

PEKING REVIEW

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July 7, 1961

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40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

*Liu Shao-chi's Speech at Celebration Meeting
(p. 6).*

*Soong Ching Ling Greets the Chinese
Communist Party (p. 14).*

Round-Up of Celebration Activities (p. 3).

Foreign Minister Chen Yi Explains
China's Stand at Geneva Conference

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

THE LONG MARCH

by Chen Chi-tung

A historical play about the heroic struggles waged by the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army during its Long March in 1934-35. It describes vividly how 26 years ago this iron-willed army, undaunted by the overwhelming enemy force which blocked its route of advance and pursued it from behind, fought through the 25,000-li march to the north. It shows the heart-stirring scenes when the Red Army men forced a crossing of the turbulent Tatu River, crossed the almost impassable snow-clad mountains and the marshland and encountered the enemy in fierce battles, finally winning a colossal victory.

Through the creation of a few typical characters, the author gives a penetrating portrayal of the courage, resourcefulness and united will of the Red Army commanders and fighters as well as their militant spirit to overcome all difficulties, and spirit of revolutionary heroism and optimism.

Himself a veteran who took part in the Long March, the author puts the life and fire of actual experience into the play.

180 pages

Cloth cover

On the Long March with Chairman Mao

by Chen Chang-feng

Between 1934 and 1936, after breaking through the many encirclements by the Kuomintang troops and experiencing untold hardships, the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, led by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, completed the historically famous 25,000-li Long March.

On the Long March with Chairman Mao contains a series of personal reminiscences written by Comrade Chen Chang-feng, a colonel of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. It is a record of the author's own life, work and feelings during the period 1930-36 when he worked and lived with Chairman Mao throughout the Long March. It also provides some side glimpses into the life of Chairman Mao and the valiant Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army at that period. These revolutionary reminiscences, therefore, will help the reader to understand the historical facts of the revolution during these years, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary spirit and his hard and simple style of living.

Two articles are included in the book as appendices: "Happy Reminiscences," by Comrade Chen Chang-feng, which contains materials supplementary to the text, in which the author's latest meeting with Chairman Mao is also described; and the other, a brief explanation on the Long March to aid the reader in understanding the text.

With illustrations

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PEKING REVIEW

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

July 7, 1961 Vol. IV Nos. 26-27

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Round the Week

The Chinese Communist Party's 40th Birthday

Forty years ago, on July 1, 1921, twelve people met secretly in a two-storied house on Wangchih Road, Shanghai. Among them were Mao Tse-tung, Tung Pi-wu, Chen Tan-chiu and Ho Shu-heng. They were the delegates elected by the communist groups that had been formed in various parts of the country. Though they represented only some 50 Party members

throughout China, the meeting was historic. It founded the Communist Party of China, adopted its first Constitution and elected its first Party centre. The birth of the Party ushered in tremendous changes which culminated in the emancipation of a quarter of the world's population from the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the found-

ing of the people's republic and the firm establishment of the socialist system on this land.

Last week on the occasion of its 40th birthday the people looked back with satisfaction on the great achievements and victories they have won over the years under the guidance of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, their great leader; they looked ahead with confidence to the bright future which their energetic efforts in socialist construction assure them. The mood of the nation was powerfully reflected at the grand anniversary rally held in Peking on the eve of the birthday of the Party which now has a membership of more than 17 million.

Grand Rally on the Eve

More than 10,000 people packed the Great Hall of the People. They gave a tremendous ovation to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Vice-Chairmen Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and Chu Teh, General Secretary Teng Hsiao-ping of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Soong Ching Ling and Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairmen of the People's Republic of China and other leaders as they mounted the flower-decked rostrum.

Comrade Chou En-lai declared the meeting open. The whole auditorium stood for the playing of the *Internationale*.

Comrade Liu Shao-chi gave the main address. It was punctuated by enthusiastic applause. He pointed out that "the forty years since the founding of the Communist Party of China have been years during which our Party has led the people of the whole country in heroic struggles and in achieving great victories, years during which Marxism-Leninism has been spread widely in China and has won great victories."

During those years, Liu Shao-chi said, the Chinese Communist Party, together with the Chinese people, had accomplished two important things. First, the people's democratic revolution was carried out in China, the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism overthrown and the People's Republic of China established. Second, the socialist revolution and socialist construction was being carried out in the country. The socialist revolution had been basically completed and immense successes achieved in socialist construction.

He said: "It is a great event in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism that in a large country with a population of 650 million, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the people's democratic revolution has won complete victory, the socialist revolution has won decisive victory and socialist construction has won initial victory."

Recalling the forty years' history of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Liu Shao-chi said, "The historical facts of forty years have proved that the Communist Party of China is a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist political party."

The history of the Party, he continued, is the history of the ever closer integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. "In every historical period of our Party," he pointed out, "it has been the leader of our Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who has stood at the very forefront and who has been the most able in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China."

The Three Red Banners

Comrade Liu Shao-chi then dealt in detail with the rich experiences obtained in the revolution and construction in China in the past forty years and emphasized the significance of the general line for building socialism laid down by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the great achievements made by the Chinese people in implementing the general line.

"The basic significance of the general line," Liu Shao-chi pointed out, "is to utilize to the maximum the enormous potentiality of the socialist system for developing the productive forces of the society, to mobilize all the positive factors, to unite with all the forces that can be united with, to put into effect the series of policies of 'walking on two legs,' to develop our national economy in a planned and proportionate way and at high speed so that our country can change at a comparatively fast rate from a backward into an advanced country."

After mentioning the great achievements made by the Chinese people under the three red banners—the

general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, he said, "The facts have proved that it is absolutely right and entirely necessary for the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people to hold high the three red banners."

Recalling the progress of China's revolution and construction, Liu Shao-chi pointed out that it was inseparably linked with the great unity of the whole people. In all our undertakings the fundamental guarantee for victory is this great unity under the leadership of the Party.

The Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party then called on all the members of the Party to launch a new campaign of study to raise their ideological and political level further. The primary purpose of the campaign, he pointed out, was to help all Party cadres further to understand and grasp the objective laws of China's socialist construction, so that socialism could be built in China with more, faster, better and more economical results.

Unity with the People of the World

In his speech Comrade Liu Shao-chi also stressed the importance of unity with the people of the rest of the world. He said that the Party not only shares the life and lot of the Chinese people, but has always held that China's revolution and construction are a part of the people's revolutionary movement throughout the world and a part of the world socialist cause. The Chinese Party and the Chinese people consistently uphold the principle of linking proletarian internationalism with patriotism and are firmly united with the people of the whole world.

"In our revolution and construction we have received assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and we also have received sympathy and support from the working people of the world and the progressive forces in all countries. At the same time, the Chinese people, too, by their exertions and struggles, support all the progressive and just causes of the people of the world. Such internationalist mutual support and solidarity is of extremely great importance for the triumph of our common cause."

Turning to China's foreign policy he pointed out: "Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the basic policy of our international relations has been: to develop relations of friend-

ship, mutual assistance and co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, to strive for peaceful coexistence with countries of different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles and to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; to support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism and colonialism. This is the general line of our foreign policy."

After pointing out that imperialism and colonialism were heading towards their doom, Liu Shao-chi said, "The situation of the East wind prevailing over the West wind is already perfectly clear. The victory of socialism, of national liberation, of democracy and of world peace is irresistible."

Forces That Make History

Concluding his speech Liu Shao-chi pointed out: "International experience and the experience of China are continually proving this truth of Marxism-Leninism: the forces of the people are the really great force that makes the history of mankind. In the last analysis, the forces of the people are invincible, the will of the people is irresistible. With the forces of the people united as one and under correct leadership, there are no difficulties that cannot be surmounted, no obstacles that can hinder our victorious advance."

Comrade Liu Shao-chi's one-hour speech was frequently interrupted by thunderous applause.

Deafening applause also greeted Ho Hsiang-ning, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, when she came to the speaker's stand to read a message of greetings to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The joint message was signed by leaders of the democratic parties, democrats without party affiliations, and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce.

Leaders of the democratic parties, non-party democrats and the industrial and commercial federation then went to shake hands with Chairman Mao and other leaders of the Communist Party amidst the joyous strains of *Socialism Is Good*.

Comrade Chou En-lai made a brief speech. He thanked the friends of the Chinese Communist Party for

their greetings and thanked the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Communist and Workers' Parties for their cables and letters of greetings to the Chinese Party, and the many comrades of fraternal Parties and the diplomatic envoys of the socialist countries to China for their presence at the rally.

"The people of our country and foreign friends have expressed earnest expectations of our Party, which is a very great inspiration to us. We must continue to unite with the people of all nationalities in China and unite with the people of the world and forge ahead together to strive for new and greater successes in the cause of socialism, communism, world peace and the progress of mankind."

Blowing trumpets and beating drums, over 800 Young Pioneers marched in six columns to the rostrum to present glowing bouquets of flowers to the leaders of the Party and the state.

Other Celebration Activities

Celebration meetings were held in the provinces, autonomous regions and cities throughout the country.

In Shanghai, where the First Party Congress was held, 8,000 people attended a commemorative meeting. In his speech at the meeting Ko Ching-shih, First Secretary of Shanghai's Party Committee, said that "the history of the past forty years has proved that our Party has lived up to the trust of the people. These forty years have powerfully shown that the Communist Party is the only force which can rally the Chinese people and lead them to achieve their emancipation." He called on all Party members in Shanghai to study Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's works conscientiously and improve their style of work.

Local Party and government leaders, members of the democratic parties, representatives of the people's organizations, outstanding workers and peasants, scientists and educators and members of other professions attended these meetings. Experts from the fraternal Parties who are helping socialist construction in China and friends from other countries also took part in the celebrations.

