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CHINESE LITERATURE

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A SHORT HISTORY OF MODERN CHINESE LITERATURE

by Ting Yi

The story of the birth and growth of modern Chinese literature from the May Fourth Movement in 1919 to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

The May Fourth Movement marked the start of the new democratic revolution in China, as well as the beginning of a completely new literature; a proletarian literature dedicated to the struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

The three decades which followed the May Fourth Movement saw the emergence of such outstanding writers as Lu Hsun — the leading figure of the new culture — Kuo Mo-jo, Mao Tun and a host of others. A great number of new literary works were produced — some of permanent interest and value, others that played a briefer role in the events of their day. This book describes the writers and their more important works in these years and the main struggle that was waged on the literary front between those who supported the revolution and those who fought against it.

314 pp.

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Behind the U.S. Smokescreen of Peace

There have recently appeared the beginnings of a certain relaxation in the world situation. But the ruling circles in the United States do not really want to see any easing of tension. On the one hand they are singing a song of peace, but on the other hand the loud, jarring “cold war” notes are louder than ever. Nixon, Herter and McElroy in Washington, and Governor Rockefeller in New York, have delivered a series of “cold war” pronouncements. Other high U.S. Government officials and Pentagon brass hats brag about arms expansion and war preparations. And the old “cold warriors” Truman and Acheson are on the war path again.

Many facts show that they are putting on a peace show. Because their favourite war policies of “positions of strength” and “brink of war” have been reaching a dead end in the face of the growing might and increasing solidarity of the socialist countries, the advances of the national and democratic movements and the world peace movement, and the unremitting struggles of all the peoples of the world. The Soviet advances in rocketry have blasted the myth of U.S. supremacy in arms. In these circumstances, Washington had to inject a little “flexibility” into its foreign policy. Hence its talk of peace.

Behind this smokescreen, however, the U.S. ruling circles are actively preparing for war. They continue to expand their aggressive activities in various parts of the world and to create international tensions. The U.S. Government proposes to set aside $41,000 million for next year’s military budget, mainly to step up its missile programme in an attempt to catch up with the Soviet Union. It is actively building and expanding its missile bases in various parts of the world. It is clear that the U.S. peace gestures are designed to gain time to increase its armed strength and to paralyse the militant will of the peoples of the world to end the threat of war.

In the Far East and the Asian and African regions, U.S. aggressive activities are still more evident. The U.S. State Department is openly claiming to occupy China’s Taiwan continuously, and to play its “two Chinas” game. Recently Taiwan was visited by many top U.S. military leaders, and more U.S. arms have poured into the island. U.S. military manoeuvres have been held in the Taiwan Straits. The U.S. propaganda machine, in its frenzied attacks on China, has been slandering China as “aggressive.” By hook and by crook it is working overtime in an effort to wreck China’s friendly relations with other countries. In Laos, the United States is intensifying its intervention under the U.N. flag.

In the U.N. the United States instigated the discussion of the so-called “Tibet question” and deliberately used the “Hungarian question” and the “Korean question” to unleash a new slander campaign against the socialist countries, to intervene further in Hungary and to reiterate its refusal to withdraw its troops from south Korea.

These are but a few of Washington’s recent “cold war” activities, but they show that behind its smokescreen of “peace” it is stepping up its hostile activities against the socialist countries, the national and democratic movements and the world peace movement. This new trick, like its old ones, is doomed to fail. The smokescreen is too transparent to cover up what it is really cooking behind it. All of Washington’s peace talk is a calculated fake.
People’s Courts Grant Pardons

In the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, the people’s courts have granted pardons to counter-revolutionary and common criminals who have given proof of atonement for their crimes and turning over a new leaf, in pursuance of the September 17 order of the Chairman of the People’s Republic of China. The first group of criminals pardoned and released totals 12,082. Of this number more than two thousand were counter-revolutionary criminals and more than nine thousand common criminals.

Thorough investigations were carried out before the pardons were granted. A certificate was issued to each of the criminals at meetings where the announcement was made. Upon their release suitable jobs were found for them. Those who wanted to return to their native places to take part in production were given travelling expenses by the government departments concerned.

In the past ten years the authorities in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have carried out the policy of the Communist Party and the People’s Government of combining punishment with leniency and reform through labour with ideological education. The operation of this policy made the criminals understand the nature and origin of their crimes and change their reactionary outlook. They began to adopt a correct attitude towards labour and learnt that only through labour could they reform themselves into new persons relying on their work for a living.

Kwangtung Makes Nature Pay

Kwangtung has settled its score with Nature. The four counties on the lower reaches of the East River which were hit hard by the worst flood of the century have reaped a super-harvest of late rice. In fact, the harvest is so rich that this one season is estimated to equal that of an entire year. When rehabilitation began in the summer, the people’s communes, encouraged and assisted by the provincial Communist Party committee, set themselves an ambitious goal: to wrest from Nature all it had taken from them (see Peking Review, Nos. 27 and 28). And sure enough, the peasants along the East River pulled it off.

The four counties between them put 3.2 million mu of land under late rice, which is 708,000 mu more than in the corresponding period of last year. Of this amount, 1,300,000 mu were written off as failures, owing first to serious waterlogging and then to severe drought, but all the rest, nearly three million mu, yielded handsomely. Huiyang County obtained a record 50 per cent increase in per mu yields; Tungkwan County, a 30 per cent increase; and Polo and Tsengcheng Counties, though not doing quite still small but use modern methods of production. (See Peking Review, No. 49.)

The same is true of the small coal mines that made their appearance during the big leap forward of 1958. By virtue of technical transformation, these small coal mines which dot the provinces and autonomous regions have essentially completed the change-over from xiao-tu-qua to xiao-yang-qua. Instead of using simple, labor-consuming, manual methods to dig and transport coal, these reorganized small coal mines have adopted various technical aids to improve production methods. Efficiency has risen. Although the number of mines and the manpower needed to operate the pits have been reduced considerably, output today is much higher than last year. They are far from fully mechanized, like the giants at Fushun and Kaibin, but as much as one-seventh of the country’s total coal output comes from them. This in itself exceeds the output of China’s entire coal industry at the time of liberation.

These small coal mines, which are run by the counties and people’s communes, play a big role in the development of the national economy. Dispersed as they are in all parts of the country, they conveniently produce coal for the xiao-yang-qua iron and steel works and the many industries run by the communes. They meet the timely and growing needs of the peasants who are in a drive for mechanization, irrigation, “chemicalization” and electrification.

Look Back with Pride

As 1959 draws to a close, the workers in all industries of the country are looking back with pride on their accomplishments during the year. Many have fulfilled the annual targets well ahead of schedule. The achievements and tempo of advance are notable, particularly since the August Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party which called upon the nation to press ahead with the campaign to increase production and practise economy. By the end of November, not only cities but whole provinces completed their annual industrial production plans to the accompaniment of joyful celebrations in the factories and mines.

One outstanding feature of this industrial progress is the widespread dissemination of valuable technical innovations which have come to the fore in the weeks before and after the National Conference of Labour Heroes in October. This and the urge to translate the general line of building socialism—more, faster, better, and more economically—with greater effectiveness in work have done much to accelerate the completion of the annual production plans far ahead of time. The motto of the workers now is make the most of the rest of the year and strive for still greater achievements in 1960.

2nd Yangtse Bridge

A telling illustration of this spirit of the Chinese workers is the construction, and the opening to traffic, of the second bridge across the Yangtse River in Chungking in record time. More than ten thousand people turned out last Thursday at the ceremony marking the big event, which was enhanced by the completion of the northern section of the Szechuan-Kwei-chow Railway now under construction. With the Chungking Bridge opened to traffic, a connection between the Chungking-Chengtu Railway and the projected Szechuan-Kwei-chow Railway is now effected. This 820-metre new bridge, completed months ahead of schedule, will bring the southwest regions of China closer to Peking through the network of the Peking-Canton, Lunghai, Paoki-Chengtu, Chungking-Chengtu Railways plus the Szechuan-Kwei-chow Railway now under construction.

The Xiao-Yang-Quan Way

The popular phrase for building industry speedily has changed from xiao-tu-qua in 1958 to xiao-yang-qua this year. Xiao means small in size; tu means indigenous method; qua means a whole mass of them. The yang in the 1959 watchword means modern in method of production. The only difference between the two popular phrases of 1958 and 1959 is a single word—yang instead of tu—but it is a significant difference.

In the steel drive last year iron-smelting furnaces and steel converters mushroomed in all parts of the country. They were small in size and indigenous in their method of production, the country’s first xiao-tu-qua, as distinct from the large, modern and integrated iron and steel works which form the backbone of the industry. They have introduced technical improvements and better management and have logically developed into xiao-yang-qua enterprises which are
The life of the people and the economy began to change rapidly. The manpower and draught animals once tied to transporting water were now free for more productive endeavours. The crops and orchards grew better, and livestock farming expanded by leaps and bounds. The commune had brought the people water, and more water had brought them a greater income. Like other communes in the country, Nankou initiated the food supply system, to the acclaim of all its members. The commune members warmly welcome the supply system because it ensures them their food for all time. “For those in the old days who did not know where their next meals would come from, no explanation is necessary. The merit is too obvious for words,” they said. “But for those pot-bellied landlords and capitalists who always had sumptuous food served up to them, no explanation will suffice.”

The Big Leap in Academic Circles

Not to be outdone by the workers and peasants who are taking big strides forward these days to develop the national economy at top speed, the academic circles in China have made their own big leap too. The universities and colleges have accomplished more research work in a little over a year’s time than in the previous eight years ending in 1957.

Tsinghua and Peking Universities, Shanghai’s Futan, and the Polytechnic in Harbin, to cite but a few examples, have not only completed more theses and research projects, they have succeeded in making the work accomplished conform to the high levels required in these special fields. Apart from research into pure theoretical matters, the professors and students have achieved great success, too, in orienting their research programmes towards problems that have cropped up in current production, in industry and agriculture alike.

Urgent problems were often worked on by entire departments, often involving co-operation between departments and even universities. Among the current production problems which the universities have helped solve are electro-slag welding equipment, the use of nodular cast iron, the designing and manufacture of machinery for hydraulic mining and the summing up of the experiences in applying the 8-point Charter for Agriculture.

Furthermore, the universities and colleges have brought their research work to a new stage of development by working in co-operation with the factories, the engineers and workers, and the people’s communes, on problems confronting them. In this way the integration of theory and practice has advanced a step further.

December 15, 1959
Foreign Minister Chen Yi’s Letter to Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio

- Protesting against the anti-Chinese campaign in Indonesia
- Proposing an overall settlement of the overseas Chinese question

Peking, December 9, 1959

His Excellency Dr. Subandrio,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia,
Djakarta

Your Excellency,

I had the honour of holding friendly talks with Your Excellency when Your Excellency visited China last October. Your Excellency will recall that, apart from international questions of common interest to both countries and the question of strengthening friendly cooperation between our two countries, we exchanged views in our talks particularly on the question of the overseas Chinese who have settled down in Indonesia. Subsequently, in the spirit of friendship between our two countries, we further set forth in the Joint Communiqué issued on October 11, 1959, principles for dealing correctly with the overseas Chinese question. Following this, unfortunately, there has arisen in Indonesia a situation seriously impairing the proper rights and interests of the overseas Chinese and extremely detrimental to the friendship between the two countries. The Chinese Government cannot but be concerned and worried about this situation. I therefore deem it necessary to write to you to put forward the opinions of the Chinese Government for a change in this situation and for safeguarding friendly relations between the two countries.

