underwent tumultuous upheavals. During those years, crowns of monarchs rolled in the street, and one regime replaced another in countless actions and counter actions. Victory alternated with defeat. Only after

generations of struggle did the bourgeoisie finally succeed in establishing its rule.

The present era is one in which capitalism is heading for doom and socialism is heading for victory. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung put it: "The present world situation is such that the two major forces, revolution and counter-revolution, are locked in final struggle." A titanic battle is raging between the revolutionary forces and the counter-revolutionary forces of the world, and in particular, between the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and the imperialists headed by the United States and their flunkies. International class struggle has never been so bitter. The world has entered upon a stage of upheavals of unsurpassed intensity and magnitude.

Revolutionary Tide Rushing Ahead

The great upheaval which characterizes the current world situation reflects the advance of the revolutionary tide of the world's people. Millions have risen to struggle for freedom and independence, millions march in the streets from Santo Domingo to Conakry denouncing imperialism and colonialism. Gunshots have exploded the aggressor's golden dream. The ground under the feet of imperialism is crumbling. . . .

Imperialism and reactionaries will not be reconciled to defeat. They will invariably try every possible means to crush the popular revolutionary movements. Even if they are defeated they will still attempt to counter-attack or stage a come-back. Sometimes in certain places the balance of forces is for the moment unfavourable to revolution, or sometimes the revolutionary leaders may make mistakes. This may bring about reverses to the revolution. That is why revolutionary struggle is not smooth sailing. There are bound to be setbacks before final victory can be won. Of course, nobody likes setbacks. Nevertheless, unfavourable things can be turned to good account. Under certain conditions imperialist counter-attacks may be temporarily successful. But this will only help raise the political consciousness of the people, temper them, help mobilize them to strike back with redoubled force. Thus, the revolutionary movement will develop in greater depth and width. It will roll on and on. No force can stop it. Such is the law of historical development.

Marxists regard great upheavals as a natural outcome of the aggravation of the international class struggle. Therefore, they can face it boldly. And as revolutionaries, they take it as their bounden duty to expedite changes and speed up the march of time.

—Tung Feng-hao

ROUND THE WORLD

SOUTH VIETNAM

Mammoth Political Struggles

Anyone who goes to enemy-occupied Saigon today will find a woman's sculptured portrait head mounted on a pedestal in the busy market place which bears the name Quach Thi Trang. A student who took a lead in anti-U.S. demonstrations and was killed by the enemy in 1963, Trang lives for ever in the hearts of her compatriots. In memory of her heroic death, a Saigon art student made the sculpture and the local residents have displayed it in the heart of the city and see that it stays there. The sculpture is a constant reminder of the outrages against the people by the U.S. occupationists and their puppets. Much as the enemy would like to, they are unable to remove it. They fear that such action will provoke the angry people to still greater indignation.

In south Vietnam today, it is the people who have proved themselves to be invincible. The enemy is being trounced not only on the military front but on the political front as well. During the first two months of this year, workers and students in the enemy-occupied areas staged a growing number of strikes and dem-

onstrations against the enemy who is expanding the war, bleeding the working people white and press-ganging youths into the puppet army.

Since the beginning of this year, the U.S. aggressors and their stooges have stepped up their "kill all, burn all and destroy all" policy through large-scale "search and destroy" operations. While the liberation armed forces are dealing powerful blows in battle, the rural people are countering enemy atrocities with intensified political action. The cumulative total of participants in the political struggle amounted to well over 700,000 in January and February.

In Saigon and many other cities, more than 50,000 workers and other working people have taken part in strikes and demonstrations. They are demanding wage increases, better working conditions, price reductions and no more dismissals. In Saigon and Rach Gia, people have fought against the requisition of land by an enemy who evicts them by force and burns down their houses. On many occasions, people doing forced labour on the airfields in Vinh Long, Cam Ranh Bay and Chu Lai have also staged strikes. In the Thu Dau Mot, Chau Doc and My Tho Provinces,

demonstrators carried the corpses of those murdered by the enemy, demanding compensation. Some 10,000 villagers in Cai Be district, My Tho Province, participated in these struggles.

The U.S. aggressors and their Saigon puppets, hostile to the whole people, thus now find themselves besieged by the whole people. On both the military and political fronts, they have

met defeats, and, cornered by the people, they can find no way of escape.