On July 1, Peking's Museum of the Chinese Revolution was opened to the

public. The majestic building on the eastern flank of Tien An Men Square, opposite the Great Hall of the People, houses more than 3,600 exhibits spelling out a vivid record of a century of heroic struggle of the Chinese people and their triumphs achieved under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The exhibits include documents, pictures, relics, paintings and sculptures depicting various stages of the revolutionary struggle from the Opium War (1840) to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The opening of the Museum is a major event in the political and cultural life of the capital.

Theatres and cinemas all over the country featured special programmes in honour of the Party's birthday. A set of special commemorative stamps was issued by the post office.

Throughout last week newspapers all over the country featured articles commemorating the occasion, memoirs about various episodes of the revolution written by those who took part in the struggles of the past and stories of martyrs who gave their lives so that the revolution might advance.

Greeting the Party's birthday *Ren-min Ribao* wrote: "A socialist system under which no man exploits another and which before was only an ideal is now a reality in China. Old China scarred by untold suffering has been transformed into a flourishing New China. We have accomplished great things never before attempted by our forefathers, and we shall accomplish still greater things. Ours is a great cause. The future before us is boundlessly bright and we are invincible. So long as we stand closely united with the whole people, unite closely with the people of the world, and work vigorously, we will certainly succeed in building our country into a strong socialist country with a modern industry, a modern agriculture and a modern science and culture."

Editor's Note

Nos. 26 and 27 of *Peking Review* have been combined into a special issue to bring readers a full and timely report about the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party.

Speech Delivered at the Meeting in Celebration Of the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of The Communist Party of China

by LIU SHAO-CHI

Following is the full text of the speech made by Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, at the Peking rally held on June 30, 1961, to celebrate the 40th birthday of the Party. — Ed.

Comrades and Friends,

We are gathered here today to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China.

The forty years since the founding of the Communist Party of China have been years during which our Party has led the people of the whole country in heroic struggles and in achieving great victories, years during which Marxism-Leninism has been spread widely in China and has won great victories. (*Enthusiastic applause.*)

Before the founding of the Communist Party of China the Chinese people waged a long struggle against imperialism and feudalism, with fresh forces always stepping forward as others fell, a struggle that moves us to song and tears. However, they never attained genuine victory. It was not until Marxism-Leninism spread to China following the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia that the Chinese people found the best theoretical weapon for their emancipation. The Communist Party of China wielded this weapon and formulated the correct objectives, policies and methods for the struggle to liberate the Chinese people. From then on the march of the Chinese people from victory to victory has been irresistible. (*Applause.*)

During these forty years the Communist Party of China, together with the Chinese people, has accomplished a great deal. To sum up, what has been accomplished consists mainly of two important things:

First, we carried out the people's democratic revolution in China. Because of its weakness the Chinese national bourgeoisie could not lead China's bourgeois-democratic revolution to victory. The responsibility of leading this revolution had to be shouldered by the proletariat. For a very long time many people tried to establish in China the system of a bourgeois republic, but all these attempts ended in bankruptcy. In China, if a republic was to be set up, it had to be a people's democratic republic under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. Our Party united the people of the whole country and after twenty-eight years, from 1921 to 1949, finally overthrew the reaction-

ary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and established the People's Republic of China. (*Applause.*)

Second, we have been carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China. We have been doing this for the past twelve years and we are continuing to do it. The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the beginning of the transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution. The Chinese people's democratic state power is in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the past 12 years we have basically completed the socialist revolution and in socialist construction have achieved immense successes. A very long time is still required to build China into a great socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture, and modern science and culture. And a longer historical period is required to realize the transition from socialism to communism. Nevertheless, anyone can see that the socialist social system is already established in this great land of China and that China is no longer a stagnant country but is forging ahead vigorously. (*Applause.*)

IT is a great event in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism that in a large country with a population of 650 million, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the people's democratic revolution has won complete victory, the socialist revolution has won decisive victory and socialist construction has won initial victory. Both before and after the October Revolution Lenin many times predicted that the Chinese revolution and the revolutions in other Asian countries would exert a profound and far-reaching influence on the course of human history. His prediction has begun to come true. Undoubtedly, the victory of the Chinese revolution has changed to a certain degree the international balance of forces in favour of the people of the world and against imperialism and all the reactionaries. This victory has therefore been welcomed by the working people and peace-loving people the world over. It has also incurred the enmity of the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the Yugoslav revisionist group. The imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the Yugoslav revisionist group have been and are cursing us venomously and will go on doing so. This is inevitable and not surprising. But it will not harm us in the slightest.

The historical facts of forty years have proved that the Communist Party of China is a great, glorious and

correct Marxist-Leninist political party. (*Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.*) It has been unswerving in its loyalty to the interests of the Chinese people and of the Chinese nation. It has never bent nor flinched before domestic or foreign enemies. It has led the Chinese people to great victories and will lead them to still greater victories. (*Enthusiastic applause.*)

As we look back over the forty years of history, we pay high tribute to our glorious martyrs to the cause of communism, martyrs to the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people. Among them were many members of the Communist Party, many working people and many persons outside the Party. In the struggle they gave their last drop of blood and sacrificed their lives. They will live in our hearts for ever!

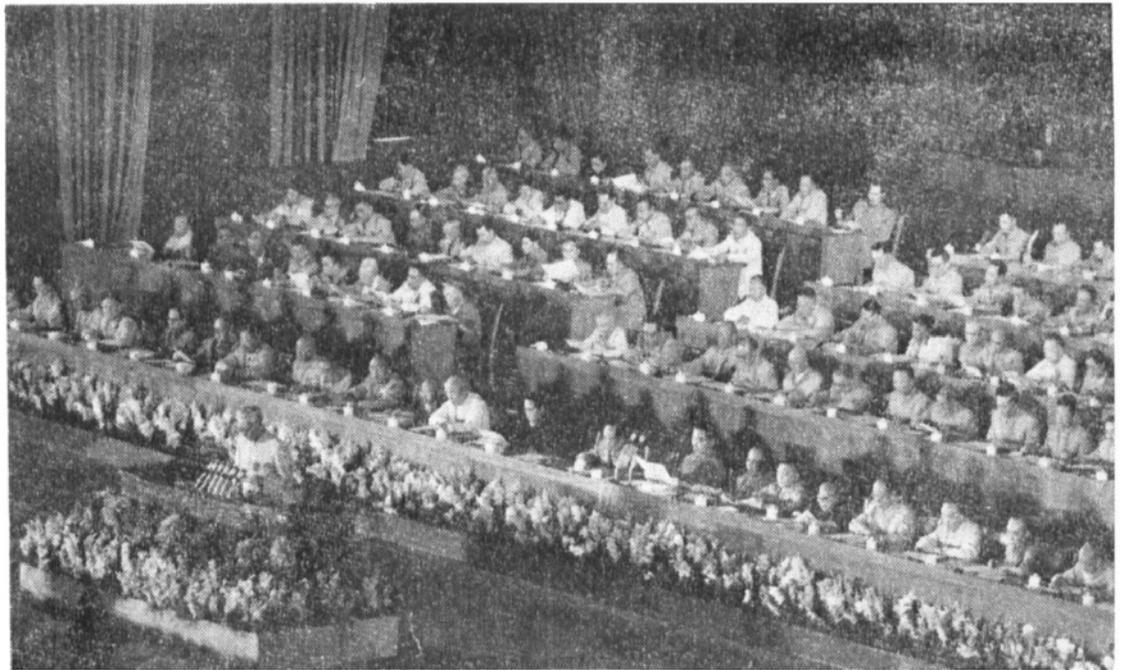
THE history of the Communist Party of China is the history of the ever closer integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "The victories of the revolution and construction in our country are all victories of Marxism-Leninism. The ideological principle consistently followed by our Party is to link closely the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution."

In every historical period of our Party it has been the leader of our Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who has stood at the very forefront and who has been the most able in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China. (*Prolonged, stormy applause.*)

Confronted with the extreme complexity of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly posed and resolved a series of theoretical and tactical problems, thus enabling the Chinese revolution to steer clear of one shoal after another and to capture one position after another.

Proceeding from a concrete analysis of the classes in Chinese society, Comrade Mao Tse-tung charted the historical course of the Chinese revolution. He pointed out that the Chinese revolution must advance in two steps, the first was the people's democratic revolution and the second, the socialist revolution.

The enemies of China's democratic revolution were imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and they were very powerful. But the latent revolutionary strength of the Chinese people was even more powerful. The peasantry constituted the overwhelming majority of the population of our country. By forming a solid worker-



Comrade Liu Shao-chi addressing the anniversary meeting

peasant alliance with the broad masses of peasants and by uniting on the basis of this alliance with the various nationalities and the people of all revolutionary strata, the Chinese working class was able to defeat these powerful enemies. Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly resolved the problems of the peasant movement, armed struggle, the united front and the building of the Party; these were the most fundamental problems of China's democratic revolution.

