Cementing Sino-Korean Solidarity
China welcomes President Choi Yong Kun (p. 6).

Nehru’s Rumour-Mongering
New Delhi’s slanders against China boomerang (p. 14).

A Nuclear Force Without a Name
The imperialists’ scrap about nuclear strategy (p. 9).

Cadres’ Participation in Productive Labour
Its revolutionary significance (p. 21).
Special 5th Anniversary Gifts

PEKING REVIEW

MARCH 1958—MARCH 1963

A handsome notebook (with handy reference material on China)

and

A copy of "The Revolution of 1911" by Wu Yu-chang

will be given for every overseas subscription placed before June 30, 1963

PEKING REVIEW gives you

- China's views on current international questions
- Theoretical articles and important documents
- Authoritative coverage of developments in China
- Illustrations, cartoons, maps and charts

Airmailed to subscribers all over the world

SPANISH & FRENCH editions also available

Send your orders or enquiries to GUOZI SHUDIAN P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

or to our distributors in your country. Free samples on request.
Among the headlines of the week:

- Peking and Tientsin give a great welcome to Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, who is on a state visit to China.

- The Chinese press last week published in full or in excerpts: an article by the editorial department of Rodong Shinmun, organ of the Korean Workers' Party, entitled "The True Colour of the Renegades to Marxism-Leninism"; an article published in the May 22 issue of Nhan Dan, organ of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, pointing out that the Yugoslav revisionists are the provocateurs and saboteurs of the international communist movement and ensuring their recent attacks on the Chinese Communist Party; and an article by Nguyen Chi Thanh, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party published in the Vietnamese paper People's Army and his speech made at the Political and Military Institute of the Vietnamese People's Army, underscoring the need to strengthen still more the fighting will of the people's army. He also discusses the harm revisionism causes to the revolutionary spirit of the masses.


- China's Foreign Ministry on June 4 sent a note to the Indian Embassy in China lodging a serious protest against the crossing of the Natu La on the China-Sikkim border by Indian troops and their encroachment on Chinese territory. The Foreign Ministry last week also sent to the Indian Embassy: A memorandum (June 3) protesting strongly against the circulation by the Indian Embassy on Chinese territory of propaganda material slandering the Chinese Government; a note (June 2) refuting India's denial of Indian air intrusions; and a note (June 6) rejecting the Indian Government's equivocation regarding its persecution of Chinese nationals in India and protesting strongly against its use of the term "mainland China" for the Chinese People's Republic in its note.

- The second group of Chinese nationals persecuted by New Delhi arrived back home from India. A warm welcome such as only their motherland could give greeted them at Chankiang.

- Hsinhua News Agency issues a statement exposing the lie spread by the Indian and Canadian representatives on the International Control Commission in Laos that there are Chinese troops in that country.

- In another authorized statement Hsinhua explodes another lie concocted by Nehru about an alleged understanding between China and Pakistan on a possible division of Kashmir.

- Chinese sympathy goes to the American Negroes. Public opinion backs up their struggle raging across the United States.

**N.P.C. Session Postponed**

The Fourth Session of the Second National People's Congress is now scheduled to be held in the fourth quarter of this year. The change of schedule was decided by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress at its 98th meeting held in Peking on June 7, after hearing a statement by Premier Chou En-lai.

**Summer Harvests**

Another busy farming season advances across the country. While subtropical Hainan Island is gathering in the early rice crop, farms along the
wheat belt along the Yellow River, report a better crop this year than last year. Between them they grow the bulk of the country's winter wheat and their wheat acreage this year is much larger than last year. Shansi's wheat crop bids fair to be the best in the last six years, and prospects in Hopei are just as encouraging. In its four major wheat-producing regions, the crops both on the hills and the plains are doing extremely well, with sturdy stalks and full-laden ears. The three million and more mu of wheat fields in the province's Hsingtai Special Administrative Region now look like a sea of gold; they will be ready for harvesting any moment now.

In Szechuan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Kiangsu and Anhwei in the Yangtze valley, the situation is generally good, though some parts in these provinces have had overly much rain since April. This to some extent has affected the wheat crop.

Rapeseed. The harvesting of rapeseed has been completed in the provinces south of the Yangtze. Rapeseed is one of China's major oil-bearing crops; its output is second only to that of peanuts. Many provinces grew this crop on a bigger area than last year. People's communes in Szechuan alone extended their rapeseed acreage by 10 per cent, with more land planted to better strains too. Latest news from the major rapeseed-producing provinces of Szechuan, Hunan and Kweichow show that this year's harvest is generally better than that of last year.

Eggs, Pork and Fish

The nation's farmers sold 160 per cent more eggs and 118 per cent more pork on the hoof to the state between January and April this year than in the same period last year, report the state trading departments.

By the end of April, the trade departments had already bought more than 40 per cent of the eggs and pigs they plan to purchase this year. Quality was also better than last year. The eggs were bigger and the pigs purchased weighed on the average 11 jin (1 jin = 0.5 kilogramme) more per head.

This upward trend reflects the rapid expansion of pig and fowl breeding in the countryside. Sharp increases in the pig and chicken populations have been registered particularly in those provinces like Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei, Hunan, Honan, Hupeh and Shantung where the peasants traditionally raise large numbers of pigs, chicken, ducks and other fowl.

News also comes that the fishermen along the east China coast had, in the just completed spring fishing season, netted 27 per cent more small croakers than last year. Small croakers are the main type of fish caught in this season along the China coast.

Fishermen are now turning to big croakers and cuttlefish, the other two major species in China's coastal waters. Fishermen in Fukien Province, east China, caught more than 10,000 don (1 don = 0.05 metric ton) of cuttlefish in their first three days of fishing.

The Kwangtung fishermen's spring catch in the South China Sea was 21 per cent bigger than in the corresponding period last year.

The South China Sea, famous for its great variety of fish, is a year-round fishing ground. Forty per cent of the annual haul of fish here is caught in the spring.

Big catches of shrimps are also reported from the South and East China Seas, the Yellow Sea and Pohai Bay.

Weather conditions on the waters this spring were poor. Heavy rains, winds and fog made fishing difficult, but thanks to good organizational work the fishermen were better equipped than ever before both to fish and to deal with the weather. The coastal provinces set up special headquarters to provide efficient guidance. New boats and nets were rushed to the fishermen's communes and old ones were repaired before the season started. More safety equipment was supplied to the fisherfolk by trade departments. Meteorological teams went to sea to provide extra weather information on the fishing grounds to supplement the regular forecasts of the weather stations. Scout boats helped locate the shoals of fish.

This increased output of eggs, pigs and fish is naturally reflected in enhanced supplies of these foods on city counters and tables. The trade departments have streamlined their purchasing work and improved transportation, so that these products can
Standardization Plays Big Role

The recent conference on technical standardization held in Peking announced that the nation's industry is now using more than 7,000 nationally unified technical standards. This is three times as many as in 1957, the last year of the First Five-Year Plan. As China modernizes her industry, an increasing number of technical standards are being introduced, and these are greatly assisting industrial growth.

Most steel and chemical products, light industrial goods and building materials, and engineering and electrical products are now mass produced according to unified standards. This has proved to be a key factor in ensuring and improving quality, in increasing the range of goods produced, in bringing about greater economies in the use of raw materials and fuel, in facilitating the use and maintenance of machinery, and in raising labour productivity.

The introduction of unified technical standards for railway sleepers over four years ago has resulted in great economies in timber. An estimated 200,000 cubic metres of timber have been saved directly, and the new standard sleepers last longer. There has been a conspicuous improvement in the quality of alarm clocks since standardization of their parts was introduced. At the same time the amount of brass used in each alarm clock has been reduced by about 30 per cent. The unification of technical standards, moreover, makes work easier and results in a big boost in labour productivity.

The conference participants were of the opinion that, though significant successes had been scored in this field of work which was virtually nonexistent in old China, big efforts still had to be made to meet the needs of modernizing the nation's industry, agriculture, defence, science and technology.

"Renmin Ribao" Editorials in Albanian

The Albanian State Publishing House has published a one-volume selection of six Renmin Ribao editorials combating modern revisionism. The editorials are "Workers of All Countries Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy"; "The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us"; "Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement"; "Whence the Differences?"; "A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the U.S.A." and "A Mirror for Revisionists." Printed in red on the cover of the 140-page book is the slogan: "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

Earlier, the Albanian publishing house published in booklet form the Albanian translation of "More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us," the article of the Editorial Department of Hongqi, the theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Sino-Rumanian Co-operation

Scientific and technological cooperation between China and Rumania has been strengthened by a new agreement signed in Peking on June 8.

The new agreement provides that the two countries will continue their co-operation in the scientific and technological fields in line with the principles of equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance, so that they can make still better use of the latest scientific and technological achievements.

Concurrently with this, a protocol of the eighth session of the joint committee for Sino-Rumanian scientific and technological co-operation was signed. At this session, concrete measures relating to scientific and technological co-operation were discussed by both sides in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and mutual understanding. Under the new protocol, the departments concerned in the two countries will exchange scientific and technological data, receive experts and study each other's experience in production and advanced achievements in developing their national economies.

Chinese-Congolese Workers' Unity

Chinese and Congolese workers have pledged themselves in a joint statement to unite with their brothers in other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America in resolutely carrying on the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, to win and safeguard national independence, democratic freedom and social progress, and defend world peace.

The statement was signed in Peking on June 9 by Liu Ning-I, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, and Jean Henri Malhong-Alias, First General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour of the Congo. The Congolese trade union leader came to China on May 24 on a visit at the invitation of the A.C.F.T.U. He left Peking for home on June 10.

Noting that the international situation was extremely favourable to the just struggles of the workers and people of the world and unfavourable to the imperialists and reactionaries of all countries, the joint statement said: "The two parties unanimously hold that keen vigilance must be maintained against imperialism headed by the United States. The aggressive nature of imperialism will never change. Imperialism is the source of modern wars and the enemy of national independence." The statement added that as "the solidarity of the workers and trade unions of Asia and Africa is an important part of the solidarity of the international working class and trade union movement," the two parties "pledge to do everything possible to strengthen this solidarity and support the struggles of the people of all the Asian and African countries."

Resolute opposition was expressed by both sides in the statement against the schemes of the imperialists and their agents — the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the leading group of the Yugoslav trade unions — to divide and sabotage the international trade union movement and the solidarity of the Asian and African trade unions.

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions on its part strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for its plot to swallow the Congo under cover of the banner of the United Nations, and for its crimes of assassinating Lumumba and persecuting Gizenga. The A.C.F.T.U. demanded the immediate release of Gizenga. It expressed sincere support to the workers and people of the Congo in their struggle against imperialism and its agents and in defence of national independence. It pledged itself to develop friendly co-operation with the General Confederation of Labour of the Congo and make joint contributions to the great cause of opposing imperialism and colonialism and defending world peace.
President Choi Yong Kun in China

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

CHOI Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People’s Assembly of the Korean Democratic People’s Republic, Member of the Political Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers’ Party, arrived in Peking on June 6. He is here on a friendship visit at the invitation of Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People’s Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Accompanying him are Li Hye Soon, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme People’s Assembly of Korea, Member of the Political Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers’ Party; Pak Sung Chul, Deputy to the Supreme People’s Assembly of Korea, Member of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers’ Party and Foreign Minister of Korea; Kang Hi Won, Deputy to the Supreme People’s Assembly of Korea, Member of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers’ Party and Chairman of the People’s Committee of Pyongyang City; and Whang Jang Yup, Deputy to the Supreme People’s Assembly of Korea and Vice-Director of a department of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers’ Party.

Tremendous Welcome

These distinguished Korean guests were warmly welcomed at the railway station by Chairman Liu Shao-chi; Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People’s Republic of China and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and a host of other leaders of the Party and state.