To consolidate and develop Sino-Indonesian friendship ceaselessly is the basic starting point of the Chinese Government in dealing with all questions in the relations between our two countries. Our two countries have always been friendly to each other, and, since the Bandung Conference, our friendly relations have undergone further, new and marked, developments. There is no conflict between the fundamental interests of our two countries, and we both alike suffer from imperialist aggression and intervention and face the tremendous task of developing our economies and raising our people’s living standards. Therefore, continued mutual support and increased friendly co-operation between our two countries are precisely in the fundamental interests of our peoples, and are an important factor as well in the safeguarding of Asian and world peace.

The overseas Chinese question is one inherited from the development of history over a long period of time. The Chinese Government has worked consistently for a reasonable settlement of this question with the Indonesian Government. On April 22, 1955, the Governments of our two countries signed the "Treaty Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality." Then, on June 3, 1955, the Prime Ministers of the two countries exchanged notes on the method of implementing the Treaty. Two months ago, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries further issued a Joint Communiqué, setting forth clear-cut principles on how to enable the economic resources of overseas Chinese to continue to play a useful role in the economic development of Indonesia. Before that, on August 17, 1959, His Excellency President Sukarno also declared in his political manifesto: “Non-native forces and funds which have already settled in Indonesia and have agreed with, and moreover are prepared to help to realize the programme of the Working Cabinet, will obtain an appropriate place and opportunity in our efforts to increase production in the fields of industry and agriculture.” He also said, “To realize this intention a favourable climate for co-operation is required. Therefore, everyone concerned should avoid any action which can be detrimental to this climate for co-operation.” Had the principles and measures which have long been agreed upon by both sides and the policy explicitly announced by His Excellency President Sukarno been truly implemented and observed, it would have been possible to achieve gradually a reasonable solution to the overseas Chinese question and to further develop friendly relations between the two countries. Such is, however, not the actual case. A large-scale wave—which is anti-Chinese and discriminates against the Chinese—has recently been launched in Indonesia. The forces bent on sabotaging the friendship between our two countries are concentrating their efforts on attacking the overseas Chinese by making use of the Indonesian regulation banning small and retail trade activities of an alien nature in areas outside of the capitals of autonomous districts of first and second ranks and of residencies. Going further than this regulation, they are even forcing the overseas Chinese to evacuate the above-mentioned areas. As a result of all this, the proper rights and interests of the overseas Chinese are impaired and their
personal safety infringed on; great numbers of overseas Chinese have lost their means of livelihood and become homeless. In the process of compulsory evacuation, force is resorted to, causing bloodshed. China has always been friendly to Indonesia and invariably done its utmost to render assistance when Indonesia encountered difficulties. However, overseas Chinese are now regarded as the nationals of a hostile country and subjected to most crude treatment in Indonesia. In co-ordination with the persecution of overseas Chinese by various means, certain Indonesian papers carried numerous statements hostile to China, and even slandered the revered and beloved leaders of the Chinese people. It is by no means fortuitous that, even after His Excellency President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government repeatedly proclaimed a policy of friendship towards China, some influential forces in Indonesia have dared so wildly to carry on disruptive activities against the friendship between our two countries.

The Chinese Government seriously protests against this intolerable situation. The Chinese Government cannot but express its deep regret at the fact that this trend which is anti-Chinese and discriminates against the Chinese, instead of being curbed after the Chinese Government repeatedly called the attention of the Indonesian Government to it, has continued to expand.

In order to safeguard friendly relations between our two countries and leave no room for the activities of forces hostile to the friendship between our two countries, the Chinese Government considers that the Governments of the two countries should immediately adopt measures to bring about an overall settlement of the overseas Chinese question existing between our two countries. On the basis of its consistent stand on the overseas Chinese question, the Chinese Government would like to put forward the following proposals:

1. The Chinese Government has always considered that it is unreasonable for the overseas Chinese to hold dual nationality. Many overseas Chinese have lived in Indonesia for generations, they have merged with the Indonesian people in social and economic life. The Chinese Government would like to see these overseas Chinese choose Indonesian nationality in accordance with their own will. Once they have acquired Indonesian nationality, they will naturally pay allegiance to Indonesia, and at the same time be automatically entitled to the civil rights of Indonesia without any discrimination. The adoption of the nationality of the country of residence by overseas Chinese is in the interests both of themselves and of the country of residence. Therefore, the Chinese Government has always hoped that the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality concluded between our two countries can come into force and be implemented at an early date. As far back as December 30, 1957, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China already decided to ratify this Treaty. The Chinese Government now proposes that the Governments of the two countries immediately exchange the instruments of ratification of the "Treaty Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality," and at the same time appoint delegates to form the joint committee in accordance with the notes exchanged between the two Prime Ministers on June 3, 1955, to discuss and lay down the methods of implementing this Treaty.

2. Among the overseas Chinese residing in Indonesia, there will be some who want, of their own will, to retain Chinese nationality, and others whose choice of Indonesian nationality is not approved. The Chinese Government hopes that the Indonesian Government will, in accordance with Article 11 of the Treaty on the Question of Dual Nationality concluded between the two countries and the Joint Communique of the two Foreign Ministers, truly protect the proper rights and interests of these overseas Chinese, and check any discrimination against and persecution of them. The Chinese Government will continue to encourage these overseas Chinese to respect the laws and decrees of the Indonesian Government, to refrain from participating in local political activities, to contribute energetically to the economic and cultural development of Indonesia, and to live amicably with the Indonesian people. The Chinese Government, of course, hopes that the laws and decrees of the Indonesian Government will be impartial to all foreign nationals without discriminating against those of a friendly country or even being used as tools to persecute the overseas Chinese.

3. Regarding those overseas Chinese who have become homeless and lost their means of livelihood, or who do not wish to remain in Indonesia, the Chinese Government is prepared, in accordance with their desire to return to China, to make arrangements for their livelihood in China and provide them with opportunity to take part in the socialist construction of their motherland. The Chinese Government hopes that the Indonesian Government, in sending these overseas Chinese back to China, will also respect their own will without resorting to measures of compulsion, allow them to sell their properties and bring back the money they have acquired, and ensure their safety on their way home. In order to facilitate an orderly resettlement of these returned overseas Chinese by the Chinese Government, it is also hoped that the Indonesian Government will adopt measures to send them back to China by stages and in groups.

The above proposals clearly show that the Chinese Government is willing to achieve a thorough settlement of the overseas Chinese question existing between our two countries and to do its best to prevent friendly relations between our two countries from being undermined. The Chinese Government proposes that the two governments immediately appoint representatives to hold consultations on the above proposals of the Chinese Government and any proposals the Indonesian Government may put forward for the same purpose. I eagerly await Your Excellency's reply.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Chen Yi
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

December 15, 1959
For an Overall Settlement of the Question Of Overseas Chinese in Indonesia

Following is the full text of an editorial published in "Renmin Ribao" of December 12, 1959, under the title "For an Overall Settlement of the Overseas Chinese Question Existing Between China and Indoneisa." — Ed.

China’s Foreign Minister Chen Yi, in his December 9 letter to Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio, put forward, on behalf of the Chinese Government, proposals for an overall settlement of the overseas Chinese question which concerns the two countries. He urged that the two countries immediately exchange the instruments of ratification of the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality so that the Treaty may come into force and be implemented at an early date to enable the overseas Chinese in Indonesia who have dual nationality, to choose, of their own free will, Indonesian nationality and become Indonesian citizens. He asked the Indonesian Government to give effective protection to the proper rights and interests of those overseas Chinese who choose, of their own free will, to retain Chinese nationality or whose choice of Indonesian nationality is not approved. As to those overseas Chinese who have become homeless and lost their means of livelihood or who do not wish to remain in Indonesia, the Chinese Government is prepared, in accordance with their desire, to make arrangements for them to return to China and take part in the building of their motherland, and it is hoped that the Indonesian Government will, in a fair and reasonable spirit, send them back to China by stages and in groups.

At a time when a situation has arisen in Indonesia which gravely impairs the proper rights and interests of the overseas Chinese there and is extremely detrimental to the friendship between the two countries, these proposals put forward by Foreign Minister Chen Yi fully demonstrate that the Chinese Government, proceeding from its desire to safeguard Sino-Indonesian friendship, has made another major effort for a complete settlement of the overseas Chinese question existing between the two countries. The Chinese people express their wholehearted endorsement and firm support for Foreign Minister Chen Yi’s proposals.

Recently, certain influential forces in Indonesia hostile to Sino-Indonesian friendship, making use of the Indonesian regulation banning small and retail trade activities of an alien nature in areas outside of the capitals of autonomous districts of first and second ranks and of residencies, have unscrupulously violated the proper rights and interests of the overseas Chinese, forced them to evacuate and deprived them of their means of livelihood.

The overseas Chinese there have repeatedly appealed to the Indonesian Government for protection and against compulsory evacuation. The Chinese Government has also repeatedly called the attention of the Indonesian Government to this and the Chinese Embassy and consulates in Indonesia, too, have made repeated representations and protests, requesting the Indonesian Government to take effective measures to protect the proper rights and interests of the overseas Chinese. However, instead of being curbed, this wave of discrimination against the Chinese has been intensified and become more violent. In the course of compulsory evacuation, even troops were called out and shooting and bloodshed took place. The overseas Chinese are suffering very great losses in property and their personal safety is gravely imperilled. A large number of them have lost their means of livelihood, lost their homes and have even been detained and maltreated in an inhuman way. At the same time, certain Indonesian papers have carried numerous statements attacking and vilifying China and even insulting the revered and beloved leaders of the Chinese people, with a view to whipping up anti-Chinese sentiment among the Indonesian people in co-ordination with these discriminatory activities against the Chinese. The Chinese people express their deepest sympathy and concern for the overseas Chinese who are being subjected to unjustifiable persecution in Indonesia. In the meantime, they cannot but feel grave anxiety and the utmost indignation concerning these acts that are so unfriendly to China and that are now taking place in Indonesia.

As Foreign Minister Chen Yi pointed out in his letter to Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio: “Our two countries have always been friendly to each other, and, since the Bandung Conference, our friendly relations have undergone further, new and marked, developments. There is no conflict between the fundamental interests of our two countries, and we both alike suffer from imperialist aggression and intervention and face the tremendous task of developing our economies and raising our people’s living standards. Therefore, continued mutual support and increased friendly co-operation between our two countries are precisely in the fundamental interests of our peoples, and are an important factor as well in the safeguarding of Asian and world peace.”