During most of the twenty-eight long years of our country's democratic revolution, our Party's leadership was correct. In certain periods, however, some right and some "left" errors were committed. The most serious of these were the right opportunist error of Chen Tu-hsiu in 1927 and the third "left" dogmatist error of 1931 to 1934 under the leadership of Comrade Wang Ming. These errors all violated what Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly advocated and they inflicted losses on the Party and the cause of the people's revolution. The many experiences, positive and negative, that were accumulated by our Party in its struggle educated the whole Party and raised the level of political consciousness of the comrades. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Party overcame both the right and the "left" errors. The Tsunyi Meeting of January 1935 established Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership throughout the Party. From then on, our revolutionary cause proceeded much more smoothly. (*Applause.*)

The rectification movement launched in the Party in 1942, which lasted more than three years, gave the cadres of the whole Party a profound education, and they learnt more about how to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The general line and the various specific policies of the Party came to be really understood by the overwhelming majority of the Party's cadres. The style of linking oneself with the masses, of making investigations and studies and of seeking truth from facts became the unified style of the Party. Consequently, at the Seventh Congress of the Party in 1945, the whole Party

attained unprecedented unity under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This ensured that our Party could lead the masses of the people of the whole country correctly, and, after the conclusion of the War of Resistance Against Japan, could succeed in the great People's War of Liberation and thus speedily win complete victory in the people's democratic revolution. (*Applause.*)

On the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung published his well-known article, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship." This article explained the titanic changes that had taken place since Chinese progressives adopted the proletarian world outlook as the instrument for studying a nation's destiny. The article summed up our basic experience in the period of the democratic revolution. At the same time, on the basis of the specific conditions of our country, it pointed out the fundamental road for the transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China we carried out anti-feudal land reform in the newly liberated areas and at the same time we waged great struggles to suppress counter-revolutionaries and to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea; thereby we cleared the way for the socialist revolution and for socialist construction in our country.

GUIDED by the general line and the various specific policies for the period of transition to socialism which were laid down by the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our socialist revolution may be said to have proceeded comparatively rapidly and smoothly.

On the socialist transformation of agriculture: We applied Lenin's theory of the worker-peasant alliance under the dictatorship of the proletariat and his theory of agricultural co-operation; we summed up the experience we gained in our revolutionary base areas in the movement for agricultural mutual aid and co-operation; and in accordance with the concrete conditions of our country after liberation, we relied on the poor peasants and lower middle peasants, united firmly with the rest of the middle peasantry, used various transitional forms and thus enabled our agriculture to change from an individual economy to a socialist collective economy.

On the socialist transformation of the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie: We applied Marx's idea that in certain conditions the proletariat may adopt a policy of buying out the bourgeoisie and applied Lenin's ideas concerning the policy of state capitalism under proletarian dictatorship; we summed up our Party's experience of its industrial and commercial policies in the revolutionary base areas; and in accordance with the concrete conditions of our country after liberation, we carried out the combined policy of utilizing, restricting and transforming capitalist industry and commerce and used various forms of state capitalism, ranging from the lower to the higher, in order to achieve this transformation.

In the course of executing the principles and policies just mentioned, the Central Committee of the Party corrected in good time certain right and "left" deviations which occurred. Meanwhile, in various movements we

constantly summed up our experiences and formulated a whole set of specific policies that were needed to put into effect the general line for socialist transformation. The result was that the more than 500 million peasants led by the working class took the road of socialism in not too long a period of time and in circumstances where agriculture was not yet mechanized. Moreover, this promoted the socialist transformation of individual handicrafts and of capitalist industry and commerce.

The struggle as between the socialist and the capitalist road has not ended with the basic completion of the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production, and especially on the political and ideological fronts this struggle will go on for a long time. In 1957, the socialist revolution in our country won a decisive victory on the political and ideological fronts. We should follow the directive Comrade Mao Tse-tung set forth in his article, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Within the Ranks of the People," draw a sharp line between two fundamentally different kinds of contradictions—those between the enemy and ourselves and those within the ranks of the people—and adopt different methods for resolving continuously the two different kinds of contradictions that arise in the course of the struggle between the two roads. Except in the case of enemies, over whom dictatorship must be exercised, we must resolutely carry out the policy of "proceed from the desire for unity, distinguish between right and wrong through criticism or struggle, and arrive at new unity on a new basis" in order to resolve the contradictions within the ranks of the people.

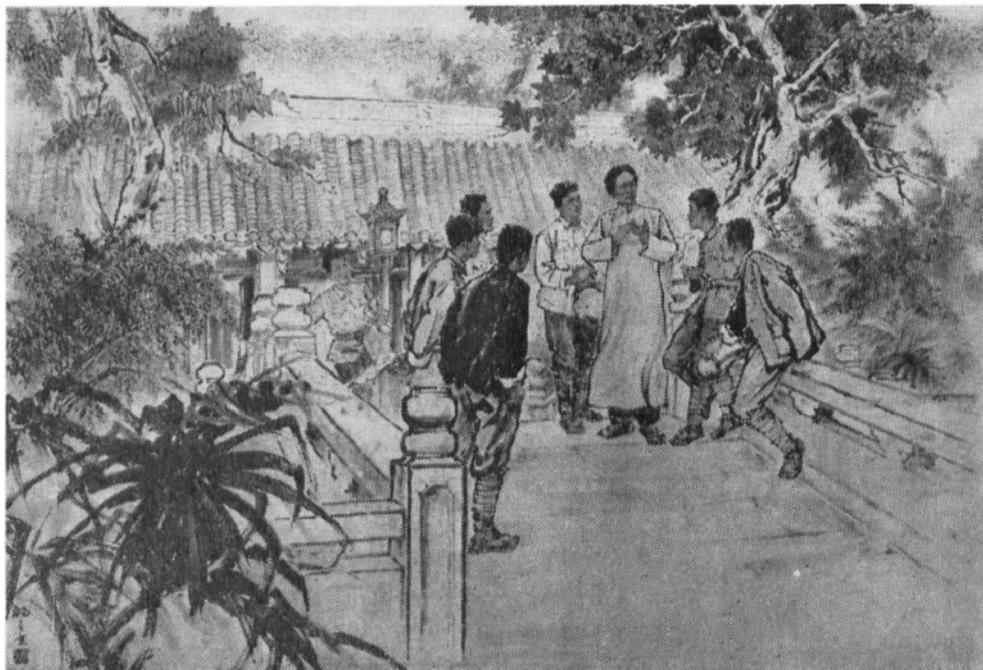
During the period of socialist transformation, our Party based itself on the policy put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for carrying out socialist construction side by side with socialist transformation and achieved great success in the field of national economic construction, a success without parallel in Chinese history.

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of our Party applied the Marxist-Leninist theory on socialist construction, drew on the experiences of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in construction, and on the basis of our experience in carrying out the First Five-Year Plan formulated the general line for China's socialist construction—the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving more, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. (*Applause.*)

What is the basic significance of this general line? It is to utilize to the maximum the enormous potentiality of the socialist system for developing the productive forces of society, to mobilize all the positive factors, to unite with all the forces that can be united with, to put into effect the series of policies of "walking on two legs," to develop our national economy in a planned and proportionate way and at high speed so that our country can change at a comparatively fast rate from a backward into an advanced country. (*Applause.*)

Today our country is still economically backward. Imperialism continues to bully us. The people of our country urgently demand an end to this backwardness. There is not the slightest doubt that our Party's general line for socialist construction conforms to the aspirations of the whole people. (*Applause.*)

Guided by the Party's general line for building socialism, our country has made big leaps forward for three consecutive years from 1958. Meanwhile, in our countryside there have emerged the people's communes formed by agricultural co-operatives joining together. Thus the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune have become the three red banners that are leading the Chinese people forward. (*Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.*)



Chairman Mao at the National Institute of the Peasant Movement in Canton

Painting in Chinese ink by Yang Chih-kuang

DURING the three years of the big leap forward, the key targets set for industry in the Second Five-Year Plan have been fulfilled ahead of schedule, a fairly large modern industrial base has been built and consequently the productive capacity of the basic industries has increased two or more times. In agriculture, water conservancy projects have been undertaken extensively, and thus conditions essential for the future development of agricultural production have been created. In the fields of culture and education there has also been great progress over the last three years.

Inspired by the three red banners — the general line, the big leap forward, and the people's commune — the broad masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals have displayed great enthusiasm and creativeness on every front of construction. During the big-leap-forward movement the masses of the people have brought their mighty strength into play to create a new life and make a new history. (*Applause.*)

The facts have proved that it is absolutely right and entirely necessary for the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people to hold high the three red banners of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune. (*Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.*)

Our general line is developed and perfected through practice, and the various specific policies and specific measures essential for its realization have also to be developed and perfected gradually through practice. During the big leap forward of the last three years we have had tremendous achievements, and the general line and the various specific policies and measures have all been developed. At the same time, there have also been quite a few shortcomings in our work which, together with the serious natural calamities of the two successive years, have given rise to some temporary difficulties. In a large country like ours with a population of 650 million, a country that is economically and culturally backward, it would be inconceivable for such a new undertaking as socialist construction to proceed without shortcomings, without running into any difficulty. Historical experience has proved that no difficulty, no shortcoming, can frighten us; on the contrary, we have always steeled ourselves and become stronger and more correct in the course of extending our achievements and overcoming all kinds of

difficulties and shortcomings. (*Applause.*) We are fully confident that, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and under the guidance of the three red banners, the whole Party and the whole people will surely unite as one, overcome temporary difficulties and continue our triumphant march forward. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The forty years' history of the Chinese Communist Party has proved that China's advance in revolution and construction is inseparably linked with the great unity of the whole people. In all our undertakings the fundamental guarantee for victory is this great unity under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. (*Applause.*)

The great unity of the Chinese people has been forged in the course of prolonged struggles for revolution and construction, it has stood all tests and it is therefore the firmest kind of unity. (*Applause.*)

Credit for all our achievements should go to the masses of the people of all the nationalities of our country. While celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, we pay tribute to the workers, peasants, engineers and technicians, teachers, professors, scientists, workers in the economic field, cultural workers, public health workers, and other working people who are carrying on heroic struggles and working hard on all fronts! (*Applause.*) We pay tribute to the patriotic democratic parties, democratic personages and the national bourgeoisie, who have long co-operated with our Party, and to our overseas compatriots! (*Applause.*) We pay tribute to all the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army who are defending our motherland! (*Applause.*) We pay tribute to all the cadres and Party members who are working diligently and conscientiously at all posts of struggle! (*Applause.*)

The working class is the leading force in forging the great unity of the whole nation. The workers of our

country will keep on playing their vanguard role in the construction work of the country. The working class should continue to raise its class consciousness, shoulder its responsibility as the leading class even better and prove itself by deeds to be the class most capable of championing the interests of the whole people.