At the welcoming ceremony held at the station, both Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Choi Yong Kun spoke amid stormy applause. “On this goodwill visit to China, President Choi Yong Kun has brought us the profound and bountiful friendship of the fraternal Korean people. This is a matter of great rejoicing for the Chinese people,” said Chairman Liu Shao-chi. Both the Chairman and the President hailed the great, profound and militant friendship between the peoples of China and Korea.

Outside the station President Choi Yong Kun and his party were met by a vast welcoming throng. Folk orchestras beat drums and gongs, children and adults waved miniature national flags of China and Korea, and shouted welcoming slogans. Then President Choi Yong Kun accompanied by Liu Shao-chi, and Comrade Li Hye Soon accompanied by Comrade Chou En-lai, drove to the State Guest House in two open cars followed by a mile-long motorcade.

Moving slowly along the route, lined by welcoming crowds on both sides, the procession was cheered and showered with flower petals and confetti. On spacious Tien An Men Square in the heart of the city more than 1,500 professional and amateur artists in brilliant costumes did Chinese and Korean dances as the motorcade drove past. Firecrackers crackled joyously and multi-coloured
balloons trailing slogans rose into the air hailing the comradeship-in-arms of the two peoples.

Peking newspapers welcomed the arrival of the distinguished Korean guests in editorials and headlined news of activities connected with the visit.

At State Banquet

On the evening of the day President Choi Yong Kun arrived, Chairman Liu Shao-chi gave a state banquet in his honour at the Great Hall of the People. Both the Chairman and the President spoke. Toasting his guest, Chairman Liu Shao-chi said that the present visit to China of President Choi Yong Kun “is a sign of the great and ever growing friendship between the peoples of our two countries.” He praised the heroic Korean people as “a staunch and dauntless people with a splendid revolutionary spirit.” Under the leadership of the Korean Workers’ Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, the Korean people had made valuable contributions in safeguarding the security of the socialist camp, won outstanding merit in the defence of Asian and world peace and set a brilliant example for the oppressed nations and peoples of the world in their liberation struggles. The Chinese people were most honoured and proud to have such revolutionary comrades-in-arms as the Korean people who dared to struggle and dared to win victory, he said.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi paid further tribute to the Korean people who, guided by the general line laid down by the Korean Workers’ Party for socialist construction — the Winged-Horse Movement, and inspired by the Chong-san-ri spirit, the Chongsan-ri working method and the Dae An working system initiated by Comrade Kim Il Sung, had united as one in selfless labour for the realization of their grand Seven-Year Plan and made brilliant achievements on all fronts of socialist construction.

A Principled, Marxist-Leninist Party

Chairman Liu Shao-chi pointed out that the Korean Workers’ Party, by creatively applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of Korea, had led the Korean people to advance from victory to victory. “The Korean Workers’ Party has waged an irreconcilable struggle against modern revisionism to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism,” he said. “The Korean Workers’ Party has resolutely defended the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement and firmly upheld the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Korean Workers’ Party has proved to be a long-tested shock brigade in the international communist movement, and deserves the name of a glorious, principled, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party.”

Chairman Liu Shao-chi sternly condemned U.S. imperialism for its acts of aggression, intervention and provocation against Korea. He pledged the Chinese people’s and Government’s resolute support for the Korean people in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland and the reasonable proposals of the Government of the Korean Democratic People’s Republic.

President Choi Yong Kun in his speech said: “Today, the Parties and peoples of our two countries . . . are closely united in waging a resolute struggle against imperialism and revisionism and are making contributions to the cause of world peace and world revolution. In this common struggle, the friendship and unity of our two peoples have been further strengthened and developed; they are displaying an ever greater vitality.”

The banquet was an occasion of great cordiality and friendship. Many toasts were proposed to the ever growing friendship of the two peoples and to the health of their great leaders — Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Comrade Kim Il Sung.

At the Mass Rally

At a mass rally in the Peking Workers’ Stadium on June 8, more than 100,000 citizens of the capital gathered to greet President Choi Yong Kun. Workers, government functionaries, Chinese People’s Liberation Army officers and men, militiamen and students packed the stadium to overflowing. It was another animated demonstration of the comradeship-in-arms between China and Korea.

Wan Li, Vice-Mayor of Peking and member of the Secretariat of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and President Choi Yong Kun addressed this rally. Their speeches were punctuated by stormy applause.

Wan Li in his speech paid tribute to the Korean Workers’ Party which, headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, is holding high the banners of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. To safeguard the purity of Marx-

June 14, 1963
ism-Leninism, it resolutely and thoroughly opposes modern revisionism as the main danger in the current international communist movement. To uphold unity and oppose a split, to uphold genuine unity and oppose a sham unity, it resolutely defends the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. It takes a firm stand and an unequivocal attitude on all issues concerning the fundamental line, such as whether or not to maintain Marxism-Leninism, whether or not to make revolution, and whether or not to oppose imperialism.

He vigorously condemned U.S. imperialism for obstinately obstructing the peaceful reunification of Korea and trying by every conceivable means to maintain its criminal rule in southern Korea. He pledged the firm and unshakable determination of the 650 million Chinese people to unite with and fight at the side of the Korean people for ever for their common cause and ideals.

President Choi Yong Kun in his speech at the rally warmly praised the Chinese people who, he said, under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and their esteemed and beloved leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, had achieved great successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction. Holding aloft the three red banners of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, they were advancing full of confidence and had steadfastly embarked upon a path of boundless prosperity and vigorous development.

He added: "The experience accumulated by the Chinese Communist Party in the course of the Chinese revolution has made a great contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the development of the international communist movement." "The Chinese Communist Party is today waging a resolute struggle to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism and defend the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement, and is doing its utmost to continue to develop the revolutionary cause of the people."

Concentrating Efforts Against U.S. Imperialism

Speaking of the present international situation, President Choi Yong Kun said: "The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed, nor will it ever change."

"The present situation requires that we closely unite all the anti-imperialist forces that can be united and concentrate and direct our strength in the struggle against U.S. imperialism."

President Choi Yong Kun emphasized: "Peace cannot be won by begging; it can be won only through staunch struggles by the masses of the people against imperialism, the enemy of peace. To beg the imperialists for peace will only inflate their aggressive ambitions, and land peace in greater jeopardy. We must continuously heighten the revolutionary vigilance of the masses, so that they will rise in valiant struggles against imperialism. We must oppose the opportunist line of talking volubly about peace while giving up anti-imperialist struggle and revolutionary struggle; we must firmly oppose the dissemination among the working people of illusions about imperialism or of the craving for comfort, luxury and slackness, which will degenerate and corrupt the working masses and disarm them in the face of imperialist aggression."

President Choi Yong Kun condemned all enemies of peace and socialism who engaged in vicious schemes and activities to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. He condemned the revisionists for "carrying out sinister intriguing schemes in a vain attempt to emasculate the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, paralyse the revolutionary will of the masses and undermine the socialist camp from within." "They are also trying by hook or by crook to obstruct the liberation and revolutionary struggles of the people and thereby to serve imperialism," he said.

Modern Revisionism - Main Danger

President Choi Yong Kun pointed out: "Today, modern revisionism, represented by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia, is still the main danger confronting the contemporary international communist movement."

"The Statement of the 1960 Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties stipulates that exposure of the Yugoslav revisionists and struggle against the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. This stipulation remains entirely correct now. Nobody has the right to violate at will this stipulation which was jointly worked out and unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties. We must carry on a resolute struggle to oppose the revisionism of the Tito clique of Yugoslavia and defend the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. All the facts prove that only by waging a determined struggle against revisionism will it be possible to preserve the genuine unanimity and unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, ensure purity of ideology of the revolutionary ranks and effectively push forward the cause of revolution."

He said: "We must also combat dogmatism. The dogmatists do not know how to integrate the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice in their own countries, but take over the whole of other people's experience indiscriminately and follow other people's views without using their own judgment, thus departing from the correct revolutionary line."

President Choi Yong Kun declared that the Korean people "are going all out to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to strengthen their friendship and unity with the people of all other socialist countries under the banner of proletarian internationalism."

He said: "Most precious to our people is their traditional friendship and unity with the fraternal Chinese people. The friendship of our two countries is of long historical standing and has a boundless future; it will be consolidated and developed from day to day. . . ."

Following their speeches the two speakers exchanged silk banners in the name of the people of Peking and of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea respectively.

During their stay in Peking, China's Korean guests went sightseeing in the capital, attended a Peking opera, visited the Revolutionary Museum and the China-Korea Friendship People's Commune on the outskirts of Peking and had cordial talks with Chinese leaders. On June 10, President Choi Yong Kun and his party went to Tientsin to continue their visit.
A Nuclear Force Without a Name

by YANG CHUN-FONG

AFTER three days of bitter wrangling and tough bargaining, the NATO Ministerial Council meeting recently held in Ottawa reached a compromise on the organization of a NATO nuclear force. Thus ended another round in the battle among the major imperialist countries on the question of nuclear weapons. The net result of the Ottawa meeting indicates that nothing substantial has been accomplished. The imperialist contradiction was so acute that it was impossible even to agree upon a name for the nuclear force to be set up.

What does all this squabbling and haggling over nuclear armament boil down to? In a nutshell, it is nothing but a reflection in the military field of the ever deepening imperialist contradiction. On one side, U.S. imperialism is desperately trying to retain and improve its rapidly worsening dominating position in the Western world. On the other side, the West European countries, because of their growing strength, especially in the economic field, are doing all they can to free themselves from the U.S. grip and become masters in their own houses. Time was when U.S. imperialism could boss it around at will on the other side of the Atlantic and have everything its way. The U.S. News & World Report revealed with grave misgivings: “Europe has lost any feeling of economic dependence on the United States and is beginning to lose its feeling of military dependence.”

West European Independence v. U.S. Domination

Yes, things have changed quite a lot. Western Europe has not only lost its feeling of economic and military dependence on the United States, it is also asserting its economic and military independence. “Since late in 1959,” the New York Times admitted, “there has been a clear turning away from U.S. leadership in Europe. In one sense, it reflects an understandable desire by many in prosperous and superficially secure Europe to make and follow their own policies. American assessment of Europe must take into account the very powerful hostility that exists among many to an unquestioning acceptance of a policy line from Washington. Quite clearly, this is no longer the Europe of 1949-53, the Europe of Adenauer, Schumann and De Gasperi, the Europe of the Marshall Plan.”

Against this background, it is easy to understand why at the Ottawa meeting the U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk took great pains to dismiss as “repugnant” “any notion that the United States wants to dominate its partners in NATO.” It also stands to reason why at the same meeting the French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville underlined the importance of discussing an “equal partnership between Europe and North America.” West European demand for equality and independence v. U.S. domination, that’s the central problem in West European-U.S. relations.

Objectives of U.S. Nuclear Strategy. U.S. nuclear strategy is designed to serve its global strategy of world domination. From the very beginning, it has been fixed U.S. policy to maintain as long as possible U.S. monopoly on nuclear weapons. The reasons are quite obvious. Washington uses nuclear weapons for both political and military purposes of blackmail, intimidation, intervention and aggression. Nuclear weapons in U.S. hands serve as a most important means of carrying through its policies of aggression and war, an instrument of blackmail and intimidation against the socialist countries and against the people’s revolutionary movement all over the world. U.S. imperialism also cracks the nuclear whip to keep its allies in line and to compel them to do its bidding.

The “multilateral nuclear force” project was conceived for the same purpose. But it was put forward against a somewhat different background. For one thing, the United States has lost its nuclear monopoly and its “position of strength” has become pretty much weakened. For another, West European countries have already started building their own nuclear forces.

Preparing for Both Limited War and Nuclear War

In view of the fact that the United States has lost its nuclear monopoly, Kennedy set great store by “flexibility” in policy. The United States is preparing for both limited war and all-out nuclear war. Time and again, Kennedy has emphasized the importance of enabling the United States to have military options that would provide in war a “wider choice than humiliation or all-out nuclear action.” Defence Secretary McNamara and influential Pentagon planners are said to be preferring a counter-force strategy to a counter-city strategy. General Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, favours using tactical nuclear weapons in a conventional war. All this indicates that apart from stepping up its preparations for nuclear war, U.S. imperialism is getting ready to fight any form of limited war that best serves U.S. interests.