JAPAN

The Big United Action

Over the length and breadth of the country, from Hokkaido in the north to Okinawa in the south, 600,000 Japanese held mass rallies and demonstration parades on March 20 for united action. Opposition to American aggression in Vietnam, to the Sato government which is an accessory in the aggression and to the mounting cost of living were the themes.

In Tokyo, where the central rally attended by 225,000 people was held, Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Japanese Communist Party, made the militant call: "The people striving for independence, democracy and better living conditions must unite to form a powerful united front and deal strong blows at the U.S. and Japanese reaction!"

The present united action of the Japanese people takes place at a time when the U.S. is redoubling its efforts to make Japan its forward base for the unleashing of war in Asia. Japan, said a recent issue of the American magazine *Fortune*, must now play the active role of a "bridge" in "sealing off the gaping breach in Vietnam" and in forming a "crescent of a containment" around China. The Sato government, for its part, has been most responsive to this U.S. need arising from the strategic shift of emphasis from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Its latest moves to serve U.S. imperialist aggression include

- an invitation to Saigon puppet Nguyen Cao Ky to visit Japan;
- permission for U.S. nuclear-powered submarines and aircraft carriers to dock at Japanese ports;
- statements calling for an indefinite extension of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" which expires in 1970;
- joining the U.S. "nuclear war strategic system";
- plans to send Japanese troops abroad.

To speed up the revival of Japanese militarism, the Sato government must



The sculptured portrait head of the woman martyr Quach Thi Trang in Saigon's market place

intensify the exploitation and oppression of the people at home. Since the New Year, it has raised the price of rice by another 8.6 per cent on top of last year's 16.2 per cent increase. According to the Japanese monthly *Keizai*, more and more workers now have to skip their midday meal while the children of the working people are suffering from malnutrition. Railway transport charges have been upped 23.3 and 25 per cent for the private- and state-run lines respectively. The Japanese press figures that the Sato government will steal 60,000 million yen from the people through higher rice prices alone and another 37,000 million yen through increased postal charges. These measures can only arouse the bitter opposition of the people.

The Japanese people are now merging the political struggle for independence, peace and democracy with the economic struggle to safeguard their right to live, and are using this to spearhead the present united action against the American and Japanese reactionaries. A resolution was adopted at the Tokyo central rally to make the March 20 united action a new starting point for more powerful struggles on all fronts.

THE MIDDLE EAST

"Islamic Pact" Rejected

Towards the end of last year, underhand moves for a so-called Islamic Pact got under way in the Middle East. The news leaked out early last December on the eve of the visit of Faisal, King of Saudi Arabia, to the Shah of Iran. During the visit, it was reported the two monarchs, at Washington's behest, were to work together for the formation of an "Islamic Pact." A joint communique issued on the visit afterwards called for the convocation of an Islamic summit conference to provide "a chance to discuss the problems of the Islamic countries concerned."

The Cairo press revealed that the projected pact would include more than a dozen Islamic countries ranging from the Maghreb to the Arabian Gulf, including Bahrein, Qatar and other small sheikhdoms in the Gulf

area. It was even planned to include "Malaysia." Then, upon Faisal's return from Teheran, came the news that Saudi Arabia was to receive \$300 million worth of air force weapons and equipment from Britain and the U.S. The Tunisian weekly *Jeune Afrique* pointed out at the time that London would not be so generous were it not assured that these arms would be used to set up an "east of Suez force" under the name of an "Islamic front"; nor was Washington giving away such armaments for nothing—its main concern was to keep its oil supplies flowing without any unpleasant surprises.

Smelling a rat, the people of the Arab countries did not take long to find out that the pact was actually a military and political alliance under a religious cloak, hatched by the intriguers in Washington and London.

Many leaders of the Arab world—U.A.R. President Nasser, Syrian Prime Minister Yusef Zain, and Yemeni President Abdullah al Sallal among them—have strongly denounced this pact which is aimed at suppressing the liberation movements and drawing the Arab people into the Western sphere of influence. It is also opposed by Iraq, Algeria and Kuwait and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

On March 1, the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization issued a statement condemning the pact as another imperialist plot to resuscitate the unlamented Baghdad Pact which came to a sticky end years ago.

GUATEMALA

Hobson's Choice

Washington and its local agents have once more made a mockery of bourgeois democracy—this time in Guatemala where presidential elections have taken place under the auspices of the much-hated Peralta Azurdia dictatorship.