The worker-peasant alliance is the foundation of the great unity of the people of the whole country. In our socialist construction we can create favourable prerequisites for developing the entire national economy only when we bring into full play the enthusiasm and creativeness of the more than 500 million peasants, raise labour productivity in agriculture, and comprehensively develop all the various branches of agricultural production. We must firmly carry out the basic policy put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that agriculture should be the foundation and industry the guiding factor for the development of the national economy. Industry and other departments concerned must go all out in support of agriculture and do everything possible to increase the output of means of production for it, so as to meet the needs of agricultural development. Party committees and people's governments at all levels should conscientiously, thoroughly and completely carry out the series of policies and measures concerning the rural people's communes laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Party; the people's communes based on ownership by the production brigade should be placed on a sound footing and consolidated; and the superiority of the people's commune system in promoting agricultural production should be brought into full play. (*Applause.*)

The intellectuals are an important force, indispensable to the success of our socialist construction. In our country their ranks are constantly expanding, and they have made great progress in remoulding themselves ideologically. They have made valuable contributions on all fronts of socialist construction. We should continue to enlarge the ranks of intellectuals and continue the policy of "a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," so that the cause of socialist science and culture may flourish still more in our country. (*Applause.*)

The great unity of the people of our country, the people's democratic united front of our country, comprises two alliances—one is the alliance of the working class with the peasants and other working people, the other is the alliance between the working people and those non-working people with whom co-operation is possible. We should continue to carry out the policy of "long-term co-existence and mutual supervision" with the democratic parties, unite with all the forces that can be united with and mobilize all positive factors that can be mobilized so as to serve the cause of socialism. Since the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the members of the national bourgeoisie in our country have made new advances in educating and remoulding themselves politically and ideologically. We should help them to continue their fundamental remoulding so that they will become conscious socialist working people.

The Communist Party of China is the core around which the people of the whole country are united for

socialist construction. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said at the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China:

There are over 10 million members in our Party, yet they constitute only a very small minority of the country's population. In the various organs of the state and in public affairs a great deal of work has to be done by non-Party people. It is impossible to get the work done well unless we are good at relying on the masses and co-operating with non-Party people.

In order to do a good job in the interests of the great unity of the whole people and in the interests of socialist construction, all members of our Party must, under the leadership of the Central Committee, raise their ideological and political level further, perfect the Party organizations and strengthen the unity of the Party.

OUR Party now has more than 17 million members. Eighty per cent of them have joined the Party since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and 70 per cent have joined since 1953. They are the Party's new blood but lack experience, and many of them have not yet had systematic Marxist-Leninist education. Those who joined the Party before liberation have gone through sanguinary revolutionary struggles and are now the backbone of our Party, but while familiar with revolution they have not yet had adequate experience in socialist construction. Therefore, all Party members, whether old or new, have a serious task before them, that is, they must learn socialist construction, conscientiously and systematically.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "The important thing is to be good at learning." At present the most important task is to unfold a new campaign of study throughout the Party. The primary purpose of this campaign is to help all Party cadres further to understand and grasp the objective laws of China's socialist construction, so that we can build socialism in our country with more, faster, better and more economical results. All Party members and cadres should study conscientiously the basic Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction, study the theoretical and practical problems of China's socialist construction as elucidated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, study the general line and the various specific policies of socialist construction as formulated by the Central Committee of the Party, and study the experience in socialist construction of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. As for the large number of new Party members, they must in addition be given basic education in Marxism-Leninism and basic knowledge of the Party.

Through this campaign of study all Party cadres should consciously improve their style of work and further develop the traditional Marxist-Leninist style of our Party. To do this, we must, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has consistently said, learn how to use the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism to make meticulous investigations and studies of the environment and to derive from objective reality the inherent laws, and not imaginary laws, as our guide to action. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago that in order to bring about the victory of the Chinese revolution we must depend on the understanding by Chinese comrades of Chinese conditions. He has stated:

Correct and firm tactics of struggle for the Communist Party can never be produced by a handful of people sitting in a room. They can only be produced in the process of the struggles of the masses, that is to say, they can only be produced through practical experience. For only through practical experience can a correct estimate of the class forces be made, only thus can correct and firm tactics of struggle be produced and the victory of the revolution safeguarded. To this end, we need at all times to understand the conditions in society and to conduct practical investigations.

This is the Marxist-Leninist style of integrating theory with practice, the style of seeking truth from facts.

In the history of our Party, not all cadres have had this style, and much less so at the beginning. In different periods of our country's revolution, there appeared in our Party right or "left" errors, both the result of divorce from reality. Their common characteristics were disregard of the investigation and study of objective reality, failure to understand the concrete conditions of China and the belief that the Chinese revolution could be directed by relying on subjective imagination and impressions of the moment, or by merely adducing isolated quotations from certain books. It is well known that these erroneous tendencies caused setbacks of various kinds to the Chinese revolution. Our comrades must bear this lesson in mind, must in their work adhere to the style of seeking truth from facts as advocated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and must prevent or overcome every kind of subjectivist style.

OUR Party is good at learning. When we began, we had no experience of the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution or socialist construction. But through diligent study amid practice we came to understand and grasp the objective laws of the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, and we have also learnt many things in our socialist construction. We must, however, guard against complacency. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has many times told us to be on guard against conceit and impetuosity. He has said, "Modesty makes one progress whereas conceit makes one lag." He has also said, "The enemy of study is one's own complacency; he who really wants to learn something must begin by not being complacent." We are all aware that to be satisfied with a smattering of knowledge, to fancy that one knows a great deal and so be lazy about study, shows a defective sense of responsibility towards the cause of the people's revolution. We are resolutely opposed to this erroneous attitude. There are many things about socialist construction we have yet to learn. We have to study diligently. If we are diligent, we can surely attain a further knowledge and grasp of the objective laws of socialist construction. *(Applause.)*

Our Party not only shares the life and lot of the Chinese people, but has always held that China's revolution and construction are a part of the people's revolutionary movement throughout the world and a part of the world socialist cause. Our Party and our people consistently uphold the principle of linking proletarian internationalism with patriotism and are firmly united with the people of the whole world. *(Applause.)*

IN our revolution and construction we have received assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and we also have received sympathy and support from the working people of the world and the progressive forces in all countries. At the same time, the Chinese people, too, by their exertions and struggles, support all the progressive and just causes of the people of the world. Such internationalist mutual support and solidarity is of extremely great importance for the triumph of our common cause. Here we wish to pay high tribute to the great Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and to the people and the fraternal Parties of the other socialist countries, to the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries, and to the people of all countries now engaged in struggles. *(Prolonged applause.)*

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the basic policy of our international relations has been: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries; to strive for peaceful coexistence with countries of different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles and to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; to support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism and colonialism. This is the general line of our foreign policy. *(Applause.)* This foreign policy which our country practises conforms to the interests of the Chinese people and conforms also to the interests of the people of the world. It is beneficial to the unity of the socialist camp, to the national liberation movements and revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries, and to the cause of world peace. Our country has established diplomatic relations with forty states and has economic, cultural and friendly relations with more than a hundred countries and regions in the world. Our achievements in national construction and the victories of our foreign policy of peace have been warmly acclaimed by the people of the whole world. *(Applause.)* We have friends all over the globe. *(Applause.)* The U.S. imperialist scheme to isolate our country internationally has been shattered. *(Applause.)*

U.S. imperialism, stubbornly hostile to the Chinese people, is still occupying our territory of Taiwan by force, maintaining military bases with huge forces at many places near our country, pursuing a policy of aggression and war, and gravely menacing peace in the East and the world. We must maintain our vigilance and continue to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism. Justice is entirely on our side, the people of the whole world sympathize with us and support us. *(Applause.)* The aggression of U.S. imperialism against our country and its threats of war against us will definitely be defeated. *(Applause.)* Our people's aim of liberating our sacred territory of Taiwan will definitely be attained. *(Enthusiastic applause.)*

Imperialism and colonialism are heading towards their doom. The general crisis of capitalism has reached a new stage, and all the contradictions inherent in the imperialist system are becoming ever more acute. After World War II, there emerged a series of socialist countries and nationally independent countries and the area ruled by imperialism was greatly reduced. The dykes of imperialism and colonialism are being pounded continually by the flood of people's revolutions. Among the imperialist

powers quarrels and rivalries are being intensified, above all, between the United States on the one hand and Britain and France on the other. The imperialists are in a bad way and they are having an increasingly bad time. (*Applause.*)

U.S. imperialism does nothing but evil, and this amply demonstrates the decadence of monopoly capitalism. Its deeds are making more and more people understand that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction, the No. 1 enemy of the people of the whole world. U.S. imperialism is obstinately persisting in its policy of arms expansion and war preparation, everywhere encroaching upon the sovereignty of other countries, and actively fostering West German and Japanese militarism so that two dangerous hotbeds of war are being created, one in the West and one in the East. The aggression and intervention of U.S. imperialism have produced tense situations in Laos and south Viet Nam in Asia, in the Congo in Africa and in Cuba in Latin America. The danger of the imperialist war forces, headed by the United States, provoking a new world war continues to menace the people of all countries. Since the Kennedy Administration took office, it has done its utmost to push a counter-revolutionary policy of "two tactics"; on the one hand it is cunningly using "peace" tactics and on the other it is intensifying its policy of war. The people of all countries engaged in struggle understand that Kennedy is more dangerous than Eisenhower. No matter what tricks U.S. imperialism may play, it cannot prevent the people of the world from awakening and the national liberation movements from developing. Imperialism and reaction can never, as they would like, refasten the chains on peoples who have won their liberation. The days when they could do as they pleased are gone for ever. (*Applause.*)