None but those forces with ulterior motives can deny the truth of this statement. Therefore, if only both parties observe the ten principles of the Bandung Conference and proceed from constant maintenance and development of the friendship between the two countries, there will
be no issue between China and Indonesia that cannot be solved by friendly negotiation. Take the overseas Chinese question for instance. The Governments of our two countries long ago reached the common understanding that it is a question inherited from historical developments over a long period of time. In the new circumstances where our two countries have one after another achieved their independence and have established friendly relations, there are favourable conditions which never existed before for a reasonable settlement of this question. Therefore, in dealing with the overseas Chinese question, as with other questions, a solution which is fair and reasonable to both parties should be sought in the spirit of friendship and no unilateral, violent action detrimental to the friendly relations between the two countries should in any way be tolerated.

In fact, since the founding of New China, the Chinese Government has always sought to arrive at a reasonable settlement of the overseas Chinese question with the Indonesian Government in conformity with the above-mentioned principles. It has all along advised and encouraged the overseas Chinese in Indonesia to respect the laws and customs of the country of their residence, refrain from participating in local political activity, endeavour to help the local population develop their economy and culture and live amicably with them. In view of the fact that many overseas Chinese have lived in Indonesia for generations and have merged with the local population in their economic life, the Chinese Government would like to see them choose Indonesian nationality of their own free will. Once they have acquired Indonesian nationality, they should naturally pledge their allegiance to Indonesia and at the same time should naturally be entitled to enjoy the civil rights as Indonesians without discrimination of any kind. The adoption by the overseas Chinese of the nationality of the country of their residence is, therefore, in the interests of both themselves and of the country of their residence.

With a view to ending the abnormal situation where overseas Chinese hold dual nationality, the Chinese and Indonesian Governments concluded a relevant treaty as early as April 1955. Later, on June 3 of the same year, the Prime Ministers of the two countries exchanged notes on measures to implement the Treaty. Two months ago, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries again issued a Joint Communiqué which sets forth definite principles on how to enable the economic resources of the overseas Chinese to continue to play a useful role in the economic development of Indonesia. If the principles and measures which have long been agreed upon by both sides were faithfully implemented and observed, it would have been possible gradually to achieve a reasonable solution of the overseas Chinese question and to develop further the friendly relations between the two countries.

But this was not what actually happened. Of late, there have been not only discriminatory activities against the Chinese in Indonesia, but slanders which, by a reversal of the truth, described the steps taken by the Chinese Government to protect the proper rights and interests of the overseas Chinese as interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia. This is clearly untenable. It is common knowledge that China has always been friendly towards Indonesia, respects Indonesia's sovereignty and independence and has always done its utmost to support Indonesia whenever the latter faces difficulties. However, overseas Chinese in Indonesia are now regarded as nationals of a hostile country and subjected to the most violent and inhuman treatment. We should like to ask: Is this the attitude that should be taken by friendly countries in settling questions at issue between them? Is this in keeping with the principles of the Bandung Conference?

As for the economic aspect of the overseas Chinese question, everybody knows that the current discriminatory activities against the Chinese in Indonesia are being carried out under the pretext of “developing the national economy.” The overseas Chinese, small, retail traders are smeared as “remnants of the colonialist economy,” as hampering the development of the national economy of Indonesia, and are even cursed as “more vicious than the colonialists.” Obviously these charges go against historical facts and present realities.

Overseas Chinese began settling in Indonesia more than 1,500 years ago. From the beginning of the 17th century to the middle of the 18th century, after the Netherlands invaded and occupied Indonesia, Chinese workers were deceived and taken to Indonesia in large numbers by the Dutch colonialists to expand their colony there. In the last hundred years or so, poverty-stricken peasants in China, under the pressure of internal strife and foreign invasions and the bankruptcy of the rural economy, left their homeland in still greater numbers to earn their living overseas, thus swelling the number of overseas Chinese in Indonesia. The overwhelming majority of these overseas Chinese are labouring people, who, together with the Indonesian people, have long been the victims of colonialist oppression and exploitation. They worked industriously from generation to generation, and have made undeniable contributions to the economic and cultural development of Indonesia. Take, for instance, the persecuted small, retail traders. Their work and their small businesses have played a positive role in meeting the needs of the local people and activating the markets there. Does this have anything in common with a so-called “colonialist economy”?

As a matter of fact, the growth of the economy of the overseas Chinese took place along with the development of Indonesia's national economy. It has become a component part of the Indonesian economy and benefits the growth of Indonesia's national economy. This is also admitted by Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio. It is clearly stated in the Joint Communiqué of the Foreign Ministers of the two countries that “the economic resources of those Chinese nationals will still play a useful role in the economic development of Indonesia.” President Sukarno also declared in his political manifesto on August 17: “Non-native forces and funds which have already settled in Indonesia and have agreed with, and moreover are prepared to help to realize the programme of the Working Cabinet, will obtain an appropriate place and opportunity in our efforts to increase production in the fields of industry and agriculture.”

Therefore, it is not difficult to see that the discriminatory measures against the Chinese now being taken in Indonesia have directly violated both the Joint Communiqué of the two Foreign Ministers and the political mani-
festo of President Sukarno. Today, the real menace to the development of Indonesia’s national economy is imperialist monopoly capital, not the economy of the overseas Chinese. To strike with full force at the overseas Chinese small, retail traders, while not daring to raise a finger against imperialist monopoly capital, can this in any way benefit the economic development of Indonesia?

THE Chinese Government and people cannot but feel the utmost anxiety over the predicament in which the overseas Chinese in Indonesia now find themselves. It is common knowledge that in the days of old China, the overwhelming majority of the Chinese who went overseas were forced by circumstances to earn their living abroad and were often subjected to the full force of discrimination, maltreatment and humiliation by imperialism and local reaction in the countries of their residence. They had to put up with it meekly since they had no one to hear their grievances and their motherland was a place they did not wish to return to. However, since the founding of the Chinese People’s Republic, this sad state of affairs has ended for ever. A grievous mistake is being committed by those who look at things in the same old way, thinking that the overseas Chinese, as of old, have no support and have no other recourse than to earn their living in the country of their residence, and that the Chinese Government and the 650 million Chinese people will simply look on while their compatriots are being subjected to unjustified discrimination and persecution abroad.

The three proposals put forward by Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi to Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio are fair and reasonable. Those overseas Chinese who wish to choose Indonesian nationality should be given it under the terms of the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality concluded between the two countries; those who do not wish to choose or fail to acquire Indonesian nationality should receive the protection due them; those who have lost their means of livelihood in Indonesia or choose of their own free will to return to China should be sent back to China by stages and in groups.

We hope that the Indonesian Government will put an end at once to the evacuation of overseas Chinese by force of arms and reach a prompt agreement with the Chinese Government on the proposals put forward by Foreign Minister Chen Yi. In line with their friendship for the Indonesian people, the Chinese people ardently hope that a satisfactory settlement of the question of overseas Chinese in Indonesia will be reached in accordance with the first two proposals put forward by Foreign Minister Chen Yi. They also extend a wholehearted welcome to those of their fellow-countrymen who ask to be sent back to China.

In China today, the 650 million people are developing the inexhaustible resources of their own country with unparalleled enthusiasm; they are building up a rich and beautiful homeland of their own. We are going to build up a great socialist country with a modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture. Even with a population of 650 million, we still feel a shortage of manpower.

In the ten years since the founding of the Chinese People’s Republic, a total of 300,000 overseas Chinese have returned to take part in the socialist construction of their motherland. Upon their return, they were warmly welcomed by their fellow-countrymen at home and were well taken care of and provided for in both livelihood and work. Among them, many have become model workers and labour heroes in socialist construction and made glorious contributions to their motherland and posterity. The warm bosom of their own country, therefore, is always open in its new era of prosperity, for all overseas Chinese who wish to return because of difficulties encountered or for other reasons.

Now, at this time when the overseas Chinese in Indonesia are being subjected to unjustified discrimination and persecution, Foreign Minister Chen Yi, in his letter to Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio, has formally proposed that with regard to those overseas Chinese who have either become homeless and lost their means of livelihood or do not wish to remain in Indonesia, the Chinese Government is prepared, in accordance with their desire to return to China, to make arrangements for their livelihood in China and provide them with the opportunity to take part in the socialist construction of their motherland. This proposal is fully in keeping with the desire of the overseas Chinese in Indonesia and no government of a friendly country has any reason to reject it.

At the same time, the fact that we welcome the return of overseas Chinese to take part in socialist construction in China fully proves that the Chinese people have never wanted and will never want to use overseas Chinese to do any harm to any country or to use alleged “overpopulation” for “expansion” abroad. This demolishes completely the calumnies spread by imperialism and foreign reaction that overseas Chinese are China’s “fifth column” for subversive activities and that the growth of China’s population will constitute a “threat” to China’s Asian neighbours.

Of course, the return of large numbers of overseas Chinese involves complicated work. It is only with the friendly assistance and co-operation of the Indonesian Government and people that those overseas Chinese who wish of their own free will to return to their own country will be able to return safely and without any hitch. Foreign Minister Chen Yi, in his letter to Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio, has expressed certain specific hopes in this connection and this is also sound and reasonable. First of all, the overseas Chinese must return of their own free will. The fact that China is willing to receive the returning overseas Chinese should not be used as a pretext for discrimination against them. There should be no case of compulsion. On the other hand, the desire of those overseas Chinese who wish to return to China should also be respected and no obstruction should be placed in the way of their return. It is only through goodwill in the handling of these matters that the friendly sentiments between the peoples of our two countries can be preserved without impairment.

These overseas Chinese have lived in Indonesia for generations and naturally have property which was earned through years of labour. They have worked, sweated and created much wealth for Indonesia. So, when they leave Indonesia, they naturally should be allowed to sell whatever little property they possess and bring back the money with them.
Furthermore, their safety on their way home must be ensured. This is particularly important at present when a wave of anti-Chinese activities and discrimination against Chinese has been stirred up in Indonesia and there is no safeguard at all for the lives of overseas Chinese.

Finally, in order to facilitate an orderly resettlement of these returning overseas Chinese by the Chinese Government, it is also hoped that the Indonesian Government will send them back to China by stages and in groups. This would help both sides in arranging shipping facilities and in sending them back and receiving them in a systematic way. At the same time, this is also something that can be easily done by the Indonesian Government. Japan is a vanquished aggressor nation, and China and Japan have not yet concluded a peace treaty or established diplomatic relations; yet the Chinese Government did its best in making the most careful arrangements for the repatriation of Japanese nationals in China. It is our belief that the Indonesian Government, whether in the interest of the friendly relations existing between the two countries or for the sake of humanitarianism and justice, should have no reason to take exception to these reasonable requests by the Chinese Government.

THE proposals of Foreign Minister Chen Yi provide a reasonable basis for the overall settlement of the overseas Chinese question between China and Indonesia. The overseas Chinese question can only be solved through friendly consultations. Any unilateral and violent measures will only add to the difficulty of its solution. The anti-Chinese activities and discrimination against Chinese stirred up in Indonesia at present have already caused uneasiness and dissatisfaction among the decent people and fair-minded persons of Indonesia. It is well said by the Djakarta paper Harian Fadjar in its November 20 editorial that “only those who from the very beginning hoped to throw Indonesia into chaos feel delighted” at the situation arising from the anti-Chinese campaign in Indonesia. The paper urged a “return to the path of the Bandung Conference.”