During the elections early this month, candidates of three pro-U.S. political parties only were allowed to stand. The 956,000 voters who account for less than a quarter of the population had little to choose from. More than half of them did not even go to the polls and none of the presidential candidates managed to get an absolute majority of the votes cast. The electoral tribunal announced that the new parliament due to meet in May will have to choose one of the two front runners as president. According to official returns, the Revolutionary Party came first in the voting, the ruling Institutional Democratic party second and the National Liberation Movement third. Whoever may be installed as president, Washington is hoping that the newly "elected" administration will somehow be able to deceive the people and bring the chaotic situation in the country under control.

But where a high-handed policy has failed, how can such a political manoeuvre as these farcical elections help? Since the democratic government of President Arbenz was deposed by armed intervention in 1954, Washington has imposed three fascist

Which horse for the cart?
Cartoon by Lan Chien-an



military dictatorships one after another on the Guatemalan people. In just over a decade of misrule, the economic situation has gone from bad to worse. Impoverishment is such that, in the countryside, only 3.4 per cent of the male population and 1.8 per cent of the female population wear shoes. On some coffee plantations workers are paid as little as 15 cents a day. Inflation, said a

recent issue of *U.S. News & World Report*, has caused even the middle class trouble in making ends meet.

Popular resentment has grown with intensified persecution of the progressives and the harsh exploitation of the people by U.S. monopoly and the local latifundists, and has led to armed struggle against the reactionary authorities. A patriotic armed force

was founded in 1960; it is now in the mountain regions where it is persevering in the struggle.

Shuddering at the thought of a nationwide blow-up in which "U.S. property . . . will be imperilled," the same U.S. weekly predicted: "The crisis in Guatemala is shaping up as another tough problem for Washington."

NEWS NOTES

Imperialist Logic: Alone but "Moral" . . . A Diplomat's Bolt Is Soon Shot . . . Indian Statecraft: Changing Man's Habit . . . Friends In Need . . . A Muddle-headed Warning . . . How Better to Serve U.S. Imperialism

To prove that Washington is not alone in its war of aggression in south Vietnam, U.S. Ambassador to U.N. Arthur Goldberg recently mentioned New Zealand, Australia and south Korea which have contributed mercenaries to fight for the Americans. He went further by adding that even if Washington did fight alone, this "is not necessarily final proof of a country's immorality and decadence." The question is fighting alone for what? The service of a few thousand men levied from its satellites and puppets can in no way cover up Washington's isolation in its aggressive war, which is opposed by the people the world over. Still less can it alter the nature of an unjust war which itself is proof positive of U.S. imperialism's immorality and decadence.

* * *

Embarrassment is hardly the word to describe what the Sato government of Japan felt when roving ambassador Masayuki Yokoyama declared in Paris that he personally believed the Saigon government to be a mere American puppet. Yokoyama was sent abroad on a mission to try and sell Washington's "peace talks" scheme. This slip not only touched the Johnson Administration on a sore spot but actually pulled out the mat from under Yokoyama's own government which is

working industriously to shore up Washington's Vietnam policy of aggression. Foreign Minister Shiina's subsequent instruction to Yokoyama to be careful of what he says shows up the Sato government's so-called independent foreign policy for what it is.

* * *

India's Mrs. Gandhi is trying to solve her country's food problem by asking her compatriots "to change their diet habits" and "make do with what they have." This is all very well if there is something else, say, flour, to change to or something to make do with. However, the crux of the matter, as the Indian Prime Minister herself acknowledged, is that "there is a shortage of everything in the country." Maybe, in that case, she is expecting the hungry and angry Indians to change man's "habit" of eating food altogether?

* * *

Belgrade has proffered New Delhi a \$60 to 80 million loan over the next five years. But if India is hard pressed for money, which it is, Yugoslavia is in no way better off. Both live on American alms. Only recently, the hat-in-hand Tito clique was given another \$80 million "aid" from the U.S. It would simplify the matter if Belgrade asked Washington to trans-

fer the sum promised Yugoslavia to India's account tagged: "With the compliments of modern revisionism and by courtesy of U.S. imperialism."