THE situation of the East wind prevailing over the West wind is already perfectly clear. The victory of socialism, of national liberation, of democracy and of world peace is irresistible. (*Applause.*)

The Statement of the Moscow Meeting said:

The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national-liberation movement, the intensification of class struggles in the capitalist world, and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system. The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena. (*Applause.*)

The Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in November 1960 has further strengthened the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. This great unity under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the fundamental guarantee of victory for the people of the whole world. (*Applause.*)

All the countries of the socialist camp are constantly making new achievements in their work of construction. The successful launching of a manned spaceship by the Soviet Union most strikingly demonstrates the superiority of the socialist system. The socialist countries have been

making ceaseless efforts to safeguard world peace. Their foreign policy of peace is exerting an ever-increasing influence on a world scale. The peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for universal disarmament, the stopping of nuclear tests and the conclusion of a German peace treaty have gained widespread support among peace-loving peoples and countries of the whole world. (*Applause.*)

The peoples of various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are unfolding ever deeper and wider revolutionary struggles against imperialism and its running dogs. In Asia, the Laotian people have won great victories in their struggle against the intervention and aggression of U.S. imperialism, (*applause,*) and the Japanese people are carrying on a sustained struggle against U.S. imperialism and its followers, the Japanese reactionaries, a struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. (*Applause.*) In Africa, country after country has won independence; the people of Algeria are dauntlessly persisting in their struggle for national liberation, (*applause,*) and the peoples of the Congo, Angola and other African countries are continuing their struggles against the new and old colonialists. (*Applause.*) In Latin America, the national democratic revolutionary struggle is surging forward; after defeating the mercenaries of U.S. imperialism, the Cuban people are continuing triumphantly to consolidate and develop their revolutionary cause. (*Applause.*)

In the major capitalist countries, more and more people are joining the ranks to fight the oppression of monopoly capital, to strive to improve their living conditions and to defend their democratic rights.

To safeguard world peace and to oppose the war policy of imperialism is the most urgent demand of the people of the whole world. The struggle in defence of world peace has become the broadest and most powerful mass struggle of our time. In this struggle, the people of the whole world are becoming more and more united and have formed a broad international united front, with the forces of socialism as its core, and embracing the forces of national liberation, the forces of democracy and the forces of peace. So long as the people of the world strengthen their unity and persist in their struggle, they will surely win new victories in the cause of world peace and human progress. (*Enthusiastic applause.*)

International experience and the experience of China are continually proving this truth of Marxism-Leninism: the forces of the people are the really great force that makes the history of mankind. (*Applause.*) In the last analysis, the forces of the people are invincible, the will of the people is irresistible. (*Applause.*) With the forces of the people united as one and under correct leadership, there are no difficulties that cannot be surmounted, no obstacles that can hinder our victorious advance. (*Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.*)

Long live the Communist Party of China! (*Applause.*)

Long live Marxism-Leninism! (*Applause.*)

Long live the great unity of the Chinese people! (*Applause.*)

Long live the great unity of the people of the world! (*Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.*)

Dedicatory Message

OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, DEMOCRATS WITHOUT PARTY AFFILIATION AND THE ALL-CHINA FEDERATION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE IN CELEBRATION OF THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

**Respected and Beloved Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China,**

Respected and Beloved Chairman Mao Tse-tung,

On this occasion, when the whole nation is jubilantly celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the glorious, great and correct Communist Party of China, we, members of the democratic parties, democrats without party affiliation and people of the industrial and commercial circles, extend our heartfelt greetings to the Communist Party of China and to you with infinite joy and respect.

For a hundred years and more the Chinese people carried on stirring and indomitable struggles against imperialism and feudalism but suffered repeated defeats. With the founding of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people's revolution, provided with correct leadership, began to take on a new complexion. Under the leadership of the Party and following the path of the October Revolution, the Chinese people, having gone through an arduous and tortuous course and waged heroic and dauntless struggles, finally threw off the three big mountains—imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism—that had weighed down upon them, and in 1949 won the victory of the new-democratic revolution, founded the People's Republic of China and entered the stage of the socialist revolution. Since the founding of the People's Republic, we have made tremendous progress in the socialist revolution and socialist construction; especially in the last three years, under the radiance of the three red banners—the general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's commune—we have made great achievements on the industrial, agricultural and other fronts. All this is the victory of Marxism-Leninism, the victory of Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

In celebrating the 40th anniversary of the birthday of the Party today, we are filled with infinite happiness and pride to be Chinese living in the era of Mao Tse-tung, as we look back on those years of hardship before liberation and the arduous course of the revolutionary struggle, as we look at the present glorious triumphs of the revolution and construction and the profound, far-reaching influence of the Chinese revolution upon the world, and as we look ahead to the happy future of our great motherland and of human society. We are fully

convinced that with the Party's leadership, all enemies can be defeated, all difficulties can be surmounted, the socialist revolution and socialist construction will certainly succeed, and a communist society will certainly be brought into being.

We have joined the united front led by the Party in the course of the prolonged revolutionary struggles; at every crucial juncture in the revolution the Party has pointed out to us in good time the direction in which we should move forward and the correct road we should take, and it has sincerely united with us, earnestly educated us and patiently helped us. Under the Party's leadership, and thanks to your teaching, we have come to realize more and more profoundly, through steeling in struggles, through social practice and through theoretical study, that the road of advance pointed out to us by the Party is the only correct road and a road of limitless glory. We owe it to the Party's leadership and your education that we have been able to play a role and do our part in the democratic and socialist stages of the revolution. From now on, we will unite even more closely within the people's democratic united front led by the Party, always follow the Party, always follow your instruction, diligently study Marxism-Leninism and the works of Mao Tse-tung, gradually remould our world outlook, make a vigorous effort to contribute to the cause of socialist construction, and shall not fail to live up to the expectations which the Party and you have of us.

Respected and beloved Central Committee of the Party, respected and beloved Chairman Mao! Today on this great occasion we pledge to the Party and to you that we shall join with the people of the whole country in rallying closely round the Party and round you to strengthen the solidarity of the socialist camp, give strong support to the national and democratic revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, take an active part in the movement to safeguard world peace and resolutely oppose the policies of war and aggression of the imperialists headed by the United States. We shall join with the people of the whole country in rallying closely round the Party and round you to hold aloft the three red banners, resolutely carry out the Party's policies, learn from its revolutionary tradition of

plain living and hard struggle and its scientific spirit of seeking truth from facts, and strive to liberate Taiwan and build China into a socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture.

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live Chairman Mao!

Ho Hsiang-ning

The Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang

Shen Chun-ju

The China Democratic League

Huang Yen-pei

The China Democratic National Construction Association

Chang Hsi-jo

On Behalf of Members, Without Party Affiliation, of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

Wang Shao-ao

The China Association for Promoting Democracy

Chi Fang

The Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party

Chen Chi-yu

The China Chih Kung Tang

Hsu Teh-heng

The Chiu San Society

Hsu Meng-shan

The Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League

Chen Shu-tung

The All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce

June 30, 1961

Greetings to the Great Chinese Communist Party

by SOONG CHING LING

GREAT Chinese Communist Party — our 650 million people enthusiastically greet you on your fortieth anniversary!

The Chinese Communist Party for forty years has stood at the very centre of our nation's history, the leading element and the decisive force in the victories we have won, in the bitter struggles our people carried out against imperialist aggression and for national independence, against feudal and fascist reaction and for democratic freedoms, against exploitation and oppression and for a socialist society fraternally uniting our people of all nationalities.

The Chinese Communist Party has always been the firmest in ideology, the staunchest in upholding principle and the most resolute in pursuing the satisfaction of our national aspirations.

The Chinese Communist Party has always been the first to make sacrifices, the first to overcome whatever difficulties in our way, and the first to listen to the voice of the broad masses of the people.

The Chinese Communist Party has from the start attracted the best of China's sons and daughters. It has sought to educate them, and in the process has educated our people generally, in scientific analysis, in Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, thereby arming us so we clearly understand our epoch and its problems, can vividly discern our immediate objectives and its problems and sharply draw the line between friend and foe. It has taught us to be proud as Chinese and as fighters in the vanguard of mankind's advance, but simple in ways of life and humble in learning from others. It has given us the great weapon of criticism and self-criticism, and constantly inspires us to examine our work fearlessly, and unceasingly to strive for improvement and progress.

The Chinese Communist Party, by leading one-fourth of humanity from one earth-shaking victory to another, immeasurably strengthened the worldwide people's movement for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Pioneered by the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, the world socialist system has

come into being and grows stronger hour by hour, and day by day. With this brilliant example before them, more people in every part of the globe have had their eyes opened to the future. Likewise, they have had their eyes opened to the wisdom of Mao Tse-tung's words that imperialism cannot last much longer, that it is a paper tiger, that the will and strength of the masses are always decisive elements, in a broad united front against reaction and persist in struggle, they are sure to win a new life for themselves. Contemporary events over the entire world prove this is the time when the East wind prevails over the West wind, a time of transition in human society from capitalism to socialism, a time of the massive people's victories and the complete disintegration of capitalism, imperialism and colonialism. The Chinese people have been able to play a more and more effective role in this momentous development due to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Chinese Communist Party, while minutely scrutinizing the past and present so as to derive the necessary lessons from them, leads us into the future. The policies by which it leads us are a synthesis of the lessons of the past, the realities of the present and the goals lying ahead. The Chinese Communist Party, pulsating with the heartbeat of the Chinese people, mobilizes us to go all out, calls upon us to push aside all obstacles in achieving prosperity and strength for our nation, health and happiness for our people, and thereby make yet greater contribution to the preservation of world peace and human advancement.