It is our sincere hope that the Indonesian Government will treasure the friendship between China and Indonesia and the solidarity of the Asian and African countries, give careful consideration to the proposals of Foreign Minister Chen Yi and initiate negotiations at an early date, and at the same time speedily put a stop to the continued anti-Chinese activities and discrimination against Chinese, so as to create a favourable atmosphere for negotiations. It is our firm belief that given the desire of the two sides to uphold the friendship of the two countries it will not be difficult to bring about a reasonable settlement of the overseas Chinese question between the two countries through friendly consultations. A reasonable solution of this question will dispel the clouds that for the moment darken the sky and bring about a further growth of friendship between China and Indonesia, so that imperialism and its agents will never succeed in their underhand efforts to disrupt the friendship between China and Indonesia.

Factual Survey

Discrimination Campaign Against Chinese in Indonesia

A CAMPAIGN of discrimination against Chinese residents, seriously detrimental to Sino-Indonesian friendly relations, recently broke out in Indonesia, according to reports from Djakarta. Instead of being checked, this campaign has been intensified after the friendly visit of Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio to China. This cannot but arouse the deep concern and attention of the Chinese people.

In October this year, Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio visited China and issued a joint communiqué with Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi on October 11. Referring to the question of the Chinese residents in Indonesia, the Joint Communiqué said: “Both the Foreign Ministers take cognizance of the fact that in the process towards economic development and stability in Indonesia, the economic position of the Chinese nationals residing there may be affected in some ways. Both the Foreign Ministers consider that an appropriate way should be sought for the solution of this question so that it will be in the interest of the economic development of Indonesia and that the proper rights and interests of the Chinese nationals will be respected. Both the Foreign Ministers agree that the economic resources of those Chinese nationals will still play a useful role in the economic development of Indonesia.” This Joint Communiqué of the two Foreign Ministers was welcomed and supported by the Chinese people and the broad masses of the Indonesian people. They hoped that the spirit expressed by the two Foreign Ministers in their Joint Communiqué would help the proper solution of the question of Chinese residents in Indonesia.

It was after the publication of the Joint Communiqué by the Chinese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers that the
Indonesian Inner Cabinet officially passed Presidential Regulation No. 10 on November 3, banning, as from January 1, 1969, small and retail trade activities of an alien nature outside of the capitals of autonomous districts of first and second ranks and of residencies. This regulation was formally promulgated on November 18.

This Presidential Regulation was drawn up according to the decision published on May 14 by the former Minister of Commerce of Indonesia, R. Muljismeno, on cancelling licences to alien retail traders in places below the county level. It is mainly the small Chinese traders who have been hard hit by the promulgation of this Presidential Regulation.

It should be pointed out that in the past few years the Indonesian Government has promulgated a series of ordinances and regulations on aliens ostensibly for the purpose of "prohibiting foreign capital." But, in fact, it dare not touch the big enterprises of the imperialists which monopolize Indonesia's economy, like the Standard Vacuum, Caltex and B.P.M. oil companies, viewing them with awe. It even throws the door wide open to expanded economic aggression by the imperialists, inviting the thieves into the house, and caters to the large-scale infiltration of capital by U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism into Indonesia. But at present, the Indonesian Government concentrates its attacks on the small Chinese traders. As D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, has correctly pointed out, they "attacked the cats because they were afraid to fight with tigers."

Since the adoption and promulgation of Presidential Regulation No. 10 by the Indonesian Government, the local wartime administrators in many places in Indonesia have stepped up the campaign of discrimination against Chinese residents. They not only banned the Chinese residents in small towns and villages from running small business and retail trade, but, invoking the regulations on supervising foreign nationals' residence and travel promulgated by the Indonesian Central Wartime Administrator on May 4 of this year, intensified their use of violence to force Chinese residents and their families to abandon their houses and other property and move to specified places. The West Java military authorities are especially ruthless in this action.

At present, extensive removal of Chinese residents by force is being carried out frantically in places below the county-seat level in the whole province of West Java. The authorities in West Java sent large numbers of soldiers, police and military police to force the Chinese residents to move away, using such ruthless and violent methods as firing shots, beating them up, and submitting them to all kinds of humiliations. They threw the sick and the pregnant into lorries, sealed up the houses of the Chinese residents, removed their property by force and requisitioned the premises of Chinese schools. Numerous Chinese residents have thus been rendered homeless and jobless and deprived of schooling and means of livelihood.

In the past two months, the authorities of West Java Province also terrorized the Chinese residents by carrying out mass arrests. It has been learnt that more than 230 Chinese residents and more than ten leaders of overseas Chinese organizations have been arrested. Those arrested were detained in the same concentration camp as Indonesian rebels.

The arrested Chinese residents were even unjustifiably sentenced on the charges of "resisting" forceful removal. In Tjiamis County alone, 172 Chinese residents have been sentenced to prison terms. The Chairman of the Association of Overseas Chinese Organizations in Djakarta, Szatu Tsan, was detained on a trumped-up charge by the local military administrator on his return to Djakarta on November 18 after visiting China to attend the National Day celebrations, and to date has not been released.

During the past month and more, there have been more incidents of removal by force and beating up of Chinese residents, and the methods used were extremely ruthless. On November 12, when Chinese residents were forced to move from Tjilleung sir, the wife of Liao Chih-san had just come out of the hospital after an abdominal operation. Disregarding her illness, the local military forcibly dragged her into a vehicle. The surgical stitches were ripped open and continuous bleeding resulted. The anti-Chinese elements in Tjibadak went around inciting people and clamouring for the killing of all Chinese residents and the burning of all their property. In Lawang, Pandegelang County, another incident of removal by force of Chinese residents took place on November 30, in which eight Chinese residents were beaten up and injured by Indonesian armymen. One of them was seriously wounded.

On December 1, scores of Indonesian troops and policemen went to Tjilamajah in Krawang County to force the Chinese residents there to move out. On their arrival the troops and policemen rushed into the homes of Chinese residents and beat up the people living there behind closed doors. All the members of the families of Lai Yau-lung and Hsiao Yu-lin were beaten up. Hsiao Yu-lin was unconscious for more than one hour. One of the Indonesian officers insulted his daughter, and his son was cruelly beaten up when he protested against the insult. Lin Tsung-fang, a Chinese more than sixty years old, was ruthlessly beaten. His son, while trying to shield him, was beaten unconscious. He was then tossed into the air, and when he fell on the ground he was seriously injured; his life is now in danger.

At the same time, the authorities in South and Southeast Sulawesi, East Kalimantan, South Sumatra and Djambi have also ordered the banning on fixed dates of foreign nationals from living in places other than the cities where county governments are situated.

The small Chinese traders, who have settled in small towns and villages in Indonesia, are all labouring people engaged in commercial activities on their own, mostly running family shops; all have only very small capital, always abide by the Indonesian laws and regulations and are industrious in running their business. They have played an undeniable positive role in Indonesia's economic life, especially in urban-rural trade. Once their business licences are cancelled and they are forcibly removed, not only will the hundreds of thousands of small Chinese traders be left without any means of livelihood, but the economic life of the Indonesian people will also be adversely affected. The Indonesian journal Mingguan Chiao
Hsing has pointed out that more than 90 per cent of the foreign nationals living in Indonesian villages and small towns are Chinese. It noted: "Obviously, the measure banning all foreign nationals from living in villages and small towns has affected the existence of Chinese nationals in Indonesia more seriously than any regulation or decree concerning foreign nationals promulgated by the Government in the past."

It is worth noting that after the publication of the Joint Communiqué of the Chinese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers, some Indonesian papers, with ulterior motives, published comments to instigate further the discrimination against Chinese residents in Indonesia and obviously tried to sabotage the traditional friendship between China and Indonesia. The Nusantra carried editorials and articles, one after another, slandering China as "launching aggression" and agitating the Malay nationality to rise and resist what it called "arrogance and chauvinism of the Han nationality." It went so far as to publish cartoons insulting the Chinese people's great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung. In a commentary on November 4, the Indonesian paper Harian Abadi even openly instigated people not to respect the Joint Communiqué of the Chinese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers.

In September and October of this year, forcible requisition of Chinese schools by the Indonesian military authorities took place repeatedly in Menado, Pakanbaru and Donggala. Besides, some local authorities in Indonesia also imposed heavy taxes on aliens to persecute poor Chinese residents.

These measures of discrimination against Chinese residents adopted by the Indonesian Government have aroused anxiety and resentment among the masses of Chinese residents in Indonesia. They all demand that the Indonesian Government respect their proper rights and interests, abrogate the discriminatory regulations, and put an end to the discrimination. In places where the Indonesian authorities have carried out evacuation by force, the broad masses of the Chinese residents, facing the plight of being displaced and left without any means of livelihood, are forced to take measures of self-defence on their own. Although the Indonesian civil and military police and troops used extremely ruthless measures in forcing them to evacuate, the Chinese residents still tried to reason and negotiate patiently with the Indonesian authorities, asking them to stop the forced evacuation, which is detrimental to the friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries.

The sad plight of the Chinese residents now being persecuted and their efforts to defend their right to live have won widespread sympathy and support from the Indonesian people. In some places when the police and troops were forcing the Chinese residents to move, the Indonesian tricycle drivers who were ordered to do transport work refused to do it. Many Indonesians shed tears when they saw the brutality of the soldiers and police in forcing the Chinese residents to move. In some places the forcible eviction of the small Chinese traders has already adversely affected the local economic life and commodity prices shot up. Because of this, Indonesians in many localities have taken the initiative in asking the small Chinese traders evacuated by force to return and resume their business.

The far-sighted Indonesian public and press are also opposed to the campaign of discrimination against Chinese residents. They have urged the Indonesian authorities to reconsider this question in accordance with the principles of the Bandung Conference and the genuine national interests of Indonesia.

The Joint National Enterprises of Indonesia, at the very beginning, had urged the former Minister of Commerce to rescind his decision. The Secretary-General and spokesman of this organization, Soeprapto, declared: "Now it has been proved that it is not only hundreds, but millions of Indonesians who disagree with the Commerce Minister's decision."

The Indonesian newspaper Bintang Timur has pointed out: "Competition hampering the development of Indonesian national industry and commerce comes from foreign monopolist enterprises or big enterprises with foreign capital, not from those retail traders in districts and villages."

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, in a statement issued on November 20 on the issue of the Chinese residents in Indonesia, called for vigilance against the scheme of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to sabotage the friendly relations between Indonesia and China. It held that the question of Chinese residents should be solved in accordance with the political manifesto of President Sukarno of Indonesia and the Subandrio-Chen Yi Joint Communiqué in the spirit of Indonesia-China friendship and through action striving for such friendship.