Against “Proliferation.” It is precisely for this reason that the Kennedy Administration wants the West European countries to leave the development of nuclear weapons to the United States and concentrate their manpower and financial resources on expanding their conventional armaments. In Kennedy’s view, if the West European countries build their independent nuclear forces, U.S. “flexibility” will be seriously handicapped. Therefore, it is not for

June 14, 1963
nothing that Kennedy and his military and civilian advisers have talked glibly about preventing the further "proliferation" of nuclear weapons. On June 16, 1962, McNamara in a speech at Ann Arbor sharply attacked "relatively weak" national nuclear forces as being "dangerous, expensive, prone to obsolescence, and lacking in credibility as a deterrent." According to his argument, the existing U.S. nuclear power can cope with all contingencies and there is no justification or need whatsoever for a "European nuclear deterrent." McNamara added significantly that any nuclear campaign had best be "centrally controlled." To the West Europeans, this meant that the United States was going to hold fast to its nuclear monopoly.

But the West European countries see things in a different light. It is highly doubtful, they say, whether the United States would use nuclear weapons to defend them at the risk of courting nuclear devastation back home. Kennedy's much advertised "flexibility" gives the United States plenty of room for "choice," but it leaves the West European countries with no choice but to place their national defence in the hands of the sabre-rattlers in Washington. "We are embarrassed," wrote James Reston in the New York Times, "because we are asking France to do what we are not yet prepared to do ourselves: rest the security of the nation on decisions taken by another nation."

Frequent Shifts in Nuclear Policy. A brief survey of U.S. nuclear policy over the last several years helps to shed a good deal of revealing light on what the United States is up to in nuclear matters. "Since 1960," C.L. Sulzberger reported in the New York Times, "we have wavered between sponsoring an international land-based missile force, a sea-based force, a mixed land-and-sea-based force, a missile flotilla of Polaris submarines and one of surface ships. We also keep shifting on the question of a small committee or a single commander to control such a unit and, in the former case, whether the missile should be triggered by unanimous or majority decision. In other words, should the United States insist on a veto power? We haven't fully decided our policy. Last year we were ready to forgo a veto, now we abandon it. In 1962, we abandoned thought of land-based NATO missiles, preferring a surface missile fleet. Then we decided the fleet should be submersible. Now we are back to the surface fleet concept."

Early in 1957, the Eisenhower Administration had promised to "help Europe develop its nuclear capacity" in two ways. The first was a U.S. undertaking to create "a NATO atomic stockpile" that would be released to SACEUR in the event of war. The second was an offer to join the Continental partners in building a big Europe-based rocket system that would be a part of the overall American strategy.

Meanwhile General Norstad, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, proposed a "peculiarly European weapons system—a medium-range ballistic missile (M.R.B.M.) system to be developed for the specific purpose of coping with NATO's more urgent tactical requirements. Because solid-fuel rockets are relatively light, the American magazine Fortune disclosed, "Norstad visualized a mobile system that could be moved around the waterways of Europe on barges or switched around the countryside in vehicles to deny the enemy fixed targets." On another occasion, Secretary of State Christian Herter proposed to move the nuclear "deterrent" out to sea by offering NATO some Polaris submarines and suggested that the West European countries buy M.R.B.M.'s from the United States.

The Nassau Pact

In May 1961, in a speech before the Canadian Parliament at Ottawa, Kennedy formally raised the question of building a "multilateral nuclear force." He offered to put under NATO command five Polaris submarines, and more if desired, provided the alliance worked out satisfactory guidelines regarding their "multilateral" control and use in war. In December 1962, at the Nassau conference the United States pressed for the creation of a multilateral nuclear force while Britain countered with a proposal for the establishment of a multinational nuclear force. According to the Nassau statement on nuclear defence systems, in the first stage a multinational nuclear force will be set up. It is called multinational because it is composed of existing national units either armed with their own nuclear warheads like the U.S. Polaris submarines and Britain's V-bomber force or capable of delivering nuclear weapons when supplied by the United States like the French, West German and other air forces in NATO. The national contingents can be withdrawn. In the second stage a multinational nuclear force will be created, comprising Polaris submarines with crews of
mixed nationality. Members would contribute men, equipment, and money and would be unable to withdraw units for their own use. In March this year the United States proposed a fleet of surface ships carrying about 200 Polaris missiles, collectively owned by those who agree to subscribe to it, and manned by mixed crews of different nationalities. This U.S. proposal was made on the ground that a Polaris surface force can be equipped at less cost and in less time than a Polaris submarine force. The U.S. estimate is that a surface force could be organized in two or three years.

**U.S. Motives.** A careful analysis of the multilateral nuclear force project leaves no room for doubt as to what the United States is up to. Since it is no longer possible, nor would it be politically advisable, to brush aside altogether the insistent demand of the West European countries for a place in the nuclear sun, U.S. imperialism, under the cloak of supplying its allies with Polaris missiles, seeks to bring the nuclear forces of the West European countries under its control. It aims to deprive Britain of its independent nuclear force and prevent non-nuclear countries of Western Europe from making their own nuclear weapons, thereby enabling the United States to preserve its nuclear monopoly in the capitalist world. In addition, the United States is making use of this military co-operation within NATO to promote the “integration of Western Europe” as a means of salvaging its fast disintegrating stronghold on Western Europe.

On the face of it, the United States seems very generous, promising to supply Western Europe with nuclear weapons. But it is Western Europe, not the United States, that will be placed in a straitjacket. Whatever arrangements may be made on the question of control—de Gaulle's French-British-U.S. directorate, the leading group of five (United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada), the British-proposed 10-nation political and military control committee (United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Canada, the Netherlands, Belgium, Greece and Turkey), 15 fingers on the trigger, or whatever other proposal may be adopted—the United States can hardly be expected to relinquish its veto power on the use of nuclear weapons in a NATO force. The United States may supply its allies with vehicles of delivery or place them under multilateral control, but the nuclear warheads will remain tightly in U.S. hands. The West European countries in NATO cannot use nuclear weapons without U.S. consent. But the United States is free to use nuclear weapons even when its West European allies say no. This is because there exist in the United States both strategic and tactical nuclear forces over which its allies have no veto power.

**The Heart of the Problem**

The imperialist struggle on the question of nuclear weapons is complicated. The heart of the problem is that the United States wants to retain its monopoly so far as possible while its allies in Western Europe are adamantly opposed to U.S. monopoly and want to assert their independence as equal partners of the United States. The struggle involves principally the United States, Britain, France and West Germany.

Kennedy's multilateral nuclear force project has met with bitter opposition from France. De Gaulle rejected with indignation the U.S. offer of Polaris missiles and solemnly reiterated France's determination to have its own force de frappe. At his January 14, 1963, press conference, de Gaulle declared: "It would really not be of use to buy Polaris missiles when we have neither the submarines to launch them nor the thermonuclear heads to arm them... When, one day, we do have these submarines and heads, what will be the Polaris worth? And then by that time, we shall probably have rockets of our own invention... All things considered, we hold to the decision we have made: build and, should the need arise, use our own atomic forces."

**The Multilateral Farce.** The French press was critical and hostile. The Gaullist daily *La Nation* dubbed the prospect of a multilateral force "la farce multilaterale." The French delegate at a West European Union meeting described the multilateral project as a "facade to perpetuate U.S. control of Europe's defences."

**British Calculations.** Britain wanted to use the nuclear force project as a bargaining counter to gain admission into the Common Market and to maintain its No. 2 position in the Western camp. At the Nassau conference Britain insisted that a multinational nuclear force be set up before the United States proposed multilateral nuclear force comes into being and that in a multinational force each participating nation have the right to withdraw its unit when its "supreme national interests are at stake." In British calculations, the creation of a multinational force to be composed mainly of U.S. and British nuclear forces would guarantee Britain's special position in that force, and the recognized right to withdraw its national contingent in times of emergency would leave Britain's independent nuclear force intact. This British move was obviously intended to hold down France and West Germany and to strengthen Britain's position as a major nuclear power in Western Europe. The U.S. surface force project would weaken Britain's position. That's why the U.S. papers found Britain "lukewarm about the idea of a striking force of surface ships."

**What West Germany Is After.** West Germany cherishes high hopes of slipping into the nuclear club by the back door and sharing in the nuclear control within NATO. The United States pays particular attention to courting West Germany. According to the *New York Times*, "the plan is conceived to meet Bonn's demand for atomic equality." Without vigorous West German support it could not be realized in the judgment of U.S. officials." Apart from that, wooing West Germany is part of the U.S. move to turn the screw on France. "The idea of a NATO nuclear project," the U.S. *News and World Report* revealed, "is a means of isolating de Gaulle and of dissuading the West Germans from going along with the de Gaulle plan for a European third force built around French nuclear power." West Germany is agreeable to the U.S. multilateral nuclear project but it
does not see eye to eye with the United States on the command-control question.

**Reaction: Cool and Skeptical**

Overall, allied reaction to the U.S. multilateral plan was cool and skeptical. As the *U.S. News and World Report* described it: France is disdainful. Norway and Denmark are unwilling to take part. Italy is reserving final judgment. Greece, Turkey and Portugal are too poor to contribute much, if anything. Even West Germany, agreeing to share in the cost of such a plan, has reservations about U.S. control. The British favours the immediate creation of a NATO nuclear force based on contributions from all NATO allies.

**Sleight of Hand.** In face of mounting opposition from Western Europe, the United States resorted to a sleight of hand. For a change of name, it talked about an “inter-allied nuclear force.” An odd attempt was also made to include in the proposed inter-allied force, by administrative fiat, two French squadrons of F-100 aircraft stationed in West Germany. Under the 1957 NATO agreement, French air force squadrons in West German are to receive nuclear bombs from the United States for use in the event of war. This acceptance, the Americans argued, “made the squadrons available, under the Supreme Commander, for any allied nuclear force.” In this way, Washington hoped to face General de Gaulle with a fait accompli, pulling France into the inter-allied nuclear force with this back-handed method. But France refused to be taken in.

**A Formula of Compromise.** After much horse-trading, the Ottawa conference compromised on the creation of a NATO nuclear force to be composed of three U.S. Polaris submarines stationed in the Mediterranean, 180 British V-bombers, and French, West German and Italian fighter aircraft capable of carrying nuclear warheads. This force will be placed under the command of SACEUR, but the participating nations retain control of their national units, which can be withdrawn for strictly national duty, as desired. Other steps taken at Ottawa include: 1) a European will be appointed as deputy to SACEUR in charge of nuclear affairs, 2) arrangements for broader participation by alliance officers in nuclear activity in Europe and in co-ordination of operational planning of the U.S. Strategic Air Command at Omaha, Neb., 3) increased flow of nuclear information to national political and military authorities of countries in the Atlantic Alliance. But because of determined French opposition, the proposed NATO nuclear force failed to have a name.

How much is this proposed nameless nuclear force really worth?

**A Change of Label.** “It would be wrong to suppose that anything of immediate value has been achieved. The American contribution of three Polaris-carrying submarines does little more than replace the Jupiter missiles removed from Turkey and Italy. The assignment of the British V-bomber force is an exercise in semantics which involves virtually no change in its status.” This is how the London Times sees it. Sizing up the Ottawa agreement, Patrick Gordon Walker, shadow Defence Minister in the opposition Labour Party, said: “I don’t think it amounts to anything at all. They have just changed names and juggled words... They have just changed the label.”

If the Ottawa arrangements are going to have the slightest effect at all, any such effect will be more psychological than military. It is generally agreed by military analysts that the decisions taken at Ottawa made no essential change in the NATO military strength. It is not without some justification that French officials called the Ottawa formula a routine reshuffle of organizational charts.

**Why Compromise Was Possible**

The Ottawa compromise has been made possible because the major participants thought it advisable to work out some kind of tentative arrangements. But each has its own ax to grind.