All of us know that listening to Chairman Mao and following the Chinese Communist Party means victory. May all our people always listen to Chairman Mao, always follow the Communist Party, continue to uphold the three red banners of the general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes, and strive for the early realization of a socialist and communist society.

Long live the glorious, great Communist Party of China!

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader and teacher of the Chinese people!

Foreign Minister Chen Yi's Speech on June 26

Speaking at the enlarged Geneva Conference, Foreign Minister Chen Yi explained the views of our side and commented on the viewpoints of others on the major questions confronting the conference. He declared that the conference should base itself on the external policy section of the statement of the three Laotian princes, reach explicit and concrete international agreement on recognition of and respect for the peace and neutrality of Laos, and utterly do away with whatever is incompatible with the neutrality of Laos.

Following is the text of his speech. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

Mr. Chairman,

In my statement of June 12, I pointed out that the Draft Protocol on Control submitted by France is a proposal by means of which the United States of America attempts to establish an international trusteeship over Laos through the International Commission, and that it cannot be considered at all. On June 12, the U.S. delegate submitted supplementary articles to the French Draft Protocol, and this has enabled us to see more clearly the substance of the draft. The delegate of the Soviet Union and the delegate of Poland have already commented on the American supplementary articles. We fully agree to their comments. Now I want to bring up another point. Under these supplementary articles, the United States wants not only to obtain all the national defence secrets of Laos through the International Commission, but also to fix the strength of the army of Laos and the quantities and types of its armaments. As we all know, a country's national defence needs can only be determined by the government of that country itself; this is the minimum indication of national sovereignty. The United States has indeed made a preposterous demand. If this is not undisguised interference in Laotian internal affairs, then what is it? When a country voluntarily pursues a policy of peace and neutrality, it does not mean that the country should be demilitarized or that its national defence should be placed under international control. It is absolutely impermissible to impose on Laos such articles which could only apply to vanquished nations.

The American-French Draft Protocol cannot be the basis for our discussion, nor can it be compared and reconciled with the Soviet proposals. How can we lump together right and wrong and then strike a mean between them? The delegations of China, the Soviet Union, Poland and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have clearly indicated their disagreement to the American-French Draft Protocol. Mr. Phoumi Vongvichit and Mr. Krishna Menon have also advanced convincing objections to this draft. But there are also a few delegates who have put forward arguments for it. I would like to make some comments on these arguments.

"Theory of Protection" Is No Novelty

All of us seem to agree that there is no need for international control over a country's voluntary pursuance of a policy of peace and neutrality. But the delegates of some countries have further expressed the view that Laos is a special case which requires international control. In the words of Mr. MacDonald, "The Government of Laos,

however sovereign, will hardly be powerful enough by itself to guarantee its neutrality in the tense aftermath of recent events," so Laotian neutrality requires so-called "protection." Some delegates even said that it is precisely to respect the sovereignty of Laos that protection of its sovereignty by the International Commission is necessary. In a word, the neutrality of Laos requires protection by the International Commission.

This "theory of protection" — protection of sovereignty, of neutrality and of independence — is no novelty. To cite a recent example, the SEATO bloc has treated Laos as its "protected area." And to go farther back, all oppressed countries and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America were one time "protected" by West European and North American imperialism. But in the 1960s can there still be people who imagine it feasible to enslave another country by using the name of protecting it? Laos is a victim of the interventionist policy of the United States. It is like a house which has lost something. Instead of looking into the cause of the loss, people want to place police guards in all its rooms including the bedrooms. It is alleged that without this it would be impossible to protect it from further losses. It may be asked, what sort of protection is this? Everyone can see that this is an attempt to forcibly occupy the house in the name of protection. The disaster in Laos stems precisely from such "protection." With the old "protection" imposed on Laos by the SEATO bloc not yet abrogated, it is now sought to impose a new "protection" by means of the International Commission, that is to say, to enforce a system of double protection. This is something no country or nation with self-respect can accept.

The Main Question Is to Stop U.S. Intervention

It is said that the whole purpose of the American-French Draft Protocol is to prevent all future interference from external quarters. Indeed we want to prevent outside interference against Laos. But how is this purpose to be achieved? We have to review history. To ensure respect for the independence and neutrality of Laos is no new proposition. A relevant international agreement was reached back in 1954. But the United States refused to sign, and followed up by establishing the SEATO bloc and violating Laotian neutrality in the name of protection. Over the past seven years, the United States has used this treaty organization to interfere continuously in the internal affairs of Laos and subject Laos to war threats again and again. All this constituted the basic cause for the violation of the independence and neutrality of Laos. Therefore, in order to ensure respect for Laotian

independence and neutrality the primary things that must be done are to conclude an international agreement with concrete contents, to abolish the SEATO bloc, and to make the United States and its followers undertake not to interfere in any manner in the internal affairs of Laos. The United States must sign the agreement and pledge not to violate the agreement immediately after its conclusion as it did in 1954. This is the major aspect of the question. Some delegates, however, said nothing about these main problems. According to them, it seems that all problems would be solved if only there should be a strong international commission. May I ask: If the United States and its followers do not stop their intervention in Laos but are determined to continue it, how many fixed posts will have to be set up and how many teams will have to be sent out by the International Commission in order to ensure against secret crossings over the Mekong River between Thailand and Laos? Since international control is regarded as the key to the solution of all problems, may I further ask: Isn't there also an international commission in the southern part of Viet Nam, but has it stopped the increasingly serious armed U.S. intervention in south Viet Nam? No, it has not been able to stop it.

What Should Be the Basis of Agreement?

Some delegates said that the 1954 Geneva agreements provided broad terms of reference for the International Commission, including free access to all the border areas of Laos and the establishment of fixed posts in Laos, and that, therefore, similar broad powers should be given to the International Commission now. The U.S. delegate also mentioned this when he tabled his articles supplementing the protocol. We do not agree to this view. In my statement of June 12, I already made the point that any agreement at our conference can only be based on the Final Declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference; it absolutely cannot be based on the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos of that time. Regarding this point, we have not heard any convincing objections. We still maintain this position. The war in Laos in 1954 was an international war. In order to terminate that war and stabilize the situation after the armistice, it is understandable that terms of comparatively rigorous control were stipulated for banning the introduction of foreign military personnel and military supplies into Laos. Furthermore, these terms were part of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities, and were by no means long-term provisions. The present war in Laos is a domestic war. It is absolutely impermissible to apply mechanically provisions of control over the termination of an international war to the question of a domestic war.

Vain U.S. Dreams of International Control

The case of Laos is indeed special, but the special case does not lie in the alleged inability of Laos to safeguard its peaceful and neutral status, but precisely in the emergence in Laos of a powerful patriotic force which firmly adheres to a policy of peace and neutrality. Why do the United States and its followers evade the main questions before our conference, and are so enthusiastic about international control? To tell the plain truth, their single-minded purpose is to restrict the development of this force and ultimately to destroy it through international control. We Chinese like to learn from past experience. I would invite the U.S. delegate to consider

cool-headedly the history of the development of the Laotian situation over the past seven years. At the beginning the Laotian patriotic forces were not so strong as they are today. The Royal Laotian Government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma, together with the Neo Lao Haksat, observed the 1954 Geneva agreements, set up a Laotian coalition government, and pursued a policy of peace and neutrality. But the United States and its followers in the SEATO bloc were hostile to this government. They incited the reactionary clique in Laos to persecute the Laotian patriotic forces, and finally provoked the large-scale domestic war. Nevertheless, what is the result of the war? The Laotian patriotic forces have not been weakened but have grown in strength. I would once again invite the U.S. delegate to think this over: The United States has not been able to achieve the aim of eliminating the Laotian patriotic forces after spending seven years, including the instigation of a sanguinary domestic war. Does the United States really think that it can achieve the same aim by way of international control? Every cool-headed person will agree that this is impossible. The Chinese Delegation reaffirms that we are resolutely opposed to the American-French Draft Protocol. I wish to point out unequivocally that any attempt to impose on Laos an international trusteeship as provided in the draft protocol will lead to no other result than rekindling war flames in Laos.

Measures to Be Taken by Participating Countries

Mr. Chairman, our conference has all the conditions for reaching an international agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question acceptable to all. We have already entered into substantive discussions. The divergences among us are indeed acute. But there are among us quite a few common points too. The agreement reached by the three Laotian princes in their recent Zurich talks merits special mentioning. As everybody knows, this agreed political programme consists of two sections, external policy and internal policy of Laos. The section on external policy sets out clearly various aspects of the policy of peace and neutrality which Laos is to follow. Since that agreement is reached by the highest representatives of the three political forces in Laos, its great importance is self-evident. In his last statement the Burmese delegate spoke of the need for Laos itself to issue a declaration reaffirming its policy of peace and neutrality. Now it can be said that in effect such a declaration is already before us. Basing ourselves on the section on external policy in the agreement of the Laotian princes, we can easily resolve many divergences. For instance, paragraph three of the French Draft Declaration on Neutrality by Laos talks about reconstituting a Laotian national army. Should this question be taken up at our conference? It should not. The agreement of the three princes clearly lists unification of armed forces in the section on internal policy. How can we inject an internal problem of Laos into a declaration on the neutrality of Laos? Would it not be a clear case of interference in the internal affairs of Laos? Since it would be so, on what ground can the U.S. delegate call for control over the Laotian armed forces by means of the International Commission? If all of us are genuinely sincere about respecting Laotian sovereignty, it should be easy for us to agree unanimously that our conference has no right to discuss such internal problems of Laos.