* * *

U.S. Senator Henry Jackson has warned that if France tries to wreck the integrated Atlantic Alliance, the U.S. may have to reconsider its commitment to the defence of France. The point is that the so-called U.S. commitment to "defend" France is exactly what the French President considers to be an infringement of French sovereignty and, therefore, something that must be done away with. It is true that American military bases abroad are directed against the socialist camp but at present it is the countries in which they are located that are the first to suffer from American aggression.

* * *

For the fifth time in six months, Soviet delegates have rubbed shoulders with those from south Vietnam, south Korea and also the Chiang Kai-shek clique — the scum of international society. The occasion was the "Asian Conference on Children and Youth in National Planning and Development" held in Bangkok from March 8 to 15. The conference was supposedly to have discussed how to make youth in the region serve the needs of their countries. Relations between the Khrushchov revisionists and Washington's Man Fridays are becoming increasingly close and what they actually discussed was how they themselves could better serve U.S. imperialism.

ART

Permanent Display of Modern Chinese Art

The art lover in Peking can now, for the first time, conveniently get a fairly complete view of Chinese art from early times to today. The first part of that view has long been available at the Palace Museum, the nation's biggest and richest collection of ancient art. The second, contemporary, part is now being presented by the new permanent exhibition at the Museum of Chinese Art.

When completed this new exhibition will include representative work from the time of the May Fourth Movement in 1919—the beginning of China's New Democratic Revolution—through to the present time of socialist revolution and construction.

At the moment it contains 302 traditional style Chinese paintings, oil paintings, water colours, graphic art and sculpture. All are from the fine collection of contemporary work which the museum has built up by purchases from the major exhibitions held in China since 1949. In this first selection, only work done since 1949 is shown, half of them in the last three years. Cartoons, book illustrations and other branches of art will be added later. From time to time, certain works will be retired and replaced with others from the museum's ample store.

A steady stream of visitors has passed through the galleries since they opened last October and the selection has aroused lively comment. It gives an excellent opportunity to review the current art scene.

Revolutionary Art of the People

What is immediately noticeable in this exhibition is that a new chapter has opened in China's art. These walls show a flourishing art that is brilliantly serving socialism, the workers, peasants and soldiers, serving the liberation struggle of the world's peoples. Its characteristic feature is the close integration of revolutionary socialist content with Chinese national form.

The years from 1919 to today saw the gradual revolutionization of China's arts. By the late 1920s and early 30s the revolutionary strivings of the people began to find increasingly strong expression in woodcuts and cartoons. In 1942 Chairman Mao gave his famous Yenan talks on literature and art. They charted the course for the arts to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and ushered in the new historical period in Chinese art. Pictorial art played a militant role in the ensuing years of the revolution to overthrow imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

With the liberation, artists, guided by the Communist Party and Mao Tse-tung's teachings on art and nurtured by the People's Government, plunged themselves into the midst of the struggle on every front. Inspired by the revolutionary enthusiasm and rich experience gained by working and living with the labouring masses, their art has steadily advanced.

The works in this exhibition deal predominantly with themes of the socialist revolution and construction. These include scenes and achievements on various construction fronts and the new heroes and activists in many spheres of life. There are scenes of the agricultural co-operation movement and socialist industrialization; the emancipation of Tibet's serfs and other historical episodes of the people's revolution;

there are expressions of the Chinese people's support for the Korean and Vietnamese peoples in resisting U.S. aggression. The anti-imperialist struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples is another theme that has inspired many painters and sculptors. These works illumine the people's consciousness and inspire them to revolutionary action.

New Content, New Form

In creating this new socialist, national art which serves the cause of revolution, which reflects the people's life with greater understanding than ever before and is loved by the masses, artists are critically assimilating not only their own national artistic heritage but also that of other lands.

New themes and subject matter, new content, have given rise to changes in artistic form and style. But the spirit of the new age is intimately blended with the national style of Chinese art. You won't find copies of Tang or Sung paintings here, nor simple transplantations from foreign art. You will find creative works which break through the established styles of old and adapt foreign forms to the characteristics of socialist Chinese art.

Such traditional-style paintings as *News of the Tiger's Defeat*, *Bringing Food on a Snowy Night*, *Two Lambs* and *Lienyun Harbour* are by



Peking's Museum of Chinese Art

World Weightlifting Records

At a competition in Peking on March 12, Chinese weightlifters broke three world records in the featherweight class. They also set five national records.