**U.S. Fixed Policy.** So far as the United States is concerned, its fixed policy has been to push through the multilateral nuclear project. However, in view of the long string of setbacks it has sustained Washington considers it better policy for the present to propose a rather loose kind of organization acceptable to Western Europe as the first step towards the eventual establishment of a multilateral force. Moreover, this move may help to paper over to some extent the current rift in the Atlantic Alliance and relax more or less the strained relations now existing between the United States and Western Europe. As the Americans see it, making use of the proposed nuclear force to attract and hold West Germany and thus break up the Paris-Bonn axis is not without political and military significance.

Britain is dead set against repeated U.S. attempts to absorb the British independent nuclear force. U.S. killing of the Skybolt project was bitterly resented by the British as a deliberate U.S. attempt to strangle Britain’s independent nuclear force.

**British Reasoning.** That’s why Britain has been cool and critical towards the multilateral concept and sticks to its multinational project. As the British figure it, a multi-
nation nuclear force will not only enable Britain to maintain its independent nuclear force but will also ensure for Britain a better position in the proposed multinational force on account of Britain's nuclear superiority over other Western European countries. Britain accepted the Ottawa compromise plan because it saw in the proposed nuclear force without a name the dim image of the British-sponsored multinational force.

"To the British, this would be the inter-allied or multinational force they agreed upon with President Kennedy at Nassau," thus commented the New York Times. Upon their return from Ottawa, British Foreign Secretary Lord Home and Defence Minister Peter Thorneycroft stressed at their press conference that Britain would keep final control of the V-bombers assigned to the NATO nuclear force. It is therefore quite obvious that Britain hopes to exploit the proposed NATO nuclear force to push through its multinational project.

**France Stands Firm.** France is unequivocally opposed to the multinational project and resists any attempt to deprive France of its independent nuclear force. It was due to violent French opposition that the Ottawa conference failed to find a name for the nuclear force it is going to set up. In agreeing to join the proposed nameless NATO nuclear force, France yielded nothing of substance. The two French fighter squadrons to be assigned to the proposed nameless NATO nuclear force are already stationed in West Germany at the disposal of SACEUR and they will remain under the Central European Command which is headed by General Janquot of France. The French have stood firm on two points at issue: 1) They are determined to have their own nuclear force outside NATO. 2) They still flatly reject the multinational idea. These two points were once again made perfectly clear when the French Foreign Minister de Murville visited Washington after the Ottawa conference. As the French calculate it, in agreeing to join the proposed nameless NATO nuclear force, they have nothing to lose. On the contrary, they may have something to gain in more or less relaxing France's strained relations with the United States.

**West Germany Asks For Common Responsibility.** As a nuclear have-not, West Germany is interested in the multinational nuclear project, which holds out the prospect of helping West Germany to slip into the nuclear club by the back door. It is therefore not hard to understand why West Germany has indicated its willingness to share with the United States in footing the bill for the proposed nuclear force. According to press reports, West Germany and the United States together will put up at least 75 per cent of the money and manpower for a fleet of 25 Polaris-equipped surface ships. Because of its relatively strong bargaining position, Bonn is asking for a bigger share in the command-control of the proposed nuclear force. Upon his return from Ottawa, West German Defence Minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel stressed at Frankfurt airport that West Germany must share "common responsibility" for the NATO nuclear force.

**Basic Contradiction Remains**

From the above analysis, it can be readily seen that the compromise formula worked out at Ottawa has not resolved the basic imperialist contradiction on the question of nuclear weapons and that the major countries persist in their basic stands without budging a single inch. One round in the battle has ended but probing skirmishes heralding the approach of another round are on. Shortly after the Ottawa conference, the Pentagon sent Vice-Admiral Claude V. Rickets, the U.S. Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, to London to discuss with the British Admiralty problems relating to the U.S. proposed Polaris surface fleet. So far, nothing has come of Rickets' visit. Viscount Montgomery contemptuously dismissed the American idea of a mixed-manned fleet of surface ships as "utter and complete poppycock" and advised the British Government to tell Vice-Admiral Rickets pointblank that "the Admiralty thinks the whole thing [the surface ship project] a first-class military nonsense."

The imperialist struggle on the question of nuclear weapons centers around the three C's (composition, control and command). It is only a reflection in the military field of the daily deepening imperialist contradiction. As has already been pointed out at the beginning of the present article, this contradiction stems from an ever mounting West European demand for independence and equality v. U.S. domination. The bitter quarrel over nuclear weapons is closely related to the general fight around NATO. In view of the fast sharpening contradiction among the Western imperialist countries, further flare-ups over nuclear matters are only to be expected.

---

**CHINESE LITERATURE**

A literary MONTHLY in English

- **CHINESE LITERATURE** brings you contemporary Chinese novels, stories, plays, poems and reportage
- **CHINESE LITERATURE** presents China's rich folk literature and introduces you to the Chinese classics
- **CHINESE LITERATURE** carries modern Chinese literary criticism, news of China's writers and artists, reports on cultural activities and general articles on the many-sided cultural life of China
- **CHINESE LITERATURE** reproduces in colour and black and white the works of outstanding Chinese artists, past and present

Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN** P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

June 14, 1963
Pinning Hopes on More U.S. Aid

Now, Nehru pins all his hopes on getting more and more aid from U.S. imperialism. And he has gingered up his anti-China campaign for this purpose. Recently, many high-ranking Indian officials went to Washington to beg for more dollars and military equipment. After two days' talks in Washington, Indian President Radhakrishnan and U.S. President Kennedy issued a joint communique on June 4, declaring that the two countries "share a mutual defensive concern to thwart the designs of Chinese aggression against the sub-continent." Prior to Radhakrishnan's visit, Indian Minister of Economic and Defence Co-ordination Krishnamachari went to Washington for a 13-day visit to beg for further military aid which the New York Times said "included everything in quantity from supersonic fighting aircraft down to boots and daggers."

To convince Washington that the Nehru government is a faithful henchman of U.S. imperialism in its aggressive policy in Southeast Asia, the recent conference of the heads of Indian diplomatic missions in Southeast Asia in which Nehru himself participated, discussed the subject of increased cooperation with U.S. imperialism in pursuing their anti-China policy. AP reported that the conference signified India's "new determination to combat China's influence in Southeast Asia."

Relying more and more on aid from the United States and other imperialist powers, the Nehru government is naturally hostile to the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity for struggle against imperialism. The Indian press expressed "disappointment" over a statement made by the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie at the African summit conference to the effect that the Sino-Indian dispute should be settled in accordance with the Bandung spirit, and attacked the just position taken by the Emperor on Afro-Asian friendship and cooperation.

In spite of the easing of the situation on the Sino-Indian border as a result of China's conciliatory efforts, the Nehru government is pushing forward its anti-Chinese policy more frenziedly than before. It has used every possible means to prevent the victimized Chinese nationals in India from returning to their motherland. Indian officials have tried to induce them to go to Taiwan by slandering China.

Recently the Indian Embassy in China, under New Delhi's instructions, circulated successive issues of India Calling which carried slanderous articles against China. The Indian Government has also tried by every possible means to restrict and sabotage the normal publicity work of the Chinese Embassy in India. The Chinese Government has lodged a strong protest with the Indian Government against this gross violation of international usage and diplomatic courtesy.

To push his anti-China campaign still further, Nehru has launched a barrage of rumors against China, each one more fantastic than the other.

(1) At the end of May, Nehru announced that China had massed about 500,000 troops in Tibet, thus threatening India's security.

On May 23, the Indian Express reported that China had introduced into Tibet 50 per cent of its air-to-air and ground-to-air missiles. On May 23, the Indian Times carried the news with banner headlines across six columns that on May 6, a Chinese plane, "flying at an estimated height of 50,000 feet," "perforated deep into Indian territory." The reporter of the newspaper even gave a detailed account of the plane's type, capacity and tasks as if he himself were its pilot.

 Lies About Kashmir and Laos Nailed

(2) On June 1, the U.S. newspaper Christian Science Monitor carried an exclusive interview given by Nehru to its correspondent in New Delhi. Nehru said to the correspondent: "While I don't definitely know if there are secret clauses in the recently signed Sino-Pakistani border pact, judging from public statements it would appear there is some understanding between the two for a possible Kashmir division." By this he also wants to prove "Chinese expansion along all China's Asian periphery." He daringly said that there were secret clauses in the Sino-Pakistan border agreement, and yet he said he could discern "some understanding" for a "possible Kashmir division." Eely as he is in inventing lies, Nehru's true face as a rumour-monger was laid bare by a statement the Hsinhua News Agency was authorized to issue on June 6. "What Nehru said to the U.S. correspondent is out-and-out fabrication with the aim to slander China, to vitify the Sino-Pakistan agreement on the border question, to stir up anti-China sentiments and to create a tense situation, thus creating a favourable climate for begging for more military assistance from the United States," said the Hsinhua statement.

(3) At the end of May, when the Savannakhet troops of Laos made a three-pronged attack on the Laoisian patriotic forces, the Indian representative on the International Control Commission, together with the Canadian representative, alleged that "Chinese troops had been found" in northern Laos, and demanded that an investigation be conducted there by a commission team. The Hsinhua News Agency was authorized to make the following statement: "Chinese troops have never entered any
part of Laos and the charges made by the Indian and Canadian representatives are nothing but an out-and-out lie. It should be pointed out that this is a stale lie of the United States, which has long been repudiated by the Laotian Government of National Union. In again picking up this lie, the Indian and Canadian representatives obviously aim at co-ordinating their action with the U.S. scheme of making use of the International Control Commission to carry out increased intervention and aggression in Laos. The Indian representative has become a tool of the United States. There is reason to ask: Would the Indian representative still be qualified to serve as the chairman of the International Control Commission in Laos if he continues to act in this way."

(4) On May 14, the Amrita Bazar Patrika reported that Chinese troops were conducting probing activities in the Bhutan-Sikkim-Nepal border areas. On May 19, the Sunday Standard alleged that Chinese troops had occupied certain places in Nepal. These rumours cooked up by the Indian press were refuted on the same day by the Nepalese Embassy in India. The ludicrous thing is that according to a report of Himalchali, the Indian Government recently arrested a large number of Nepalese in Darjeeling simply because they looked like Chinese!

According to an IIS report, on the eve of Indian Defence Minister Chavan's "inspection" tour to the China-Sikkim border, he spread the lie that "there was heavy concentration of Chinese troops along India's borders including Sikkim." The fact is that it is Indian troops who have crossed the Natu La on the China-Sikkim border and encroached upon China's territory. In spite of repeated Chinese protests, India not only refused to withdraw its intruding troops but built military structures on Chinese territory. On June 4, the Chinese Foreign Ministry sent another note of protest to the Indian Government. (For Chinese note, see below.)

A drowning man would not hesitate to clutch at a straw, but, Nehru, being bogged down in an anti-China quagmire, has not even a straw to clutch at. At his wit's end, he has to stretch his imagination to the extreme and invent fantastic lies against China.

From the examples given above it can easily be seen that the lies about the concentration of 500,000 Chinese troops and 50 per cent of missiles in Tibet and the intrusion by Chinese aircraft into India's air space are simply designed as excuses for pressing the United States to give India arms, radar equipment and up-to-date jet fighters equipped with missiles. Nehru's fabrications about China being bent on carving out a part of Kashmir is actually an appeal to the United States not to reduce its handouts to India just because the Kashmir issue remains outstanding. The outcry about Chinese troops in northern Laos is raised to impress Washington that India serves its interests faithfully in Southeast Asia, while the lie that China has infiltrated into Nepal and other places is obviously designed to poison China's relations with other Asian countries.