The Indonesian newspapers Bintang Timur, Republik, Harian Fadjar and Harian Rakjat and the Indonesian people who cherish Sino-Indonesian friendly relations have expressed their anxiety over the campaign of discrimination against Chinese residents in their country. They have appealed for vigilance against the imperialist scheme to sabotage Sino-Indonesian relations and have urged that China and Indonesia solve the question of Chinese residents in accordance with the Bandung principles and through friendly consultations.

The campaign of discrimination against Chinese residents in Indonesia has been whipped up by certain reactionary forces with ulterior motives under U.S. imperialist instigation. It does not conform to Indonesia's interests and runs counter to the desires of the people. It only conforms to the wishes and demands of the American imperialists who want to sow dissension and create disputes in Asia.

According to an Antara report on December 5, Indonesian Ambassador to the United States, Mukarto Notowidigdo, told Indonesian journalists in Washington that the banning of small Chinese traders in villages and small towns by the Indonesian Government was welcomed by U.S. official and non-official circles.

The special correspondent of the British newspaper Scotsman in Jakarta, in an article on the campaign of discrimination against Chinese residents in Indonesia in the guise of "anti-foreign" measures said: "The Americans even show some sign of pleasure at this 'anti-foreign' campaign. For it is mainly directed against the Chinese."

(Hsinhua News Agency, Dec. 11, 1959)
Chinese Representations to the Indonesian Government

Since the campaign of anti-Chinese activities and discrimination which started in Indonesia in May of this year under the instigation of some influential forces, the Chinese Government and the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia have made many serious representations to the Indonesian Government for the safeguarding of the friendly relations between the two countries and for the protection of the proper rights and interests of the overseas Chinese. Foreign Minister Chen Yi and Ambassador Huang Chen repeatedly expressed the serious concern of the Chinese Government to the Indonesian Government and the Indonesian Ambassador to China. They stressed that the two Governments should value their friendship and reasonably settle the question of Chinese nationals residing in Indonesia through consultations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. They also pointed out that the Governments and peoples of the two countries should be vigilant against the efforts of the imperialist forces to sow discord and destroy the friendly relations between the two countries. This view of the Chinese side, however, did not receive the due attention of the Indonesian authorities concerned and the campaign of anti-Chinese activities and discrimination has become increasingly serious. Therefore, on September 8, the Chinese Government had to send a note of strong protest to the Indonesian Government, demanding that the Indonesian Government proceed from the safeguarding of the friendly relations between the two countries and respecting the proper rights and interests of the Chinese residents, promptly take effective measures to curb the campaign of anti-Chinese activities and discrimination which wrecks the friendship of the two countries.

In October, Foreign Minister Chen Yi and Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio, who came to visit China, exchanged views on the question of overseas Chinese and issued a joint communiqué which laid down the correct principle for settling the question of overseas Chinese. However, after the Foreign Ministers' Joint Communiqué was published, anti-Chinese activities in Indonesia did not abate, but on the contrary, was intensified and extended. In West Java, especially, there were very many cases of the use of armed force to compel overseas Chinese to move out of areas below the county level, and there were even recurrent cases of bloodshed in which troops and police brutally beat up the Chinese residents. At the same time, a section of the Indonesian press has published voluminous discriminatory anti-Chinese matter. The Chinese Embassy in Indonesia had to protest again to the Indonesian Government, demanding that the evacuation of overseas Chinese by force be stopped immediately.

With the increase of anti-Chinese activities and discrimination, the normal activities of the Chinese Embassy and consulates in Indonesia have also been obstructed and restricted. On November 12, after obtaining the consent of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Chinese Embassy sent Vice-Consul Wang Jih-sheng to Tjibadak, West Java, to investigate incidents of overseas Chinese who were beaten up and wounded. But the normal consular activities of Vice-Consul Wang Jih-sheng were hampered in every way by the troops and police in the Third Military Territory. On November 13, when Vice-Consul Wang Jih-sheng arrived in Sukabumi, the local military authorities immediately sent armed troops and police to encircle the hotel in which he was staying. They cut off his contact with the Chinese Consulate-General and ordered him to leave the place within five minutes and return to Djakarta. On November 18, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs even sent a note to the Chinese Embassy, forbidding diplomatic personnel below the ranks of ambassador and councillors to leave Djakarta. And subsequently on November 20, the military authorities of the Third Military Territory issued an order to the local wartime administrators under them, forbidding all diplomatic personnel of the Chinese Embassy from entering the West Java area, and ordered Chinese diplomatic personnel spending their holidays in the villas of the Chinese Embassy in Tjipanams and Tjipajung to return to Djakarta within twenty-four hours.

At the same time, a section of the Indonesian press slandered and attacked the Chinese Embassy. Some papers even raised a hue and cry that Ambassador Huang Chen be proclaimed as "persona non grata" and that the Chinese diplomatic personnel be expelled.

On the morning of November 17, Ambassador Huang Chen called on Foreign Minister Subandrio and urged that the Indonesian Government immediately take measures to curb the discriminatory activities against the Chinese, stop the forcible evacuation of overseas Chinese and check the hostile and slanderous provocations against China by certain newspapers. Later, Foreign Minister Subandrio held a press conference. According to press reports, Foreign Minister Subandrio made a statement which was completely contrary to the facts. The statement said: "Ambassador Huang Chen had definitely expressed willingness to assist in implementing the ordinance of eliminating alien retail traders in the countryside and the ordinance of removing foreign residents from places below the level of capitals of counties of West Java owing to reason of security." Immediately afterwards, the local military and police personnel in many places extensively publicized this statement which was contrary to the facts in an attempt to fan further the discrimination against the Chinese and provoke discontent among the overseas Chinese with the Chinese Embassy. To clarify the facts, on the evening of November 17, the Chinese Embassy issued a communiqué
on the talks between Ambassador Huang Chen and Foreign Minister Subandrio.

The Chinese Embassy has lodged a strong protest with the Indonesian Government against the action of the Indonesian Government and the military authorities of the Third Military Territory in imposing discriminatory restrictions on diplomatic personnel of the Chinese Embassy and in denying the Chinese Consul normal rights for the performance of his duties; such action is in violation of international practice, and the Chinese Embassy demanded that this unreasonable regulation be rescinded.

_Fraternal Greetings_

Chinese Communist Party Salutes U.S. Communist Party Convention

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent the following message of greetings to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. which opened in New York on December 10. — Ed.

Dear Comrades:

On behalf of the members of the Communist Party of China and the entire Chinese people, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China extends its warmest fraternal greetings to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

The 17th National Convention is being held on the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. Throughout its forty-year history, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. has proved itself to be the glorious and militant vanguard of the American working class, the most loyal and staunch representative and champion of the interests of the American people. During these forty years, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. has fought unwaveringly and heroically in defense of the vital interests and democratic rights of the American working people, for racial equality and socialism, against the predatory policies and expansionist schemes of U.S. imperialism and for the cause of safeguarding world peace and promoting the progress of mankind. The Communist Party of the U.S.A. has made important contributions to all these struggles.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. has carried on the struggle under extremely difficult conditions. For a long time now the U.S. ruling class has, using various methods and reactionary laws, harshly persecuted it, and this persecution continues today. This very fact most clearly proves that so-called American “democracy” is one which attacks the interests of the great majority of the working people in the interests of a handful of exploiters. This persecution of the Party of Marxism-Leninism by the American imperialists only shows that they are afraid of the advanced forces among the American people, afraid of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the American workers’ movement, which has a long history, and afraid that the American working people will rise and take the fate of the nation into their own hands. As the vanguard of the American working class, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. has demonstrated the revolutionary perseverance of the revolutionary proletariat, in its head-on struggle against American imperialism, in its struggles against bourgeois reformism within the American labour movement and also in the struggle against modern revisionism within its own ranks. Holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. is enhancing its fighting capabilities, strengthening its ties with the masses, and consolidating the unity of its ranks; it has made advances in every field of its work and struggle.

To oppose war and defend peace is the most important immediate common task of the peoples of all countries. There have recently appeared the beginnings of a certain relaxation in the world situation, but American reaction, which persists in carrying on its policies of war and aggression, is still unwilling in actual practice to accept the peace called for by the American people and the peoples all over the world, and so it is the common enemy of all the peoples of the world including the American people. On the surface, this enemy seems strong, but actually it is weak and feeble within. Now it is throwing its weight about all over the world, continuing its aggressive and expansionist activities, preparing for new wars and keeping up tension. But the more it insists on being the enemy of the peoples of the whole world, the more will it be resisted and surrounded by the peoples everywhere and so place itself in still greater isolation. The struggles your Party and your people are waging is by no means isolated. You have allies all over the world. Your prospects are extremely bright.

The situation in the United States where the forces of the new are still in an inferior position while the forces of decay have the upper hand is definitely a temporary phenomenon which will certainly be transformed into its opposite. In time, the American people, educated by Marxist-Leninists and under the influence of the socialist movement, will increasingly realize that their basic interests lie in rallying in a united struggle against the monopoly groups, in defence of democracy and peace, and for social progress and the friendly coexistence of all peoples. The future belongs to the American people.

We wish every success to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.! May the Communist Party of the U.S.A. raise the high banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of its National Committee, achieve new successes in its efforts to strengthen the unity of its ranks and the unity of the working class in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism for the American people!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

December 8, 1959
Buildings Boom in China’s Cities

by HSU SHIH-PING
Vice-Minister of Building

Scaffolds and rising new buildings are one of the most striking features of the Chinese scene today. They can be seen everywhere and often overshadow the existing, old structures. Some people cannot find their way when they return to their home towns after an absence of a couple of years or even a few months. Large-scale building is rapidly changing the skylines of China’s cities.

After liberation, construction went ahead in more than 2,100 cities, towns and industrial areas. 167 entirely new towns that cannot be located on the older maps have risen. 124 have undergone extensive reconstruction and expansion. The urban population has risen from some 40 million at the time of liberation to about 100 million.

The floor space of new housing built in Peking since liberation—27 million square metres in all—is 30 per cent more than the total of a little more than 20 million square metres built up in the more than 500 years since the city was reconstructed in the Yuanglo Period of the Ming Dynasty (1403-1424). Famous Tien An Men Square, where the May Day and National Day parades are held and Changan Boulevard which runs across the city from east to west, have an entirely new look. The Square has been repaved and enlarged fourfold. The boulevard has been widened to from 60 to 120 metres and many modern multi-storey buildings have replaced the aged low courtyard houses on either side of it. The magnificent Great Hall of the People that now towers over the west side of Tien An Men Square has become the pride of the people.

Hofei, the capital of Anhwei Province with a history of more than 2,000 years, has been enlarged tenfold, in terms of floor space, since liberation. Debris, dirty water and garbage—a common sight before liberation—have long been cleared away. New industrial, cultural and residential districts have arisen.

The erstwhile sleepy town of Puotow on the Inner Mongolian steppe with a population of some 80,000 before liberation has become a bustling industrial city of 800,000 with the building of China’s third steel base there.