Chen Man-lin, a 24-year-old student from Kwangtung Province, pressed 128.5 kg. to beat the official world record of 128 kg. held by Imre Foldi of Hungary. In the snatch event, Hsiao Ming-hsiang lifted 124 kg. to beat the official world record of 123.5 kg. held by Yoshinobu Miyake of Japan. Chi Fa-yuan jerked 153.5 kg. to better the world record of 153 kg. set by his teammate Hsiao Ming-hsiang at the 2nd National Games in Peking last September.

With these performances, Chinese weightlifters now hold five of the 28 world records. The other two world records are held by middle-weight Liu Tien-wu (149 kg. for the press event) and bantamweight Yeh Hao-po (115 kg. for the snatch).

SHORT NOTES

Japanese Basketball Teams. The Nichibo Hirano women's basketball team, six times national champion of Japan, and the Waseda University men's team visited Peking in mid March. Playing against Chinese teams in the capital, the Japanese men's quintet lost all their three matches, while the Japanese women's team won one and lost two. The visiting teams will play several more matches in Tientsin, Nanking, Shanghai and Canton.

* * *

"Tao Yen." To the delight of calligraphers and painters, *tao yen* ink slabs, after being out of production for several decades, are once again being made. The special texture of the rare, jadelike greenish *tao yen* stone gives a fine quality of ink when a good ink stick is ground on it. Their rarity made these ink slabs collectors' items for some 900 years.

veteran painters as well as by young artists. The veterans are shown here as to have turned away from outmoded artistic interests and sentiments and developed bolder, freer brushstrokes to depict today's life and people. New compositional means, new colour harmonies, are emerging. The dominant note is a fresh, new look at things. Stereotypes are out. These works show that when an artist sincerely endeavours to remould his world outlook, then his style and technique—the form of his art—undergo a fundamental change. His ideological remoulding progresses in the course of his artistic practice. For an artist who has determined to work for the working masses, artistic practice is the means of helping to bring about the revolutionary transformation of his consciousness, his ideology and his art.

The younger painters of the traditional Chinese school were brought up under the five-starred red flag. Their brushstrokes are animated by a revolutionary spirit that gives their paintings a new vitality and realism; yet there is no lack of traditional Chinese flavour in them. In the field of graphic art and especially in their New-Year pictures, this characteristic of the young artists is displayed with particular force. The New-Year picture *Heroes of Our Age* successfully represents the people who are now masters of their own destiny. *To Be Worthy Successors* shows the eagerness of the younger generation to become worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of their fathers. The coloured woodcut *The First Bumper Harvest* depicts the happiness of the emancipated Tibetan serfs reaping a bumper harvest; while *Turn Shackles Into Swords* lauds the revolutionary heroism of the fighting African people. Youthful patriotism and internationalism, revolutionary hatred for imperialism and revisionism have inspired these successful pictures. Naturally there is some artistic immaturity, but their keenness to plunge themselves into the heat of the struggle, to identify themselves with the working masses, and their diligence in their art give assurance for the future. What is

decisive here is their determination to serve the people.

Another notable feature of the exhibition are the oil paintings and sculptures. The modern technique of oil painting was introduced to China only a few score years ago, and it had not acquired a national Chinese character and was not a popular art form before 1949. That is so no longer. As the canvases displayed show, a Chinese school of oil painting has since evolved and produced several memorable works devoted to the revolutionary struggle. (A number of these are in other museums such as the Museum of the Chinese Revolution and the Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution.)

The sculptures exhibited are also of high quality both in ideological content and artistic form. The vigorous, clear-cut images of *A South Vietnamese Sister*, *The Youth*, and *A Million Serfs Stood Up* are impressive. The Chinese traditional painted sculpture *Mountain People* convincingly portrays the revolutionary heroism of the Tachai people on the agricultural front.

Another significant and encouraging feature of this review of contemporary art is the artistic growth of the national minorities and of amateur artists. The placing of their works in this collection testifies to their artistic talent and successes. This comes as no surprise in socialist China. The work of amateur artists has been regularly seen in the national art exhibitions held in recent years. Minority peoples who were culturally backward at the time of liberation are now not only masters of their own country but masters of art.

This new permanent exhibition will help to consolidate the achievements of contemporary art and stimulate further advances. The works shown have been stamped with the approval of a large public and are a pointer to current social demand. What has been done is a good start. It presages a yet finer contribution by China's modern artists to the world's revolutionary art treasury.

—HUAN LU

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