It is well known that prompted by the needs of his domestic and foreign policies, Nehru started the armed conflict on the Sino-Indian border. He thought that in this way all his problems would be solved. But the massive attacks mounted by the Indian troops suffered defeat in the face of the Chinese frontier guards' counter-attack in self-defence. Striving for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border issue, the Chinese Government has taken many major conciliatory actions. As a result, the situation in the border areas has been eased, and full conditions for the holding of direct negotiations for a peaceful settlement have been created. The nations participating in the Colombo conference and many other Asian and African countries regard China's conciliatory actions as an auspicious beginning for the peaceful settlement of the conflict.

But Nehru does not want to see the Sino-Indian border situation eased. He is intent upon pursuing his policy of arms expansion and war preparations, fleecing and suppressing the people at home while soliciting aid from the United States and acting as a pawn for U.S. aggression in Asia. That is why he has not scrupled to invent all sorts of fantastic lies to force the pace of the anti-China campaign and poison the Sino-Indian relations. But rumour-mongering cannot save Nehru's hopeless situation. The more lies he spreads, the more easily the people will see that this rumour-monger is a renegade to the Afro-Asian community and a pawn of U.S. imperialism.

China-Sikkim Border

China Protests Against Indian Encroachment

THE Chinese Foreign Ministry in a note to the Indian Embassy in Peking on June 4 lodged another serious protest against Indian troops crossing the Natu La on the China-Sikkim boundary and encroaching upon Chinese territory. (For earlier references to Indian violations of the China-Sikkim boundary, see Peking Review, No. 3, 1963).


June 14, 1963

The Chinese Government, the note of the Chinese Foreign Ministry says, "demands that India immediately order the intruding Indian troops to withdraw from Chinese territory and dismantle all their illegally built structures within Chinese territory. Should the Indian side refuse to withdraw the intruding Indian forces and dismantle the aggressive military structures, and continue its prevarications and denials, then the Chinese Government would request India immediately to dispatch officials to conduct with Chinese officials a joint investiga-
An Outline Map Showing the Extent Up to Which Indian Troops, Crossing the Natu La on the China-Sikkim Boundary and Encroaching Upon Chinese Territory, Have Built Military Structures for aggressive purposes.

The Natu La is located on the China-Sikkim boundary which follows the ridge line shown running from one side of the photograph to the other. The area between the ridge line and the broken white line is where Indian troops have intruded into Chinese territory and built dozens of military structures.

The note adds: “As is well known, the China-Sikkim boundary has long been formally delimited. As provided in the related article of the Sino-British Convention of 1890, the China-Sikkim boundary runs along the watershed between the waters flowing into the Mochu and northwards into other small rivers in Tibet, China, and the waters flowing into the Sikkim Teesta and its affluents. During the 1960 meeting of the officials of China and India, the Indian officials, while unilaterally referring to the China-Sikkim boundary, explicitly admitted that the China-Sikkim boundary crosses the Natu La. Official Indian maps also show the China-Sikkim boundary as crossing this pass.”

“The Natu La,” the note continues, “is marked by clear terrain features. It is located on the only watershed along this section of the boundary and can be identified at a glance, and there can be no misunderstanding about it. In September 1958, when Prime Minister Nehru passed through the Natu La during his visit to Bhutan, local Chinese officials went there to receive him. At that time the Chinese national flag was implanted at the Chinese side of the pass. And a cement tablet bearing the words ‘Sikkim-Tibet border’ was set up by the Indian side on the Sikkim side of the pass. This fact proves that the Indian side is well aware of the location of this section of the boundary.”

“All the facts are there and the evidence is conclusive, what use is there for any more denials on the part of India?” the note declares.
New Delhi Must Stop Its Illegal Acts

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

LIKE the first group of returned Chinese nationals victimized in India (see Peking Review, No. 18, 1963), the second group of more than 600 people were given a heart-warming welcome and great care when they arrived at the south China port of Chankiang on June 6. Moreover, they were overjoyed to know that the Government had made proper arrangements for their work and life in their homeland.

But memories of the horrors in Indian concentration camps rose before them all the more vividly when they mingled with their enthusiastic welcomees. Since the Chinese Government on April 27 lodged a strong protest against the Indian Government's persecution and maltreatment of Chinese nationals in India, the returnees revealed, atrocities against the detainees in concentration camps have continued unabated. After the first group of returned Chinese nationals left India last April, many of the detainees died from unbearable cruelties. The second group of returnees is smaller than the first, but the number of the sick is many times greater and their diseases are more complicated. While detained in Deoli concentration camp, the patients were denied the necessary medical treatment, so that when they were handed over to China, the Indian side could not even produce case histories.

The Indian Government has also intensified its persecution of Chinese nationals outside the camps. As a result, many of them have been deprived of their means of livelihood and their families broken up. Some have even committed suicide while others have died in poverty.

Forcible Detention of Chinese Nationals

Apart from the more than 1,500 Chinese nationals who have been brought back to China in two groups, there are many more internees and others still in India, who want to return to China because of their inhuman persecution by the Indian Government. But the Indian authorities have brazenly used various means to detain them by force. Among the second group of returnees was 80-year-old Shen Tien-feng who returned alone because his three sons had been held by the Indian Government.

Before boarding the S.S. Kuanghua bound for China on May 25, Shen Tien-feng found that his three sons included in the list of the second group did not turn up. He asked the Chinese officials on hand to convey to the Indian authorities his demand that his sons be allowed to return to China with him. The Indian officials, however, claimed that Shen was "leaving his family voluntarily." While Chinese officials made further representations at the quayside, Indian plainclothesmen suddenly kidnapped Shen Tien-feng.

The Indians brought the old man back one hour and forty minutes later, claiming that he had signed a form agreeing to be separated from his sons. The Chinese officials denounced these actions, pointing out that his signature obtained under duress was null and void.

The Indian Government's design to obstruct victimized Chinese from returning to China started long ago. Camp Order No. 111 signed on February 15 this year by the commandant of the Indian Deoli concentration camp stipulates: "All internees except Mr. Chao Kao, Mrs. Chao Kao, Mr. Huang Kuei Ting and Mr. Weng Yung Hsin who have expressed their desire to return to China will be permitted to go to that country strictly on the following conditions: (1) they will not be allowed to return to their home to dispose of or collect their assets before departure. This they should arrange through their nominees; (2) they will not be allowed to take with them more than rs. six hundred & sixty (£50 sterling) per family; (3) they will not be allowed to take personal luggage in excess of the quantities already announced (Camp Order No. 102 dated 4th February 1963); and (4) their dependents and/or other relatives who wish to accompany them will be permitted to join only at the port of embarkation." It is clear at a glance that all these conditions have no other purpose than to put obstacles in the way of victimized Chinese who want to return to China. The first condition means that they are to be deprived of all their property in India. The detained Chinese are in fact unable to dispose of their property by proxy. With their assets thus stolen or frozen by the Indian authorities, the second and third conditions of the order are merely empty talk. As for the fourth condition, it implies a threat to break up families.

Even more amazing is the further demand that the Chinese victims should state at the latest by February 16, that is, within one day, whether they accept the above conditions. If the time limit expired, or if any victim raised any other condition, the order declared, "it will be presumed that he and his family members and dependents are not willing to return to China."

During a political incident engineered on March 29 by the Indian authorities in the concentration camps, large numbers of Indian soldiers and police brutally beat up Chinese victims desiring to return to China. Of those arrested at the time, dozens were prevented from coming back to China with the first group of returnees. After the Chinese Government announced the release and repatriation of all the captured Indian military personnel, the Indian Government could not but hand over two batches of victimized Chinese and part of their families to be shipped back to China. But the agreement reached between the officials of the two countries on this matter has been repeatedly violated by the Indian side. As many as 263 Chinese nationals among the first two groups.
ready to return home have been prevented from doing so. The Indian Government asserted that they had changed their minds and were no longer willing to return to China. But this fools nobody. The Indian Government cannot in any way gloss over its forcible detention of Chinese nationals in India.

Serving “Two Chinas” Scheme

What is the purpose behind the Indian Government’s acts? Why is it outrageously persecuting Chinese residents in India while at the same time denying them the right to return to their homeland? Many of the second group of victimized Chinese were able to supply the answer upon their return home. They revealed that Indian officials and police, both inside and outside the concentration camps, have tried in many ways to induce Chinese nationals to go to Taiwan.

Yu Tsuan-chun, a primary-school teacher from Bombay, recalled what had happened to her when she went to complete the procedures required for her departure at the income tax department in that city. An Indian official said to her: “If you return to communist China, you will have no proper clothing, no proper food. You will have to work day and night without any rest.” “But if you go to Taiwan,” he added, “you will live much better than in communist China.” Yu Tsuan-chun replied unequivocally, “There is only one China in the world, that is the People’s Republic of China, and there I will go.”

Obviously, the forcible detention of Chinese nationals is part of the Indian Government’s scheme to serve the U.S. plot for creating “two Chinas” and to step up its collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The Chinese Government and people will never brook this brazen action trampling underfoot the universally recognized code of international conduct and justice.

The assertion by the Indian Government in its note of May 6 that victimized Chinese are “not desirous of returning to mainland China” has engaged the serious attention of the Chinese Government. Everyone knows that “mainland China” is a term used by the U.S. imperialists in their design to create “two Chinas” and in their hostility to the People’s Republic of China. No wonder there have been reports recently that, instigated and brought together by the U.S. Government, “officials” of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the Indian Government have made contacts and discussed the question of Chinese nationals in India. The use of a name inimical to China by the Indian Government is by no means accidental.

China’s Just Demands

Proceeding from a desire to safeguard the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples, the Chinese Government in its note of June 6 to the Indian Embassy in China urged that the Indian Government:

(1) Immediately stop all persecution of Chinese nationals, unconditionally release all the victimized Chinese nationals under detention, and compensate them for all their losses;

(2) Immediately supply a name list of all the victimized Chinese nationals under detention, specifying these Chinese and their dependents who wish to return to China; strictly abide by the agreement reached between the officials of the two countries, and refrain from creating difficulties on whatever pretext for the victimized Chinese nationals who wish to return to China;

(3) Clarify its intention in using in its note the term “mainland China” and the reports about contacts made by the Indian Government with “officials” of the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

In continuing to persecute Chinese nationals and whip up its anti-China campaign when the Chinese Government has taken a series of important and conciliatory measures, the Indian Government has proved itself unwilling to improve Sino-Indian relations and reach a peaceful solution of the Sino-Indian boundary question. It should know that to persist in its course will never bring it any good. The only result will be the further exposure of its reactionary character before the whole world.
AFTER ADDIS ABABA

United Against Colonialism

Reflecting the strong wish of the African peoples to wage a united struggle against imperialism and colonialism, old and new, the Summit Conference of the African Independent States proved to be a great stimulus to the solidarity of the African peoples, thus giving fresh impetus to their fight to root out colonialism. Many African leaders, on their return from Addis Ababa, have underlined the need to support the independence struggle of fellow Africans still under foreign domination.

President Kwame Nkrumah has declared that Ghana will support the dependent African states with the same zeal and determination with which the country has carried out its own independence struggle. Algerian Premier Ahmed Ben Bella has reaffirmed his country's determination to give concrete aid to the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and other countries and to fight the Portuguese Salazar regime and the racists in South Africa. He announced that Algeria has deposited 100 million francs in the solidarity fund established by the conference and has 10,000 volunteers ready to fight alongside their African brothers.

Stating that the Addis Ababa conference unanimously condemned colonial domination and colonialism, demanded the removal of foreign bases and denounced racial discrimination in Africa and in other parts of the world, President Modibo Keita of Mali stressed that "there is no independence for Mali, there will be no independence for any African country, if those Africans who are several hundred kilometres away from us are refused freedom and their human dignity is denied."

President Sekou Toure of Guinea and President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, in a joint communiqué signed in Dar-es-Salaam, reiterate "their determination to liberate Africa, including South Africa, from foreign domination." They also state that the two countries "are resolved to fight with all the power at their disposal against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism."

Divide-and-rule was always one of the favourite tactics of the colonialists to keep the African peoples in subjugation. It still is. But faced with the banner of militant unity raised at the Addis Ababa conference, these old-time plotters will have a still tougher time trying to carry through their divisive schemes.