Now that there is a Laotian external policy agreed upon by the three Laotian princes, the task before us is to conclude an explicit and concrete international agreement on the recognition of and respect for the peace and neutrality of Laos. Let me repeat: We must reach an explicit and concrete agreement and not just a vague and general sentence. For example, the second document proposed by France, the draft declaration in reply to the declaration on neutrality by Laos, is also counted as a document. But what about its contents? There is but an abstract sentence about non-interference in the internal affairs of Laos, as if nothing had happened in Laos since 1954. This will not do. The problems that we face can by no means be resolved by a vague and general sentence about non-interference in the internal affairs of Laos. We must not only respond in principle to the Laotian declaration on neutrality, but assume obligations and take measures to categorically abolish whatever is incompatible with the neutrality of Laos. For instance, article two of the section on external policy in the agreement of the three princes solemnly declares non-recognition of protection by any military alliance or coalition. This requires that the countries concerned participating in this conference take measures to abrogate the Southeast Asia Treaty. On the question of military bases, the agreement of the three princes clearly indicates that the provision in the 1954 Geneva agreements will be the object of a special study. It was provided in the 1954 Geneva agreements that France could retain two military bases and some military personnel in Laos. But on July 23, 1959, France transferred part of its rights to the United States through an agreement and thus introduced U.S. military personnel into Laos. In any case, this cannot but be regarded as a violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements. The agreement of the three princes demands that all foreign troops and military personnel be withdrawn from Laos. This covers not only the U.S., Thailand and south Vietnamese military personnel in Laos, but also Chiang Kai-shek's remnant forces staying in Laos with the support of the United States. I wish to emphasize again that the question of Chiang Kai-shek's remnant forces is not a minor question, but a very big one. It is a source of trouble for the countries along the Mekong River. The present conference must settle this question.

SEATO Must Be Abolished

The agreement of the three princes has opened up prospects for agreement at our conference. But unfortunately, just when the weather augured fine, there came another shower. After the three Laotian princes unanimously declared on June 22 their non-recognition of protection by any military alliance or coalition, on the same day the U.S. Secretary of State Mr. Dean Rusk hastened to state to the press that "a declaration of that sort could not affect the inter-governmental arrangements as far as SEATO is concerned." That is to say, no matter what decisions the Laotians may make and no matter what decisions our conference may finally adopt, the United States still wants to treat Laos as a protectorate of SEATO. If the United States persists in this attitude, what is the meaning of our sitting here and discussing respect for Laotian neutrality?

The Chinese Delegation consistently holds that provided we seriously discuss the main questions facing us

instead of evading them, it is possible for us to reach agreement. Since it is discussion, one will explain one's viewpoints and comment on those of others. But it is very regrettable that after the U.S. delegate Mr. Harriman condemned so-called propaganda, the British delegate Mr. MacDonald also made some complaint on the subject of so-called propaganda. This was completely uncalled for. If explanation of one's views should be called propaganda, then there has been too little and not too much of it at our conference. What we should be against is not this kind of propaganda but the attitude of shying from discussion of the main questions before us on the pretext of objecting to propaganda.

Terms of Reference of International Commission

Provided that all of us have the sincerity to settle the Laotian question peacefully, it should not be difficult to reach unanimity on the terms of reference for the International Commission. This is the most sharply disputed issue here. I wish to point out that from the very beginning the issue is not one of assigning the International Commission broader or narrower functions and powers, but one of deciding what its reasonable functions and powers should be. We hold that necessary and reasonable functions and powers should be assigned the International Commission on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and independence of Laos. Just as we are against turning the International Commission into a state within a state or a super-government in Laos, we are also against restoring its terms of reference as stipulated in 1954 without any change. Why? Because that would be unreasonable. I have explained our reasons both in my last statement and in my statement today. We have had heated debates on this question. However, I would request you all not to ignore the fact that on this question



It's Getting Harder and Harder to Play This Tune

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

we have more common points than divergences. Our common points include: (1) All the delegations have agreed to keep the International Commission as provided in the 1954 agreements and composed of India, Poland and Canada operating in Laos. (2) The great majority of the delegations agree that the International Commission should exercise supervision and control over the cease-fire in Laos in accordance with the cease-fire agreement to be reached by the parties concerned in Laos. (3) None of us is against the International Commission's control over the withdrawal of foreign military personnel from Laos in accordance with the agreement on the withdrawal of foreign forces to be reached by us here. (4) Most of the delegations agree that the terms of reference for the International Commission must not infringe on the sovereignty of Laos, and that it must secure the consent of the Laotian Government in all its activities which must be under the guidance of the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. Only the U.S. Delegation and a few others supporting it advocate the idea of placing the International Commission above the Laotian Government and the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and vesting it with the power of unlimited supervision and control over Laos. This idea is unreasonable, and we hope that they will reconsider it.

Objects of International Supervision and Control

Regarding the objects of supervision and control by the International Commission, the present divergence centres on the question of control over the prohibition on the introduction of foreign military personnel and military supplies after the realization of cease-fire and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Laos. I would like to state our position on this question. In the first place, it must be pointed out that the introduction of military supplies from outside and the entry of foreign military personnel are two matters entirely different in character. The legal government of a neutral country has the right to buy armaments which it requires from any country. Moreover, as everybody knows, the domestic war in Laos did not break out as a result of excessive introduction of armaments. Since Laos is recognized as a sovereign nation, it must be recognized too that the Laotian Government alone has the right to determine the quantities and types of weapons it requires for self-defence and the quarters from which these weapons will be bought. The International Commission has no right of control in this respect. As for the need of control over the withdrawal of foreign military personnel from Laos and their entry into Laos, that is because the stationing of foreign military personnel in Laos is incompatible with the neutral status of Laos. However, on this question we must draw a strict distinction between what has already happened and what may happen in the future. Military personnel of the United States, Thailand and south Viet Nam and Chiang Kai-shek's remnant forces are already there in Laos. This is an existing fact. It is entirely necessary to exercise proper control over the withdrawal of these foreign military personnel. As for the re-introduction of foreign military personnel which has not yet happened but may happen in the future, that is another matter which needs to be dealt with differently. Since we sit in conference here with the aim of reaching agreement on the withdrawal of all foreign military personnel from Laos and prohibition of future dispatch of foreign military

personnel into Laos, we should assume that such an agreement will be observed. Moreover, since Laos has declared its adherence to a policy of peace and neutrality, the prevention of introduction of foreign military personnel into Laos should be primarily the responsibility of the Laotian Government. Only in the event of a violation of the international agreement will there arise the question of asking the International Commission to conduct an investigation. It is common sense that different cases should be dealt with differently. However, the U.S. delegate and a few other delegates, while making little mention of the practical question of withdrawing foreign military personnel, have indulged in elaborating on the question of re-introduction of foreign military personnel into Laos which may happen in the future. In fact, if only the United States and its followers are determined to withdraw their military personnel from Laos and undertake not to send their military personnel into Laos again, the above hypothetical question will not arise at all.

In the Interests of Laotian People and of Peace

Mr. Chairman, I have taken the trouble to restate the views of the Chinese Delegation on the question of international control. I have done so not to widen the divergences, but to seek unanimity. We are all rational people. We all hope for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. On the question of international control there are already a number of common points among us. Whatever divergences remain can be narrowed and eliminated provided we engage in matter-of-fact discussions. Should we ignore the noble aspiration of millions upon millions of people over the world for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question merely on account of these divergences?

Mr. Chairman, I repeat that we have all the conditions for reaching an agreement acceptable to all. The Soviet Union has long since submitted its proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. These proposals are reasonable and should be taken as the basis for discussion at our conference. The recent agreement between the three Laotian princes has further provided our conference with guiding principles for reaching an international agreement. And the neutral countries participating in our conference are making positive efforts to promote its progress. The peaceful settlement of the Laotian question is our common interest. We welcome all reasonable suggestions, provided they are designed for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. We have also noted that the U.S. delegate has ceased to bring up the so-called question of effective cease-fire since June 12. Our conference has entered into substantive discussions. It is reported that the Boun Oum-Phoumi group has decided to send its delegate to our conference. These are all good phenomena. It is our hope that before long a Laotian coalition government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma will be formed and a united delegation will be appointed to take part in our deliberations and sign the agreements of our conference. Such are the bright prospects before us. We should work for their realization. We sincerely appeal to the delegates of all the participating nations to be mindful of the interests of the Laotian people and of world peace, to overcome resolutely all the obstacles and to exert our utmost for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. That is all I want to say.

Congolese People Fight U.S. Imperialism

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

JUNE 30 was the first anniversary of the independence of the Congo. Warmly greeting the occasion, China has reiterated her unreserved support for the Congolese people holding high the banner of national independence and unification of their national hero, Patrice Lumumba, and for the legal Congolese Government headed by Antoine Gizenga.

This stand of China was expressed both in the separate messages of greetings sent by Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to the Acting Congolese Premier Antoine Gizenga and in the speech delivered by Premier Chou En-lai at the Peking reception given by Kindundu Joseph, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Congolese Embassy in China.

Speaking in the presence of a distinguished audience, which included Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and other Chinese government leaders, Premier Chou En-lai declared: "The 650 million Chinese people will for ever stand by the Congolese people; our two peoples will support each other, and fight together to the finish in the struggle against old and new colonialists and against foreign intervention, to win national independence and defend world peace."