Karamai, China’s rising oil centre in northwestern Sinkiang, was a wilderness not very long ago. There wasn’t a single house there as recently as 1956. Now an entirely new town has risen. Ichun, a town in the forest area, and Fularki, a growing centre of the heavy machinery-building industry, both in Heilungkiang Province and Yakeshui in Inner Mongolia are some of the other cities and towns built entirely or virtually from scratch since liberation.

Housing conditions have improved vastly as a result of large-scale construction. In the decade since liberation, a total of 350 million square metres of residential and public buildings have been constructed. Eighteen new workers’ communities—housing projects with modern facilities—have been built in Shanghai alone. The total floor space of the new housing in the metropolis exceeds 4 million square metres. More than 600,000 workers, staff members and their families have moved from squalid huts—the notorious legacy of the old society—into comfortable new brick houses. The worst slums in Shanghai have been cleared.

The residential floor space in the city of Taiyuan, Shansi Province, totalled 2 million square metres at the time of liberation after 900 years of building. In the decade since liberation, 2.3 million square metres have been added. The work of ten years exceeds that of 900 by 40 per cent! Spacious and comfortable workers’ living quarters have been built in many other cities.

New school buildings constructed in the country since liberation total 44 million square metres in floor space, four times the total at the time of liberation. More than 2,500 theatres and cinemas have been built, 2.7 times the number that existed before liberation. More than 1,300 hospitals were built in a decade and the number of beds increased sixfold. Large numbers of stores, cultural palaces, libraries, exhibition centres, gymnasiums and kindergartens have also been built.

New Water Works

In the 70 years between 1879 and 1949, the year of liberation, only 75 water works had been built in the country. Running water was limited to a mere 14 per cent of the urban population. In the decade after liberation, 126 new water works were constructed in the cities—not counting those set up by the industrial and mining enterprises, government offices and schools for their own use. More than 6,000 kilometres of pipes have been laid and running water is now available to from 80 to 90 per cent of the city inhabitants. In addition to reconstructing and expanding existing sewage systems, new ones were built in more than 60 cities and 34,000 kilometres of conduits have been laid. Foul water ditches, dirty ponds and garbage heaps have been cleared away in many cities.

Well-paved roads totalling more than 10,000 kilometres in length have been built in the cities since liberation and six times more public transit vehicles are in service. The number of cities with bus service has increased from 24 to 69. The urban gas supply increased sevenfold. Other public utilities, including electric lighting, telephones, and ferries, have also developed extensively.

A no less remarkable aspect of city development in China in the past decade has been tree planting—“turning the country green” as it is popularly known in China. Responding to the call issued in 1956 by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung to turn the whole country green in 12 years, the people have gone ahead with tree planting enthusiastically.
figures for 49 cities show that 840 million trees have been planted. Many cities have become beautiful garden cities.

Guiding Principles

The foregoing developments, of course, have not been accidental. They stem directly from the principles guiding city construction in New China.

The basic policy is that city construction must serve production and the working people. The fundamental difference between the cities of New China and those of the exploiting classes is that instead of serving as instruments for ruling and exploiting the working people, they are the means for developing production and raising the people’s living standards. City construction in New China, therefore, serves to improve the material and cultural life of the working people constantly on the basis of developing production fully. Basic measures were adopted immediately after liberation to transform the cities and gradually eliminate the imprints of the exploiting classes. The most important of these measures was to transform the consuming cities into producing ones. It is obvious that only through the development of production can the people’s livelihood be improved. Everything that constitutes the material and technical foundation is utilized to the full in the development of production. Cultural relics are painstakingly protected. The legacy of the past has been discarded: the sharp differences between the former residential areas of the rich and the former slums are being reduced and gradually eliminated by the building of large quantities of new housing and the vigorous development of public utilities.

In building new cities and expanding the old ones, care is taken to provide a good environment for the working people. The residential areas are placed where the natural conditions are congenial to good living. Protection belts are set up between the residential and industrial districts so that the former are free from dirt, smoke, noise and other nuisances. Various types of welfare facilities are provided in the residential districts.

City construction proceeds in a planned way in accordance with the needs of the development of industry and its more rational distribution. As large, medium-sized and small industrial enterprises are being developed simultaneously, large, medium-sized and small cities are also being developed simultaneously, with emphasis on the medium-sized and small ones. During the First Five-Year Plan, the industrial bases in the Northeast and the coastal cities were rationally utilized and, at the same time, the building of new industrial bases proceeded in North, Northwest, Central and Southwest China. Industry has developed particularly vigorously since 1958 in many areas of the country, especially in those medium-sized and small towns where no industry existed before. As a result, the distribution of the country’s industrial productive forces has improved greatly.

In city construction, immediate and perspective needs are both taken into consideration and the policy of gradual development, starting with satisfying the immediate needs and proceeding from there to meeting perspective requirements, has been adopted. Many medium-sized and small cities have been built and necessary adjustments have been made in the largest cities. When feasible, no more new giant enterprises will be added to the extremely large cities. Industry and educational institutions are spread out suitably. Satellite towns have been built around the big and some of the medium-sized cities.

City planning has been completed for more than 1,300 cities and workers’ communities. Many cities have been built in accordance with these plans. In these cities, overall arrangements have been made for systems of factories, residences and transport. Attention is paid to the artistic layout of the cities and room is left for future growth.

An important principle is that the buildings must be practical and economical. On the basis of these considerations, great attention is paid to beauty. The overall plan ensures that the city will be a harmonious whole with wide roads in appropriate directions and buildings with proper heights and colours. Cultural relics are all incorporated in city planning and add considerably to the beauty of the cities.

To bring the initiative of the broadest masses of the people into full play, both modern and indigenous methods are employed in city construction in the spirit of the policy of “walking on two legs.” Simple, temporary public buildings are erected as well as big permanent modern ones so that the needs of the people can be most fully met. Modernization proceeds gradually. The facilities in China’s cities today — including electricity, heating and water supply systems, the sewage system, city transport, etc. — are already of a much higher order, on the whole, than those that existed ten years ago at the time of liberation.

True to the spirit of the mass line, the city planners and designers go out of their offices to gather data and discuss the plans with the people. City construction is also an important item on the agenda of many local people’s councils and people’s congresses. When the plans are finalized, in addition to state appropriations, the people offer to do their bit because they know perfectly well what city construction means for them. This enables construction to go ahead at a high speed. Take the county town of Hsinhui in Kwangtung Province, for instance. On the eve of liberation, one-third of its houses were destroyed; the streets and alleys were full of debris and overgrowths of weeds; more than 2,000 ditches were silted up. After liberation, the entire population took part in the rebuilding of their town under the leadership of the local Communist Party committee. By making full use of the materials locally available and relying mainly on their own resources, they cleared the debris, repaved the roads, built a hospital, a hostel, a swimming pool, a department store, an exhibition centre, a cinema and other public and welfare establishments. In addition to the parks, each household now has its own garden. The maintenance of the gardens is financed from the income derived from the orchards. In this way, Hsinhui County Town has been transformed into a beautiful garden town in record time and at little cost to the Government.

The case of Hsinhui is only one of many throughout the country illustrating the potency of the mass movement. Within the building industry itself, the initiative of the mass of construction workers has produced technical innovations which speed construction and reduce costs considerably. Mechanized methods of construction and the use of pre-fabricated sections are spreading increasingly in China today.
mass action can the oppressors be overthrown and freedom won.

The novel with its forceful, lively dialogue and characterization provides an excellent basis for the play. Its scenes have an authentic local character. The adaptation has succeeded in bringing out the best in it with dramatic effect. The acting is uniformly good, and this is in no small measure due to the fact that the whole troupe has a considerable skill in orthodox acting techniques, that it has learnt much from the traditional theatre and made a keen study of the Hopei scene and its people on the spot. The producers have made particularly telling use of the dramatic gestures of the traditional theatre in the first scene, but this school of movement runs throughout the production like a substratum, giving a unique style to the whole production. It is unfortunate that the decor did not heighten this stylistic lead but served as a merely adequate background to the action. It is here, perhaps, that the troupe can learn something most valuable from Peking's stage designers.

Two actors, in particular, carried off the honors in a good cast. Lu Su gives a convincing performance in two roles, as Chu Lao-kung and Chu Lao-chung, stalwart both in action and adversity. Pan Po succeeds equally well in portraying a completely different type of peasant, Lao chung's relative Yen Chih-ko—so meek and resigned to fate that you feel exasperated with him, contented with his hard lot at first, but later growing more and more determined in the struggle against the landlord as he gets ensnared in his intrigues and sees the way out shown him by Chia and Chiu. Peking liked this forceful reminder of the hardships and hard struggles of the past and of those whose revolutionary example is the inspiration of the great and happy efforts of today. It liked the way the troupe succeeded in painting the past in all its sombre colours and yet maintained throughout the play a consciousness of that smouldering spark of revolt, of revolutionary optimism among the peasants that finally flared into the victory of liberation.

—WU PIN

Provincial Troupes in Peking

Peking was visited last month by several modern drama theatre troupes from the provinces. The Kansu Provincial Theatre Troupe brought The Seething Waters of the Failing River; the Harbin Modern Drama Theatre, founded only three years ago, presented two Soviet plays: In the Name of the Revolution and An Optimistic Tragedy. The drama troupe from Penki, the iron and coal centre in the Northeast, brought two plays about workers on the industrial front. This troupe brings an intimate knowledge to the task of producing plays on such a theme. Since its formation ten years ago, it has established close ties with its working class audience. Both these new plays were written collectively by members of the troupe itself. They got their material working at the furnaces and moulds and at the coal face side by side with the workers and miners of Penki.

When Peking goes to see provincial traditional opera it does not expect to make allowances. Peking opera is merely the leader among equals. Not so many years ago, however, this was not so in the case of modern drama. Then the large metropolitan companies were rivalled only by those of Tientsin, Shanghai and a few other cities. It is a measure of the swift development of modern drama that today the productions presented by these visiting provincial troupes compare favourably with those of the old established big city troupes. The advance is not only in quality but in quantity. Modern drama played a proud role as a weapon in the hands of revolutionary intellectuals during pre-liberation days. It was one of the best developed of the modern theatrical arts, yet even up to the time of liberation there was only a handful of professional dramatic troupes in the larger cities. Now there are over a hundred. Each province has one or more and so have the major cities. And this does not include the many amateur troupes functioning in factories and mines, schools and government institutions, performing not only contemporary plays but taking on the classics, both Chinese and foreign. In addition there has been a most promising growth of talent among the national minorities. You can find modern troupes performing dramas in Mongolian in Hubei in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, in Uighur in Sinkiang, and in Tibet, Keren and Yunnan, and other languages of the national minorities whose cultural life is becoming richer and richer every day. —C.S.

Chu Lao-kung played by Lu Su who also took the role of Lao-kung's son, Lao-chung Sketch by Ah Lao
SIDELIGHTS

Concert in a Teahouse. Only on rare occasions does a concert last more than five hours. Recently the Central Conservatory of Music gave just such a concert — prolonged by the endless demands of the audience for more — in a teahouse at Tienchiang, one of Peking's well-known recreation centres for the working people.