INSIDE U.S.A.

Negro People on the Move

The American Negroes are again on the move. The demonstrations against racial discrimination and for equal rights, started in Birmingham, Alabama, two months ago, have spread to many parts of the United States. The racist authorities' brutal attacks against the peaceful demonstrators have only succeeded in strengthening their determination and militancy.

The scale of the anti-segregation struggle is unprecedented in the history of the Negro movement. The Department of Justice has admitted that in the week between May 19 and 25 alone over 40 demonstrations took place in cities where there are large Negro populations. Besides such southern strongholds of Jim Crowism as North Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, big cities like Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, New York and others in the north are also affected. In many of them, demonstrations went on for days; tens of thousands of people took part.

The fight waged by the Negro people has exposed the hypocrisy of the Kennedy Administration on several counts. When he campaigned for the presidency, Kennedy made many sweet promises to the Negroes. Once in office, he simply went back on his pledged word and did nothing to better their lot. After the Birmingham incident, Kennedy time and again refused to take effective action to stop the racist outrages.

As the representative of the U.S. monopoly capitalists, Kennedy will of course do nothing to end Jim Crowism because racial discrimination is rooted in the American system of capitalist exploitation. The vast fortunes of the U.S. monopolies were built on the exploitation of Negro slaves and other minorities, and today the cheap man-power provided by the Negroes remains a principal source of super-profit for Wall Street. To drive a wedge between black and white working people, it is in the interests of the White House plutocrats to perpetuate racialism and racial conflicts.

Precisely for this reason, the fight of the American Negroes against racial discrimination is a component part of the great struggle against U.S. imperialism. Fought on the homeground of the bulwark of world reaction, it is nevertheless closely tied with the worldwide struggle for emancipation. It is no accident that its present flare-up coincides with the rising struggles of the African and other peoples against colonialism.

SOUTH VIET NAM

The Losing Colonial War

Despite its jet fighters and helicopters, noxious chemicals and "strategic villages," U.S. imperialism is unmistakably losing its "special war" in South Viet Nam. This is made clear both by recent communiques of the people's forces and by U.S. press reports.

The guerrilla forces, fighting with inferior weapons against tremendous odds, have scored resounding field victories. According to a dispatch of the South Viet Nam Liberation Press Agency, they have put out of action more than 17,000 enemy troops in the first three months of this year. These included 9,160 men and 300 officers killed, 7,355 men and over 100 officers wounded and 500 captured. There were also 110 U.S. soldiers killed and 74 wounded. In the same period, the people's forces downed 43 U.S.-Diem planes and demolished 790 "strategic villages" (euphemism for concentration camps). The April totals have not been released but announced enemy killed in the central and western regions respectively are 1,143 and 728 (including 17 Americans).

The ruthless repression resorted to by the U.S.-Diem regime to bolster its tottering rule has only added to its near-complete isolation among the south Viet Nam people. The massive demonstrations against the criminal use of noxious chemicals and the recent widespread protests against persecution of Buddhists are only two of the numerous forms of popular struggle now engulfing all south Viet Nam, towns and countryside.
Washington and Diem have lost their bearings under these severe political and military blows. Bickering between the two have grown more frequent and bitter as each tries to blame the other for their defeats. UPI, in a dispatch typical of many recent U.S. press reports coming out of Saigon, openly discussed "Washington's disillusionment with Diem" and "Diem's suspicion of American intentions." 

"Basic differences between the United States and south Viet Nam (Dien) on a number of basic issues have become increasingly obvious... despite repeated denials," it wrote, admitting that "the still optimistic public pronouncements on the guerrilla war which Washington is making are believed to be the result of a desire not to allow Viet Nam to become a major political issue in Congress."

The Kennedy Administration is blaming everything under the sun, particularly the inefficiency of the Diem puppet, for its defeats in south Viet Nam. What it cannot and dare not admit is that it is losing because it is fighting a dirty colonial war.

**LATIN AMERICA**

**Arena of Imperialist Rivalry**

Britain's Chief of Defence Staff Mountbatten recently toured several Latin American countries, showing an interest in their affairs extending far beyond the military field. And de Gaulle promised Mexican President Lopez Mateos a credit of U.S.$150 million during the latter's visit to France this spring. These and other similar recent developments underline the fact that the vast continent south of the Rio Grande has become a major arena for imperialist economic competition.

Britain used to have enormous investments in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Peru and several other Latin American countries. Its traditional influence there declined sharply after the end of World War II. From the 1938 figure of £774 million and the 1947 figure of £386 million, Britain's total investment in Latin America dropped to £301 million in 1948 and £145 million in 1956. This downward trend has been reversed in recent years (Britain's new investment figures on the continent were £5.2 million in 1958, £11.7 million in 1959, £14.6 million in 1960 and £22 million in 1961).

After the Common Market reverse, the Mountbatten visit was a major move by Britain to increase investments and win trading opportunities at the expense of its rivals.

Other West European powers are also looking for pastures green in Latin America. According to a New York Herald Tribune report from Paris, "France is taking a new look at its relations with South America, with the aim of increasing European influence and investment throughout the area." The same dispatch quoted de Gaulle as telling his colleagues that "Europe must have a role in the development of South America and France must take the lead." And the French Ambassador to Mexico was said to have declared publicly that "the United States had better not consider itself the only partner in economic co-operation with Latin America."

Among the Common Market countries, West Germany has been particularly active in Latin America. By 1960, total private West German investment abroad had reached 2,928 million marks (four marks equal one U.S. dollar), and over 50 per cent of this sum was concentrated in Latin America. A recent report from the Bonn Ministry of Economics shows that of the 19,200 million marks of "development loans" West Germany had granted to the "underdeveloped" countries between 1950 and 1962, 3,900 million were granted to Latin America as "bilateral loans" (between governments) and 3,385 million as "private loans."

As for the Japanese monopolists, they have made Latin America their number one target for overseas investments. They are running big textile plants, fishing fleets, shipyards, medicine, cement and power industries, copper mines, and banks and insurance companies in Bolivia, Venezuela, Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Peru, El Salvador and Honduras. Several Japanese financial groups are concentrating on the last-named four.

As the scramble for markets and areas of capital investment grows, inter-imperialist economic competition and political rivalry will inevitably sharpen in Latin America. All the same, U.S. imperialism remains the biggest exploiter of the Latin American peoples. With more than $10,000 million of private investments there, Yankee bloodsuckers continue to pump out a daily profit of 5 million dollars from Latin America.

---

**THE PASSING SHOW**

**Training Them Early**

There's nothing like getting 'em used to it early. Once a year there's a popular spectacle in the U.S. — a Baby Derby race. A dozen or so babies of crawling age are put in starting boxes as on a greyhound race track; laughter reigns and bets fly as they are coaxed out of their boxes and down the 40-metre course. Since they don't know what it's all about some sob and cry to the despair of their mothers, who hope that they have raised a winner, and the yells of the crowd. The show is particularly enjoyed by the big TV network that does the publicity and rakes in the money.

**Thinking Dynastically**

With stocks and shares currently beset by doubt and uncertainty, big-time investors in England and other Western countries are casting their eyes more and more on art. So, a certain Mr. Peter Wilson, Chairman of Sotheby and Co., London, has given the late-comers in this field timely and intriguing tips on how it should be done.

According to Mr. Wilson, potential patrons of art should "think dynastically," i.e., buy for their grand-children. Investors, warned Mr. Wilson, must not buy on a short-term basis defined as 3 to 4 years. It is unwise to sell quickly even when a good profit is obtainable because "the sale of a picture in the owner's lifetime will depress the market." Also, they should concentrate on "extremely good examples by relatively minor painters." There are, of course, pitfalls. After last year's Wall Street crash "abstract painting took a beating."

Peking Review, No. 24
Cadres' Participation in Productive Labour: Its Great Revolutionary Significance

Many news reports in the press tell of the practice of cadres taking a direct hand in productive labour. "Renmin Ribao," singling out Hsiyang County in eastern Shansi Province for special mention, makes clear in its accompanying editorial (June 2) the great importance attached to this practice by the Chinese Communist Party and the Government. An abridged translation of this editorial follows. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

The practice of cadres taking part in productive manual labour represents part of the Communist Party's revolutionary tradition of plain living and hard struggle and maintaining close contact with the people. During the ten years of civil war (1927-37), many Party cadres as well as commanders and men of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army were already devoting part of their time to productive manual labour. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, army units, Party and government organizations and schools, both in Yanan and other anti-Japanese bases, made it a regular practice on top of organizing their own productive campaigns to help the local people in their productive work. During the War of Liberation, Party cadres and P.L.A. soldiers wherever they went were always ready to give a helping hand to the people in their farm work, forging close links between the Party and the army on the one hand, and the people. This fine style of work with cadres working right alongside the masses of the people and sharing their joys and sorrows—a style of work that has taken shape in the long years of the Party's history, has helped to bring the Party constantly closer to the people, inspire them to work and struggle hard. It has thus become one of the basic factors making for the victory of the Chinese revolution.

Under New Historical Conditions

With the liberation, the Chinese Communist Party became the party in power. Such a position puts a special responsibility on cadres to guard against becoming estranged from the masses and reality, and contaminated by subjectivism and bureaucratism. An effective means for this is participation in manual labour. In 1957, the Central Committee of the Communist Party promulgated its "Directive Concerning Participation in Physical Labour by Lending Functionaries at All Levels," which lays down that all cadres who are fit for it should participate in manual labour for a certain period every year. It points out: "This puts Communist Party members to a momentous test to see if they are capable of striving to fulfill the general task of the Party under the new historical conditions."

Implementation of this directive over the years has greatly strengthened the ties between the Party and the working masses, enhanced their revolutionary initiative, and deepened their confidence in and their love for our cadres. On the other hand, participation in labour has also helped to raise the level of our cadres' ideology and improve their style of work. This is one of the important reasons why our people were able to rally closely together to overcome swiftly the difficulties caused by the severe natural calamities of the last few years.

For cadres at the basic rural level, this question of whether or not they take part in collective productive labour is in essence an important question of principle; it is a question of whether they want to place themselves above and thus divorce themselves from the working masses, or whether they want to put themselves among the masses, to be one of them. The very fact of allowing oneself, as a cadre and a leader of the working masses, to have a different status, not take part in labour, and to enjoy special privileges, is in reality to place oneself above the working masses. This is a dangerous position to take. To put oneself in such a position inevitably leads to isolation from the masses. One who acts this way will not only be unable to do his work well, but if he persists in taking the road of securing special privileges for himself will also run the risk of degenerating. The example of Hsiyang County and countless other examples since the movement for agricultural co-operation began all attest to this: all co-operative farms, rural people's communes, production brigades and teams that are well-managed share, without exception, a common characteristic—their leading cadres regularly take an active part in the collective productive labour of the rank-and-file members. On the contrary, the few that are badly run also share a common feature, that is, unwilling to join the rank-and-file members in their collective productive labour, their leaders have divorced themselves from the masses, allowed themselves special privileges in life, and in the case of a few, even headed down the road of gradual degeneration. Here is a lesson that cadres at the basic rural level throughout the country should learn. They must look upon participation in collective productive labour and being one with the masses as a fundamental principle in carrying out the policy of managing the communes in a democratic and thrifty way, as an important means of consolidating the collective economy.

Class Struggle Still Exists

The participation of cadres in labour in accordance with the rules and regulations laid down for this is, so far as the socialist system as a whole is concerned, a fundamental issue of great importance. In the historical period of the proletarian dictatorship, we are confronted
with the three great revolutionary movements in building a strong socialist country — waging the class struggle, waging the struggle for production, and conducting scientific experiments. The participation of cadres in labour will ensure that we succeed in these three movements, and ensure that we fight from invincible positions in the class struggle, both in the international arena and at home. It is a reliable guarantee that the proletariat maintain close unity with masses of the working people and uphold the democratic dictatorship.