Chunhuayuan (Garden of Spring Flowers) is a teahouse where variety shows are given and candied fruits on sticks, melon seeds and other inexpensive refreshments are sold together with tea. For the first time in this teahouse, vocal and instrumental solos were heard and warmly approved by a packed house — some 200 lorry drivers, railwaymen, miners, P.L.A. men, students and peasants from the suburbs with white towels serving as their turbans.

Popular numbers sung by Yu Yi-hsuan, noted mezzo-soprano, won unrestrained applause. Professor Hsia Chih-chiu, who rarely gave concerts in the past, played selections from Tchaikovsky's Swan Lake on the trumpet. International prize-winning young pianists made their contributions too. Chou Kuang-jen played Soller by Ho Lu-tung, a popular Chinese composer, to the great delight of the audience and Liu Shih-kung's rendition of his own arrangements of the popular tunes Socialism Is Good and I'm a Soldier brought the house down.

Performances started at three o'clock in the afternoon. The artists had planned to move on to another teahouse two hours later. But the concert evoked such a response that they had to keep on playing until well after eight in the evening. This was part of a series of activities of the faculty and students of the Central Conservatory to bring music to the masses.

Peasant Initiative. The fervour with which the peasants have tackled tools reform is striking. There are more and better tools of all sorts this year, as compared with 1958 when the technical revolution, launched on a large scale throughout the country, spurred millions of improved farm tools and transport vehicles.

In the northwestern province of Kansu, the peasants who are building a 1,000-kilometre canal to lead the Tao River up the mountains to irrigate a million hectares of farmland have produced a great variety of improved tools. They include wooden railways, suspension cable-cars, automatic earth loading and unloading gear, tamping equipment, which have raised efficiency manifold. With the introduction of these new simple but effective tools, work that called for 400,000 men in the past can now be done with only 60,000.

The mass tools reform movement has taken firm root in the rural areas and its progress is further facilitated by the growth of industries set up and run by the communes. In Ningchi County in Hopei Province alone, for example, more than 800,000 improved tools for ploughing, threshing, and other farming purposes and for transport and water conservancy projects were designed and made in the village workshops over the past few months. These improved tools save the labour of a quarter of a million people. The tools reform movement has been so successful in this county that the Ministry of Agriculture decided to hold a conference there to popularize some of the high-efficiency tools for harvesting peanuts, cotton and sweet potatoes.

An Outstanding Pig Breeder. Li Pai-chuan is the pig breeder of the Hsiaochang People's Commune in Fukien Province. When he was given the job of pig-breeding, there were difficulties right from the start. A couple of years back, his co-op procured one pedigree pig, a Yorkshire. His first problem was to find a mate for it of the same breed. By chance he came upon a small Yorkshire sow in another village, but it was crippled and suffered from goitre. This little sow soon became the apple of his eye. He got medicine to treat it and nursed it back to health. When it came to him it weighed a mere 48 jin. In a little more than a month it began to fatten out. It was mated and produced a first litter of nine. But trouble came with the second breeding. The sow died. Li operated and rescued five piglets. He gave them all his attention. They grew normally. His next problem was to get his pigs mated more than twice a year. He solved it by getting non-pedigree sows to suckle the little ones and increased the number of matings to thrice a year. To make them grow big and fast was the third problem. He solved it by means of scientific and painstaking care. Date of birth, weight, mating date, and other data were recorded separately and in detail. Diet was carefully fixed. Quantities well regulated. Pigsties and pigs were always kept clean. In two years, his people's commune increased the number of Yorkshires to more than 160 with an average weight exceeding 500 jin. For his good work, Li Pai-chuan was cited an "Outstanding Worker" of Amoy last year, and his experiences are being used in many communes.

Photographers' Delight. Tientsin is now producing its first batch of quality cameras named Chen Guang (Aurora), a single-lens prism reflex camera with a 1:4 lens, complete with built-in self-timer, flash synchronization, exposure meter and shutter speeds ranging from 1/1-1/300 sec. Though its photographic industry is only three years old, China is now turning out 30 different types of cameras to suit the different tastes of an increasing number of photographers, professional and amateur.

Reservoir at Shumehun. Construction has started on a new reservoir in Shumehun, Paoan County, Kwangtung Province. When completed, it will serve for irrigation, generating electricity and combating floods. It can also supply water, if need be, to the people in the area south of Shumehun, including those living in Hongkong and Kowloon, where water is often in short supply.

Home of 18th Century Writer Restored. The home and tomb of Pu Sung-ling (1640-1715), author of the famous Liao Zhai Zhi Yi (Strange Tales from a Studio), have been repaired and restored near Tzechuan in Shantung Province. A poor man, Pu Sung-ling's stories of ghosts and visions of ravishing beauty exposed and satirized the dark reactionary rule of feudal times. His works are anathema during the Ching Dynasty and under Kuomintrung rules, his house and tomb fell into disrepair. But a writer loved by the people is not forgotten. In 1954, the People's Government started rebuilding his house and tomb, collected many of his works, which include plays, essays, poems and ballads besides the Liao Zhai, and gathered some of the things he used in his daily life. The visitors can now see the studio where he worked, his sitting room and bedroom, his ink slab and the bed he used, a display of some of his manuscripts and many different editions of his works and other language editions. A pavilion has been built around his tomb. Many trees have been planted around a nearby spring which he named "Willow Spring."
Socialist Co-operation at Work

The following wide-ranging developments have borne out again this basic aspect of the fraternal relations between the socialist countries—their co-operation for peaceful construction and the common upsurge of their economies to save its tottering power, the democratic forces will prevail in Portugal.

Forging Ties with Latin America

In the wake of visits to China by large numbers of Latin American delegations, several Chinese groups have visited Latin America, forging new ties with the peoples of that continent.

A Chinese delegation, recently took part in the National Congress of the Chilean United Confederation of Trade Unions in Santiago. The first trade union delegation ever to visit Chile, it was led by Liu Chang-sheng, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The Chinese delegation met with delegates from other Latin American countries attending the congress and was honoured at a mass rally by their Chilean fellow workers.

At about the same time, a Chinese women's delegation made a two weeks' tour in Chile.

U.S. Naval Intrusions

U.S. military intrusions into China's territorial waters continued unabated despite repeated warnings from the Chinese Government.

On two separate occasions—between 7:22 and 11:46 hours on December 1 and between 9:57 and 17:49 hours on December 3—a U.S. warship intruded into the Paichuan and Haitan areas off the Fukien coast. Again, on December 9, between 11:45 and 15:41 hours, another U.S. warship intruded into the Haitan area.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued the 75th, 76th, and 77th serious warnings against these military provocations.

Successful Canton Fair

Business amounting to more than 70 million pounds sterling was transacted during the one-month autumn fair (November 1-December 1) in Canton. Both export and import figures surpassed those of the spring session this year and of any session last year.

Customers from abroad showed great interest in both China's traditional exports and her new industrial products. They were especially interested in the heavy machine tools, precision instruments, chemical products and complete sets of equipment for the textile and other industries offered for sale. They described these as "up to world standards." Greater variety and better packaging made such export items as silks, canned goods and handicrafts look even more attractive than before. Chinese import companies at the fair purchased large amounts of steel products, chemicals and other goods needed by China.

Premier Chou En-lai sent a warmly worded message of greetings to the annual convention of the African National Congress which met in Durban, South Africa last week. He wished the organization all success, declaring that the struggle of the South African people against racial discrimination and for their basic human rights is a component part of the great struggle waged by the awakening African peoples against colonialism and for national independence.

The congress also received cable greetings from several Chinese public organizations. In its message, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity denounced racial discrimination and segregation in South Africa and expressed confidence in the final victory of the South African people's just struggle.

Liu Ning-li, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, pledged the full support of China's workers for the stand of the South African people against racial discrimination, for democratic rights and improved living conditions. In its message to the women's section of the South African Congress, the Chinese National Women's Federation expressed heartfelt sympathy and admiration for the courageous struggle waged by the South African women in face of persecution and repression by the Union government.

Save Alvaro Cunhal!

Chinese public opinion adds its voice to the worldwide demand for the release of Alvaro Cunhal and other Portuguese patriots.

Alvaro Cunhal, a leader of the Portuguese Communist Party, was arrested by the Portuguese authorities in 1949 and has been imprisoned ever since. His prison term, extended several times without any justification, is due to expire next January, but the Salazar dictatorship is scheming again to keep him behind bars. The Portuguese Government, evidently scared by the rising popular movement against it, is stepping up its persecution of other Portuguese patriots.

Several Chinese organizations have issued statements on this matter. A China Peace Committee spokesman in Peking has strongly condemned this persecution of Alvaro Cunhal and other Portuguese peace fighters and expressed Chinese support for the Portuguese people's struggle for peace and democracy. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions in its statement on behalf of the Chinese working class backs the growing movement against the Salazar dictatorship and demands Cunhal's release.

Renmin Ribao in a commentary says that the Chinese people add their support to the Portuguese people's movement for the release of political prisoners.

It points out that the traitorous policies of the Salazar dictatorship over the last thirty years have reduced Portugal to the status of a U.S. satellite. Police terror and growing unemployment have brought untold misery to the people.

Peking Review
Hungarian Party Congress

The success of the Seventh Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party demonstrated that Hungary's socialist system is more solidly established than ever, and the Hungarian people are more firmly united by a socialist outlook, writes Renmin Ribao editorially on December 7. It characterizes the Congress as "a new starting point for further mobilizing all the Hungarian people to strive for the acceleration of socialist construction" and stresses the great historical significance which the basic tasks put forward by it have for the building of socialism in Hungary.

The editorial recalls how in the past three years, the Party has strengthened its ties with the people, emerged victorious in hard-fought struggles on the ideological and political fronts and further consolidated the proletarian dictatorship and safeguarded the socialist system. Under its leadership, the Hungarian people have rehabilitated their national economy, continued their progress in socialist construction and raised their living standards.

The achievements of the Hungarian Communists and the Hungarian people in the past three years, in building socialism, upholding peace and strengthening the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement, have won the acclaim of all who stand for peace and socialism, the editorial declares.

The editorial points out that the new five-year plan approved by the Congress will speed up Hungary's economic and cultural development, raise the material and cultural standards of the Hungarian people and add to the strength of the socialist camp.

In the ideological field, the editorial continues, the Congress called for an intensification of the struggle on two fronts: against revisionism and against doctrinalism. Comrade Kadar in his report to the Congress pointed out that revisionism is at present a main danger both in Hungary and abroad. He expressed the confidence that modern revisionism would be defeated too just as all such anti-Marxist attacks had failed in the past hundred years. The inglorious record of Hungary's revisionist group offered a clear example of this.

The imperialists and modern revisionists have consistently tried to wreck the unity of the socialist camp, and above all the unity of the socialist countries with the Soviet Union, which is the core of this unity. But their attempts have invariably failed. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Congress has reaffirmed clearly as the basic principles of Hungarian policy: Hungarian-Soviet friendship, loyalty to the socialist camp, opposition to imperialism and a foreign policy for peace, the editorial says.