Class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is unavoidable throughout the historical period of the proletarian dictatorship. The ideological influence of the bourgeoisie cannot be eliminated in a single day. Among part of the small producers the spontaneous tendency to develop in a capitalistic way will remain for a long time to come. The bourgeois and feudal forces will try every means to corrupt cadres of the proletariat, to “drag them out” of the proletarian ranks and convert them into spokesmen of the bourgeois and feudal forces. Our cadres must always be highly vigilant against this danger of bourgeois and feudal corruption. An old saying has it: “A solid dyke may be breached because of undermining by ants; an infection on a toe may cause death to an otherwise healthy man.” Indulgence in an easy life, disdain of physical labour and the working people can become a breach leading to a cadre’s ideological and political degeneration, whereas his participation in labour and his identification with the labouring masses constitutes a fundamental assurance that he will never lose his revolutionary qualities. Our cadres at the various levels, especially at the basic rural level, must participate regularly in collective productive labour and maintain the closest contacts with the working masses ideologically, emotionally and in everyday life so as to maintain a firm class stand in the class struggle and give good leadership to the masses in this struggle. It is only by so doing that one can win the trust of the working masses, enjoy their confidence and thus give one’s work a genuine mass line. The basic units of the Party must be entrusted to those advanced members who are enthusiasts in collective productive labour. Party branch secretaries in the villages should be people who are outstanding in productive labour as well as politically advanced. They must strive to become first-class farm workers and outstanding model peasants. The same is true with the Party branch secretaries in factories in the cities. They should also be people who are top-notch workers in production.

**Struggle for Production**

The struggle for production is a struggle with nature; it is another great revolutionary movement aimed at building China into a strong socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern national defence and modern science and technology. This is a long, complex and arduous struggle and the participation of cadres in productive labour is an important condition for victory in it. Victory in this struggle depends first of all on bringing into fuller play the initiative of the masses in collective production. As the saying goes: “The villages and households watch to see how their neighbours are doing; and commune members take note of how the cadres act.” When cadres take part in collective labour and set an example this can be a powerful force inspiring the masses with fresh enthusiasm for labour. Only by bringing the enthusiasm of the broad masses for collective labour into full play can victory be achieved in the struggle for production.

The struggle for production involves a struggle to explore the secrets of nature, to understand and utilize the laws of nature. Leaders and organizers of this struggle must themselves take part in productive labour.

Practice is the source of knowledge. The correct ideas and methods of cadres leading production do not fall from heaven, nor are they born; they can only be derived from actual practice in the struggle for production. The correctness of these ideas and methods, furthermore, can be tested only through actual practice in production. If cadres stand aside from productive labour and are aloof and divorced from reality it is impossible for them to wage a direct, effective struggle with nature. Cadres’ participation in productive labour has an important bearing on their leadership in production precisely because in bringing them face to face with actual production it makes it easier for them to grasp production problems and together with the masses devise effective ways to handle those problems promptly and avoid errors of subjectivism and bureaucratism.

**Marxist Theory of Knowledge**

From practice to knowledge, then from knowledge to practice — only when this process is repeated many times over can correct knowledge be obtained. This is the Marxist theory of knowledge, that is, the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge. Our cadres must grasp it and put it into practice. Philosophy should be liberated from the philosophers’ classrooms and books and put into the hands of the masses to be used as their keen weapon.

Most of our cadres working in the rural areas come from the ranks of the working peasantry and understand practical production. This is one of their strong points. But the natural conditions of production and the masses engaged in it are both changing constantly. Should we stand aloof from this constantly changing reality in actual production we would soon find ourselves quite unable to lead production. Li Chien-chou, secretary of the Communist Party committee of the Zhashang People’s Commune, Hsiyang County, has put it well: “By doing productive labour together with the masses and consulting with them, one gets to know both the people and nature thoroughly, and this is the key to good leadership in production.” People of Hsiyang County say this about cadres taking part in productive labour: “When cadres take part in labour, they are in a position to see, hear, do and say. How can they not help lead production ably?” Participation in collective labour should, therefore, be regarded by all cadres working in the rural areas as their regular job and they should persist in it. In view of this it would be still more inadmissible for cadres of production brigades and production teams of people’s communes to absent themselves from productive labour. Secretaries of Party branches working at the grassroot level in factories, retail stores, handicraft co-operatives and construction sites should also gradually get down to doing productive manual labour.
Class struggle is a complicated science, and so is the struggle for production. In class struggle, the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism deals with such problems as whom we should rely upon, with whom we should unite, who should be isolated, and who should be attacked as well as how to organize the ranks of the revolutionary classes and how to divide and attack the class enemy.

In the struggle for production, many major scientific and technological problems must be solved in order to modernize the country’s agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology and to achieve mechanization, electrification, the widespread use of farm chemicals and extensive use of irrigation in agriculture.

**Scientific Experiments**

The organization of scientific experiments in a planned way constitutes yet another great revolutionary movement to build the country into a great socialist state. Scientific experiments must be carried out in the spirit of the mass line and combined with the practical experience of the masses. Scientific institutions and laboratories are the most important bases for scientific experiments. But scientific experiments should be conducted too in the fields and workshops, at building sites and on all the other fronts of the struggle for production as well as in the scientific institutions and laboratories. Participation in labour by our cadres provides a most favourable condition for organizing scientific experiments.

Only by taking part in productive labour and making scientific experiments together with the masses can cadres grasp the laws governing the struggle with nature, and work out and popularize scientific methods for increasing production.

The “experimental plots” worked jointly by leading cadres, technical personnel and the masses in the past few years have proved to be an effective method for organizing scientific experiments, gaining new experience in production and in leadership and combining theory with practice. We should continue to use this method. Every cadre should tackle the problems that crop up in work and in production effectively with a strictly scientific attitude and according to the principle of popularizing new things and methods only after they have been tested in practice. Participation in productive labour and scientific experiments conducted by the cadres together with the masses of the people will make our Party greater and still more glorious, and ever more consistently correct and turn our cadres into really good workers, people who are well versed in both political questions and their own work, who are both “red” and expert, and who identify themselves with and are supported by the people.

The participation of cadres in productive labour is of great revolutionary significance. It is a fundamental policy of the Party and an important guarantee for victory in the three great revolutionary movements—the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiments.

**Forecasting the Weather**

**Meteorology Serves Production**

by JAO HSING

In the past 14 years New China has rapidly developed its meteorological services and the science of meteorology. It has improved and expanded its network of weather stations, trained more technicians, and directed their efforts more effectively to serve the needs of farming, industry and other fields of production.

At the time of liberation in 1949, the country’s meteorological services were in a parlous condition. There were only a few meteorological observatories or stations; most instruments had to be imported. Staffs were inadequate and lacked experience. There were only 20 researchers working in this field and, in the 20 years before liberation, China had published only 400 papers on meteorology. The few observatories and stations it had belonged to various organizations and they had no plan to coordinate their work. No comprehensive national weather service existed.

All this has been radically changed since liberation. The nation today has a comprehensive meteorological service which caters ever more efficiently to the needs of socialist construction, and especially of agricultural production. Its main task is to help the people take full advantage of good weather for their work and avoid or reduce damage caused by natural calamities. The guiding policy is to “serve production with the central emphasis on agricultural production.”

**National Network Formed**

China’s territory extends through the tropic, temperate and frigid zones. This alone means a wide variety of climatic conditions—and the possibility of growing a big variety of crops. But the variability of the monsoons, blowing across China from the west and northwest in the winter and from the seas on the east and southeast in summer, exerts a big influence on climate and weather. In planning and managing agriculture it is of key importance to study the climate and watch the weather so as to know at any particular time what the weather is going to be like. To do this a great deal of information and data needs to be collected and studied and for this purpose a nationwide network of meteorological services has been established.

Compared with 1949 there are now 30 times as many observatories and meteorological stations. They are dis-

June 14, 1963
distributed over the length and breadth of the country, from the eastern coast to the Pamirs and from Hellungkiang in the far north down to the Nansha Islands in the South China Sea. Meteorological stations have been set up on the Chinghai-Tibet Plateau, which was formerly almost a blank so far as meteorological data was concerned. A fairly good network of special stations for aerological soundings has also been set up. The technical equipment and methods of observation have been steadily improved. China now makes most of her meteorological instruments herself.

Important Aid to Farming

The main meteorological service to the farms is the issuance of weather forecasts. Forecasts issued by the large, medium and small meteorological units are co-ordinated and supplement one another. The large units consist mostly of observatories at provincial levels such as the Fukien Observatory; these issue forecasts for a fairly broad area. The medium units comprise meteorological stations run by special administrative regions, embracing a dozen or so counties. The small units include county meteorological stations and sometimes meteorological posts run by the rural people's communes. These smaller stations have the main responsibility for supplying weather information within their own districts.

Using the forecasts issued by the meteorological stations of the provinces or special administrative regions as a basis, the county stations work out and broadcast revised supplementary forecasts for their areas. They take into consideration the general features of local weather, the peasants' experience in weather forecasting, the influences of the local topography and statistical data of climate and weather. The meteorological posts of the communes or sky-scanning groups of the production teams under the people's communes will in their turn revise, if necessary, the forecasts of the county stations to give weather information for their own areas. In this way, modern scientific principles of meteorology are integrated with the often surprisingly good ability of veteran farmers to discern coming changes in the weather by studying such natural phenomena as the chirping of crickets, the shapes of the clouds or colour of the sunset and so on.

In the spring of last year, cold air masses came over Kiangsi Province on several occasions and sowing of the early rice was postponed for 15 days. The meteorological units in the province, after studying the weather trends, were able to tell the farmers when to plant so that the rice seedlings would not suffer damage. Last November, a heavy 7-day snowstorm blanketed Miyang County, Honan. This would have caused serious losses had the county meteorological station not given adequate warning of its coming. Forcemeeted with this knowledge the Miyang peasants completed the sowing of nearly a million mu of winter wheat and stored the sweet potatoes from 290,000 mu before the storm broke. Everything was done on time and losses were kept to a minimum.

Weather forecasting is now well established in China's countryside. People's communes keep a constant look-out on the weather reports in mapping out their day-to-day work. Agro-meteorology, an important branch of the meteorological service, has made remarkable progress in recent years. Some regions have begun to make systematic agro-meteorological observations and experiments, and have now got some knowledge of the meteorological conditions required for the major local crops at various stages of their growth. A number of weather stations are now issuing agro-meteorological forecasts and information which take into consideration weather forecasts assessed in relation to climatic probabilities and local experience.

The Yenshan County meteorological station in Hopei, for example, has won high praise for its forecasts of the correct time for sowing cotton. Before starting this service, its staff made thorough preparations. They collected the opinions of agro-technicians and veteran peasants, found that frost was the major enemy of cotton in the seeding period, and studied the optimum temperatures, conditions of soil moisture and other factors for sowing cotton seeds. For some time now this station has been issuing most helpful agro-meteorological forecasts for cotton growers.

Other Services

Though the meteorological services give top priority to farming, they have also achieved considerable success
in serving forestry, fishery, livestock breeding, salt making, the building industry and civil aviation.

The meteorological units and communication network specially set up to serve civil aviation and give warning of dangerous weather have made an immense contribution to safety in air transport in general and such special aerial services as flight missions to protect forests, exterminate locusts or sow tree seeds.

A network of stations of seaside hydrology and meteorology has in the main also been established to aid the nation’s sea fisheries. These stations centre their studies on water levels, waves and marine weather conditions and when the fishing season sets in, they give direct aid to the fishing communities. On these occasions, for instance, the Choushan marine meteorological station in Chekiang dispatches mobile stations to serve the fishing fleets of that coast. When shoals of big croakers swarmed to the Taichung fishing grounds in May last year, a mobile station from Choushan was informed by an east coast regional observatory that a strong gale was blowing up. At that time large numbers of fishing boats were out at sea netting heavy catches. If the forecast calculated that the storm would come earlier than it really did the fishermen would lose a chance of fat catches. If the windstorm should come earlier than calculated, the fishermen might have a hard time making port. After checking all relevant data and local weather conditions and consulting with veteran fishermen, the mobile station was able to make a good forecast of the time of the storm. This ensured both the safety of the fishermen and maximum catches.

Scientific Studies

The valuable practical contribution made by New China’s meteorological services to socialist construction is linked with the big progress made in scientific studies in the past 14 years. These, of course, are concentrated on important meteorological problems which are intimately connected with China’s socialist construction, but Chinese meteorologists are also closely following new developments in other countries. They have extended their research to many fields neglected in pre-liberation years. Quite a number of meteorologists are now engaged in a special study of cold waves, heavy rainstorms, typhoons and frosts which often cause grave damage to crops. Serious research on intermediate and long-term weather forecasts was only begun after liberation but there are already considerable achievements. A comprehensive study has been made of the features of the general circulation of the atmosphere in Asia and its relations to problems in forecasting summer rainfall.

Some indication of the scale of research is given by the 350 papers presented to the annual convention of the Chinese Meteorological Society last year. This was the largest meeting ever held by the society since it was founded 38 years ago. The papers covered the subjects of synoptic meteorology, general circulation of the atmosphere, intermediate and long-term weather forecasting, agro-meteorology, dynamic meteorology and climatology. There were also papers dealing with numerical forecasting, cloud physics and aerology — new fields opened up only in recent years.

The ranks of meteorological workers and research personnel are being systematically reinforced. Nanking Meteorological College, Peking Meteorological School, the geophysics department of Peking University and the department of meteorology of Nanking University are the main centres for training meteorologists. Many provinces have run short-term classes to train intermediate and junior meteorological workers. “Training while you work” is also offered by spare-time classes and correspondence courses. Thanks to these diversified methods of training the nation now has 36 times as many meteorological workers as on the eve of liberation.

This growth is impressive but it still cannot keep pace with the booming needs of meteorology in New China. With the whole nation forging ahead, the meteorological services must expand at an even faster rate to play the role that is demanded of them in building socialism.

**NEWS IN BRIEF**

After the transfer of the Phong Saly Highway to the Laotian Government by the Chinese Government on May 28, all Chinese workers and technicians sent by the Chinese Government to Laos to help build the highway left Laos for home on May 28.

The 1963 trade agreement between China and Finland was signed in Helsinki on May 29 following negotiations between the two-countries.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi on May 31 had a cordial talk with three visiting delegations from Japan. They are the delegation of the Japanese National Relief Association led by Kisaku Saito, the Japanese Peace Committee delegation led by Hisatoshi Kuroda and the delegation of young Japanese lawyers led by Professor Hiroshi Miyachi.

The day before, he received two Uganda trade unionists, David Livingstone Ojepa and Raiti Omongin.

The Joint Sino-Pakistan Boundary Demarcation Commission held its first meeting in Peking on May 31 to discuss and make arrangements for the joint survey of the boundary by the two Governments. The commission was formed under the terms of the agreement on the boundary question signed by the Chinese and Pakistan Governments on March 2.

The cotton trading delegation of Sudan led by Musa Abdel Karim Ahmed, Deputy Under Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture, left Peking for home on May 29.

Premier Chou En-lai on June 1 received Air Commodore M. Nur Khan, general manager of Pakistan International Airlines, and M.M. Salim, the airlines’ planning manager, and had a cordial talk with them.

The Nepalese women’s delegation of three led by Mrs. Kamal Shah, Member of the National Panchayat of Nepal and president of the Bagmati zone of the Nepal Women’s Organization, left Peking on June 3 for a tour of China, after which they will leave for home.
CINEMA

On the Job With a Mobile Cinema Team

This past winter a cultural detachment of 25,000 dedicated men and women were out on their job of taking films to the farmers, the herdsmen, and the lumberjacks in the provinces of the central plain, on the pasturages of Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet and in the mountain areas of the southwest and the snowy forests of the northeast. Even more are out today. They belong to the over 9,000 mobile cinema teams which regularly bring films to the villages. Tireless and selfless, these young men and women are good propagandists of the Communist Party, carrying socialist education, the latest in farming knowledge and the best of film entertainment to their scattered audiences. On occasion, they themselves take a hand in the farm work. In the paragraphs below, one of them, the leader of a women’s mobile cinema team in Heilungkiang Province Hsu Shu-chen, tells something of how her team works.

We are three in our team. We have a generator, a screen, and a 16-mm. film projector. Our job is to bring film shows to the 30 production brigades of the Dongying and Qingling People’s Communes. Since 1954, we have given 4,000 showings to audiences totalling some 3 million. Last year, when the Party issued its national call to aid agriculture, the three of us talked it over and decided that we must find ways of bringing more films to the peasants, particularly in out-of-the-way places. This is not as easy as it may sound.

More Films for the Peasants

Our two communes cover a wide area, some of it difficult country. Three of the production brigades on our round are located in lowlands where mud is knee-high on the roads in spring when the snow melts and after the summer and autumn rains. Then they become practically impassable for our cart. So we were only able to visit them in wintertime when the ground was frozen. In the other seasons young folk sometimes had to walk 80 li into town to see a film. Now, after thinking things over, we found another way of getting there in spring, summer and autumn as well as winter. It meant making a detour of over four or five times the original distance, but the main thing is that the villagers can now see films all year round. They appreciate this very much. Each time we go, the young men of the village come a long way out to greet us and help us carry our equipment. Old grannies drag us into their homes and take out fresh clothing for us to change into if we’re wet, and press us to eat and drink.

Before, we used to give shows only at night. Many old people and mothers with small children couldn’t attend then because of the dark or because they couldn’t leave the babies. Now, we also give shows in the day time. Once, after we had shown the documentary May Day Parade and the feature A Red Detachment of Women* an 80-year-old granny, helped along by her grandchildren, came up to us. Full of thanks, she said: “I never thought I’d have a chance in this life of seeing Chairman Mao, and hearing him talk!” Much moved by the Red Detachment, she told us: “I worked for a landlord when I was young just like Chiang-hua in the film. Later my girl had to work for them too, and she died as a result of their maltreatment...” Other old people who were seeing films for the first time were reluctant to leave the place. To hear and see such things make us feel like giving them one show after another all through the day.

Socialist Education and Farm Knowledge

In choosing films for the villages, we look for the ones that give good entertainment and socialist education, and which impart scientific and production knowledge. After we showed Li Shuang-shuang,** whole villages took her as their model. One commune member whose work was neither good nor bad before used to tell people: “I don’t want to take advantage of the brigade; but the brigade had better not take advantage of me either.” He thought he was being quite fair. But after seeing the film, he was quite abashed by Li Shuangshuang’s selfless attitude to the public good, and we heard he began to take a new attitude to things. When the Yanjun Production Brigade of the

* A colour film about women guerrillas on Hainan Island in the 1930s. It won first prize last year in the nationwide “Hundred Flowers Film Poll.” — Ed.

** See opposite page. — Ed.

Qingling People’s Commune was building a reservoir, we brought them Lads and Lasses in Our Village.* It was shown many times at popular request and the young folk said: “If they could channel the water to their upland village, we ought to be able to do it much easier on the plains.”

Now, we’ve learnt a lot about the tastes of the peasants and when the talk comes around to film showing in the villages, the commune members all tell us: “You girls seem to know exactly what we want to see.” The communes’ Party committee and production brigade cadres call us their “assistants.” They say: “You not only show films, you’re a propaganda and work-team for us too.”

Good Care of Equipment

To give regular showings, we naturally have to take good care of our equipment, and now we’ve learnt the knack; we’ve seldom had breakdowns or other accidents during our showings in the last few years. If we have to make a cart trip we see to it that there’s plenty of hay in the cart to protect our machines from being jolted. If a sudden change of weather comes on the road, the rule is “machines first!” Once last autumn a big rainstorm hit us unexpectedly and we just had time to fling our blankets and quilts on to cover the equipment. When we reached the commune centre that night, we were drenched to the skin, but the equipment was intact. We also make it a rule always to give our machines a trial run before the show and check up on possible flaws.

We have found that our peasant audiences appreciate a short introductory talk to a film before it starts, and a running commentary during the showing when necessary, so we always do the best we can.

When we arrive at a new place, we right away find out who are the best workers in the locality and what outstanding things they have done. We put this information into rhymed ballads which we perform for our audience before the show starts. We also use part of the time to show lantern slides: helpful to solving production problems.

When we have time we like to join in the farm work. Once we had just arrived at a production brigade when the sky turned black. We put our

* A colour feature about young folk building a reservoir in a mountain village. — Ed.
things away and joined our prospective audience in finishing their field work before the rain poured down. During the summer hoeing, when the battle to keep the weeds down is at its height, we work in the day-time and give shows at night. From 1958 to 1962, we three have put in altogether 450 workdays in the fields besides our main job of showing films. We also help to repair the farm tools whenever we have the time.

We have learnt a great deal from the commune members, not least about films and their likes and needs, and our relations with them are very close. People help us unload our machines, set up and take down the screen and assist us in many other ways with great warmth and enthusiasm. With their support, we find our work goes smoothly.

**SPORTS**

**Weightlifting & Shooting News**

To date, two new national records have been set up by Chinese lifters at the 1963 National Weightlifting Championships in Changsha, central-south China.

The first record came on June 7 when Chen Man-lin pressed 104 kg. to beat the national record of 103.5 kg. in the bantamweight class. The following day Huang Jui-ming improved the featherweight class press record with 113 kg.

Two days before the national championships commenced Shu Kang twice bettered the national record for the middleweight snatch by lifts of 124 kg. and 126 kg. at a contest in Changsha. These results were quite a feather in Kwangtung Province's cap from which all three record-breakers came.

At the National Marksmanship Championships held in Peking, Han Chang-jui scored 227 points out of a possible 250 on June 8 to equal the all-China record for the running-deer rifle-shooting event. His score was just two points short of the winning total turned in by O. Zakurenov of the Soviet Union at the Cairo World Championships last year.

**SHORT NOTES**

1st Modern Opera in Mongolian. The song- and dance-loving Inner Mongolian people recently saw Dana-pala, their first full-length modern opera in their own language. It was staged in Huhehot, capital of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Dana-pala is based on a long narrative ballad known on the grasslands and tells the story of two lovers in the time of reactionary feudal rule in the 1910s who finally win their freedom and happiness. The libretto by Ogodesr and Chimud Dorji has been set to music by Meilichig in the traditional style of Mongolian folk music. It is produced by the Experimental Modern Opera Troupe of the Inner Mongolian Art Theatre which was founded six years ago. The troupe had hitherto staged only Mongolian-language operettas and plays. This is its first attempt, and a very successful one as audiences' reaction showed, at staging a full-length modern opera. The troupe will soon be taking its new production on tour to the herdsman and peasants living in the pastoral and rural areas of the region.

Inner Mongolia now has 62 cinemas and 375 mobile cinema teams. It had few cinemas before liberation. Even the Oolchuns, one of China's smallest nationalities with only some 1,000 people living in the mountainous areas of the region, now have two mobile cinema teams serving them regularly.

The Inner Mongolian Film Studio has dubbed 19 of the best feature films produced by other film studios in the country from the Han into the Mongolian language, including Li Shuang-shuang, "best feature film of 1962": Five Golden Flowers; Daughters of the Party; New Story of an Old Soldier and others.
OIL EXPPELLER

Automatic, continuous operation with a capacity of up to 10,000 kg. of oil-seeds or nuts every 24 hours. The standard model has a triple heating kettle with a 22-kw. motor, (220/380 V. 50 cycle, 6 poles). Ancillary machines also available.

Model

200

Robust construction, high productivity and ease in operation are the outstanding features of this fine machine.

Write for particulars to:

CHINA NATIONAL MACHINERY IMPORT & EXPORT CORPORATION

Tientsin Branch

14 Chang Teh Road, Tientsin, China

Cable Address: "MACHIMPEX" Tientsin