The success of the Congress is a brilliant victory of the Hungarian people in their efforts to safeguard and develop socialism and Hungary's closer unity with the fraternal countries in the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, says the editorial. In the name of the Communists and other people of China, who have always regarded the achievements of their Hungarian brothers as their own, it congratulates the Hungarian people and wishes them still greater successes in their efforts under the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party to accelerate socialist construction, defend world peace and strengthen the solidarity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.

Japanese Militarism Raises Its Head

On December 8, 1941, Japan started the Pacific war. In its commentary on
Meanwhile, the Japanese military supply industries, revived in the process of serving the war policy of the U.S., are now basically restored. The monopoly capitalist groups are putting a vigorous effort into the trial production of various types of guided missiles. They and their U.S. opposites are working out a new plan to turn Japan into an arsenal for Southeast Asia. According to this plan, all Japanese repayments on the $2,000 million worth of U.S. "aid" to Japan in the early post-war years will be used to buy Japanese arms to supply the SEATO countries.

Thus, the rapidly expanding Japanese military supply industries have become the economic foundation for a further revival of Japanese militarism and for Japanese military expansion.

In line with this, the Japanese ruling circles are trying to strengthen their fascist rule in the country and revise the war-renouncing constitution of Japan. The Kishi group is now scheming in the coming general elections to secure the necessary two-thirds majority in the Diet to revise the constitution. It has been trying to force through the Diet a series of bills including the revision of the police duties law, the anti-espionage law and the national secrets protection law. All these are aimed at depriving the people of their democratic rights and freedoms so as to facilitate the arms drive and war preparations. Recently, the Kishi government even went so far as to plan the banning of petition parades in the vicinities of the Diet and courts.

The Japanese reactionaries are taking measures to spread the spirit of militarism. They have revived militaristic education in the schools and the showing of movies which propagandize and glorify war.

Japanese monopoly capital, the foundation of Japanese imperialism, is today stronger and more concentrated than before the war. The monopoly capitalists are anxious to revive militarism with the support of the warmongering forces in the U.S., to serve as a benchmark of the U.S. in the event of its launching a new aggressive war in the Far East.

However, it must be pointed out that the present situation in Asia and the world is quite different from what it was when the Japanese militarists launched the Pacific war. The peace and democratic forces of the world with the socialist camp as their core are already stronger than the imperialist camp. The Japanese people are struggling determinedly for peace, democracy, national independence and neutrality. If the reactionaries of the U.S. and the militarists of Japan ever dare to launch a new aggressive war, they are doomed to destruction, concludes the commentary.

U.S. Pump-Primes CENTO

The U.S. is tightening direct control over CENTO, reports a Hsinhua News Agency commentary (Dec. 8). Since the Iraqi revolution fractured the backbone of the "northern tier" alliance last year, the U.S. has been working overtime to hold this tottering military aggressive bloc together, the commentary recalls. In March this year it concluded bilateral military agreements with Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. By October, when the CENTO council met for the first time in Washington, the U.S. had gained almost complete control over this organization, especially its military set-up.

The Hsinhua commentary notes that the U.S. is interested, first and foremost, in the setting up of more military bases, and intermediate range missile bases in particular, on the territories of the Asian members of CENTO.

There is no secret about the motive behind this U.S. interest in the regions bordering the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and its arrangements for setting up, with greater speed, a network of missile bases here around the socialist countries, says the commentary. The New York Times has openly declared that "Turkey is one of the most important pieces of real estate" possessed by the U.S. "From Turkish sites, these (intermediate range) missiles could be directed against points anywhere in the European part of the Soviet Union and most of Central Asia." The Pakistan paper Dawn had also boasted about the Soviet Union being the possible target of attack for the bases and missile firing grounds now under construction in Pakistan.

The CENTO also envisages the formation of a "combined standing army" to collect cannon fodder from its Asian members for the new wars of aggression contemplated by the U.S. These facts are sufficient to explain why the U.S. ruling circles show such excessive concern about Turkey, Pakistan and Iran and what is behind the U.S. smokescreen of peace.
Both the Baghdad Pact bloc and CENTO have been used consistently by the imperialist countries headed by the U.S. in the attempt to suppress the Arab people's national independence movement. Now their intrigue is spearheaded, first of all, against Iraq.

CENTO is also being used by the U.S. to exert pressure on certain South Asian countries in the hope of changing their neutral policy and later dragging them into the Western military bloc, the commentary points out. It is clear that the enthusiasm with which the U.S. is using CENTO to step up its aggressive activities holds a serious threat to the security of the independent Asian countries.

Another U.S. "Cold War" Move in U.N.

To prevent Poland from being voted into the Security Council, the United States is resorting to "a vicious 'cold war' move," writes Remin Ribao's Commentary (December 8).

In its effort to put Turkey into the council seat reserved for an East European country, the U.S. is violating both the U.N. principle of equitable geographical representation and the 1946 London "gentlemen's agreement," Commentator points out.

The "compromise" proposal now being mooted whereby Poland will share the seat with Turkey, is designed to exclude a socialist country in violation of the London agreement, and therefore, says Commentator, it should be opposed and condemned.

It is crystal clear that in discriminating against Poland, the United States is using the question of the council seat to stir up hostility against the socialist countries and aggravate the "cold war," Commentator concludes.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING
— Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc. —

Programmes are subject to change. Where times are not listed consult theatre or daily press.

**PEKING OPERA**

▲ UPROAR IN HEAVEN and three other short operas by the Shang Hsiou-yun Peking Opera Troupe. Monkey Sun Wu-kung defeats the gods of thunder and lightning and other deities sent to subdue him.

Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. Xi Si Workers' Club

▲ SHE SAI-HUA A historical opera produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre. She Sai-hua is the beautiful and clever daughter of the Hung, a high court official in the Sung court. Two of She Hung's colleagues want their sons to marry her. Yang Chi-yeh, one of them, later to become a famous general, wins her heart and hand.

Dec. 16, 7:30 p.m. Peking Workers' Club

**PINGJU OPERA**

▲ CHIN HSIAO-CHEN A dramatization of a Sung Dynasty story about an ambitious scholar, who after gaining wealth and position, tries to murder his wife and children, obsessed as he is with new advantageous marriages, and how he is brought to justice by Poo Cheng, a just magistrate. Produced by the Chinese Pingju Opera Troupe.

Dec. 15, 7:15 p.m. Guang He Theatre

**SHAOHING OPERA**

▲ THE LOST FAN A comic traditional opera satirizing feudal marriage customs. Produced by the visiting Tientsin Shao-ling Opera Troupe.

Dec. 15-17, 7:30 p.m. Chang An Theatre

**MODERN OPERA**

▲ SPRING THUNDER The story of a heroic peasant uprising in Hunan during the First Revolutionary Civil War. With Kuo Lan-yin, one of China's foremost singers. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

Dec. 18, 19, 20, 7:45 p.m. Qingshiao Theatre

▲ RED SUN OVER KESHAN MOUNTAIN Produced by the Cultural Troupe of the P.L.A. This opera exposes the sufferings of poor Tibetans living under serfdom in the past and how, after helping to put down the rebellion of the reactionary Khamba area, they took their destinies into their own hands.

Dec. 18-20, 7:00 p.m. Peking Workers' Club

**CHINESE BALLET**

▲ THE MAGIC LOTUS LANTERN A modern Chinese ballet based on an ancient Chinese folk tale. The nymph of Mt. Huan-shan has fallen in love with a mortal schoolboy. Her intolerant brother imprisons her. Later her child, grown to be a brave warrior, defeats his uncle and sets his mother free. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

Dec. 17-18, 7:15 p.m. Qingshiao Theatre

**SONG AND DANCE**

The Central Song and Dance Troupe presents:

* Folk dances including the Phoenix Dance, Umbrella Dance, Red Silk Dance, etc.
* Chinese orchestral music.
* Folk songs — solos and chorus.

Dec. 13-16, 7:30 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

**THEATRE**

▲ LONG LIVE THE HEROES! A new play produced by the Peking People's Art Theatre, describing how the Chinese People's Volunteers defended Red Seoul against the American aggressors.

Dec. 13-18, 7:15 p.m. Shouhu Theatre

▲ TAMING DRAGONS AND TIGERS A new play about the big leap forward in China's countryside. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre. It describes how villagers brave dangers to get raw materials for their furnaces in last year's drive for steel.

Dec. 17-20, 7:00 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

▲ CANAL AND LOVE The Central Drama School's production of Schiller's play.

Dec. 17-29, 7:15 p.m. Shijian Theatre

▲ TSAI WEN-CHI Kuo Mo-jou’s latest historical play. Tsao Tsao, Prime Minister of the Han Kingdom, sends two envoys to ask Tsai Wen-chi, married to a Hun noble, to return home and continue her scholar-father's work. Wen-chi returned saves the life of one envoy when he is falsely accused by the other of treason. On her husband's death, she marries the loyal envoy, and is happily reunited with her children. Produced by the Peking People's Art Theatre.

Dec. 19-22, 7:15 p.m. Shouhu Theatre

**FILMS**

▲ THE TENTH BIRTHDAY A full-length documentary in colour produced by the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio. It records the Chinese people's great achievements during the past ten years and the nationwide celebrations on the tenth anniversary of their people's republic.

Dec. 13-21, Shouhu Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Erong, Shengli, Xi Dan Workers' Club

▲ BY THE MARCH 5TH CANAL Based on the true story of a group of women in Anhwei who step by step advance their mutual-aid team to co-op farm and people's commune.

Dec. 18-22, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Erong

▲ 1956 A film version of Part II of Aloe Tolstoy's trilogy Resurrection. A vivid picture of St. Petersburg in revolution, of the saintliness of the proletariat in the face of hunger, cold and its enemies, both within and without, and the varied reactions of the intelligent as the revolution unfolds. A Soviet colour film dubbed in Chinese.

Dec. 13-17, Shouhu Cinema, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema, Xin Jie Kou

Dec. 18-22, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Erong

▲ A HIGH POSITION A Soviet feature film about a young writer's encounter, who becomes conceited after being promoted to a high position. She makes some bad mistakes, but her experience and the comradely help of her colleagues enable her to see and correct her errors. Dubbed in Chinese.

Dec. 18-22, Guang An Men, Zhongyang, Peking Workers' Club, Shengli, Xi Dan Workers' Club

▲ CASE ADJOURNED A G.D.R. film dubbed in Chinese on the resurgence of fascism in West Germany. A refugee returns to West Germany after the war to find that his enemy, a fascist who has killed his parents and sister, is now a high government official.

Dec. 18-22, Xin Zhong Guo, Guang He Theatre 

**EXHIBITIONS**

▲ NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMUNICATIONS Open daily (except Mon.) 8:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. At Peking Exhibition Centre

▲ NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION Open daily (except Mon.) 8:30 a.m. - 4:30 p.m. At Agricultural Exhibition Centre

▲ ART EXHIBITION OF THE KOREAN DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC Open daily 8:30 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. At the Wen Hua Hall in Palace Museum
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