New U.S. Plot to Enslave the Congo

On this first anniversary of Congolese independence, the situation in that country has entered a crucial stage. U.S. imperialism, whose sinister designs are only matched by its brutality, is out to grab the whole of the Congo.

As was pointed out by Premier Chou at the Congolese National Day reception, the U.S. imperialists are now carrying out a new plot in the Congo. By grasping the parliament with one hand and the army with the other, they hope to realize their plan for overall control of the Congo and enslavement of the Congolese people. Thus, the United States has directed Kasavubu to make a compromise with Tshombe and cajole members of the Congolese parliament so that the parliament can be convened to pass resolutions in favour of the traitorous cliques, and so legalize the Kasavubu regime and the rebel armed forces of his collaborators, Mobutu and Tshombe. "This," Premier Chou said, "is actually an attempt of the old and new colonialists headed by the United States to completely control and keep in their grasp the Congo and its reactionary armed forces, and to split and eliminate the legal Congolese Government and its national armed forces."

The June 30 editorial of *Renmin Ribao* points out that the past year has seen the ever more complete exposure of U.S. neo-colonialism attempting to dominate the Congo through the United Nations and the "United Nations force" which it controls. If, a year ago, the Belgian colonialists were the main enemy of the Congolese people, then today it is the even more vicious and dangerous U.S. imperialists whom they have to face.

Politically, the United States has made deeper and deeper inroads into the country. It has bought over Kasavubu and fostered Mobutu as its agents to "unify" the Congo. It has stepped up its efforts to edge out the Belgian colonialist forces. Recently, both by bribery and kidnapping, it forced the puppet Tshombe clique to submit to the Kasavubu-Mobutu group and squeezed many Belgian "advisors" out of Katanga. It is also plotting to undermine the legal Congolese Government headed by Gizenga. By bribing and intimidating the Congolese members of parliament, the United States is seeking to deprive the Gizenga government of its legality and legalize instead the Kasavubu-Mobutu group. A Congolese parliament stage-managed single-handedly by the United States will be convened soon in Leopoldville.

Militarily, the United States has all along been trying to reorganize the Congolese army through the United Nations. Kennedy and Belgian Foreign Minister Spaak are reported to have worked out a plan for reorganizing the Congolese army, according to which the latter would be manned entirely by Mobutu's soldiers and controlled by the United Nations. On U.S. instructions, a military agreement has been signed between Tshombe and Mobutu providing that all troops will be reorganized under Mobutu's "leadership" and that a joint Congolese air force will be set up. Since June 13, the Mobutu troops have donned U.S.-made uniforms and U.S. arms have been brought into the Congo in large quantities.

Economically, the United States has, through the United Nations, drawn up a "Marshall Plan" for giving "aid" to the Congo. Kasavubu has agreed to U.N. control of the Congo's finances. On June 12, the United Nations announced that it had reached agreement with Kasavubu on providing ten million dollars worth of "aid."

Steadfast Struggle Means Victory

All these vile U.S. schemes have vastly complicated the independence struggle of the Congolese people. They have added to the hardships of the Congolese people. But they have also educated the Congolese people and made it clear to them that, to wrest independence from the imperialists and colonialists, they must maintain a high degree of vigilance, wage a determined struggle and steadily enhance their own strength in the course of that struggle.

Today, the Congolese people still have to face many difficulties. But their cause is just and their future bright. The international situation has never been so favourable to the Congolese people as now. Not only is the whole of Africa astir, but the socialist countries as a whole and all other peace-loving countries and people are standing by them. As Premier Chou declared at the Congolese National Day reception, "The Chinese people, like the Congolese people, were long subjected to imperialist oppression and enslavement. The Chinese people learnt bitter

lessons as regards the imperialist tactics of sabotaging the revolutionary struggle by buying over the reactionaries in colonial and semi-colonial countries, fomenting civil war and divisions and using political cajolery and violent repression. The experience of the Chinese people proves that

as long as they do not fear difficulties and hardships, uphold their national interests and national unity and persist in the protracted struggle, the revolutionary forces will grow in size and strength until they finally defeat imperialism and win the victory of national independence."

Sino-Soviet Economic, Scientific and Technical Co-operation

SINO-SOVIET agreements on economic and on scientific and technical co-operation were signed on June 19 in Moscow. The Agreement on Economic Co-operation was signed for the Chinese side by Ku Cho-hsin, Head of the Economic, Scientific and Technical Delegation of the Chinese Government and Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission; and for the Soviet side by S. Skachkov, Chairman of the State Foreign Economic Relations Committee. The Agreement on Scientific and Technical Co-operation was signed by Wu Heng, deputy leader of the Chinese delegation and Vice-Chairman of the Scientific and Technological Commission, for the Chinese side; and by G. Aleksenko, Vice-Chairman of the State Committee on the Co-ordination of Scientific Research, for the Soviet side.

Talks leading to the conclusion of these agreements were held successively in Peking and Moscow. The joint communique on the talks states that the two sides summed up the work done in the past several years and held that the economic, scientific and technical co-operation between China and the Soviet Union based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, equality and fraternal mutual assistance was highly fruitful. The two sides also discussed the implementation of the Sino-Soviet Agreement on Economic, Scientific and Technical Co-operation signed earlier and reached agreement that the two countries would further strengthen co-operation in these fields.

The communique says that the two sides expressed satisfaction with the results of the talks on economic co-operation and are confident that the conclusion of the agreements on these questions will promote the further strengthening of economic co-operation between the two countries and the further development of their national economies.

In the course of the talks on scientific and technical co-operation, the two sides noted with satisfaction that in the past period, scientific and technical co-operation between China and the Soviet Union was successful and fruitful and promoted the development of the national economies of the two countries. In order to strengthen further and develop scientific and technical co-operation between the two countries with a view to bringing about a common upsurge in the national economies and developing the science and technology of the two countries, the two sides reached agreement that in the future, they would, in various ways, exchange and acquaint each other with

their achievements in science and technology in all branches of the national economy, science and technology.

During this period, talks between the delegations of the Academies of Sciences of China and the U.S.S.R. were also successfully concluded and a protocol and a programme on scientific co-operation between the Academies of Sciences of the two countries were signed.

To celebrate the signing of the above-mentioned documents, a banquet and a reception were given by the Soviet State Foreign Economic Relations Committee and the Soviet Academy of Sciences respectively in honour of the Chinese delegations. The Chinese Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. Liu Hsiao also gave a reception on June 21.

At the reception, Ambassador Liu Hsiao said that the signing of the documents on economic, scientific and technical co-operation between China and the U.S.S.R. signified the further strengthening of friendly co-operation between the two countries and showed once again the fresh development of fraternal solidarity between China and the U.S.S.R. after the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960. He said that the Chinese people, through hard struggle and unremitting efforts, had scored tremendous achievements in building socialism and that these achievements were also inseparable from the assistance of the U.S.S.R. and other fraternal countries. He thanked the Soviet Government and people on behalf of the Chinese Government and people.

Speaking at the reception, Skachkov, Chairman of the State Foreign Economic Relations Committee, pointed out that Sino-Soviet economic, scientific and technical co-operation is a brilliant example of fraternal mutual assistance and mutual support.

Proposing toasts, Mikoyan, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., expressed his satisfaction with the talks on economic, scientific and technical co-operation between the two countries which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and fraternal mutual understanding. He also said he was happy that in a short period, a great number of scientific and technical specialists had been trained in China. He proposed toasts to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and to the unbreakable friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and China.

Joint Statement of Chinese N.P.C. Delegation And Japanese C.P. Diet Members' Delegation

“U.S. IMPERIALISM is the common enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. The policy of positions of strength and the neo-colonialism of U.S. imperialism are the root cause of the threats to world peace and of international tension. . . . U.S. imperialism is the mainstay of the world's reactionary forces; it is the international gendarme and the enemy of the people all over the world.” This declaration was made in the joint statement signed on June 22 in Peking by the Delegation of the Chinese National People's Congress and the Delegation of Japanese Communist Party Diet Members at the end of the latter's one-week visit to China. The Chinese delegation was headed by Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the N.P.C. Standing Committee; the Japanese delegation was led by Yoshio Shiga, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party.

The joint statement notes that Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Vice-Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, in their talks with the Japanese delegation pointed out that **“the Japanese Communist Party, armed with Marxism-Leninism, has always held to the principles of combining proletarian internationalism and patriotism; it has always been the resolute representative and defender of the interests of the Japanese people and the national interests of Japan.”**

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the state, the statement continues, **“evaluated very highly the heroic, patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism carried on by the Japanese people and their great achievements won in the course of that struggle, and held that the struggle of the Japanese people for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality would eventually break through the barriers raised by U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital which follows in its footsteps, and win final victory.”**

Unanimous views were reached by the two delegations on current questions which are of common concern to the Chinese and Japanese peoples, says the statement. The two sides strongly condemn U.S. imperialist aggression against Japan and China, pledge to support each other in their fight against their common enemy and make continued efforts to break down all barriers put up by the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries in the path of restoration of normal relations between China and Japan.

The two parties strongly condemn U.S. imperialist aggression against and intervention in Laos, south Viet Nam and south Korea. Both sides are of the opinion that the serious situation in Laos is due to the undermining by U.S. imperialism of the 1954 Geneva agreements and its aggression against and intervention in Laos; that the daily growth of military intervention by U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam goes counter to the desire of the Vietnamese people for the peaceful unification of Viet Nam

and that the SEATO is the source of the tense situation in Laos, the southern part of Viet Nam and the whole of Southeast Asia.

Both sides also stress that U.S. imperialism has consistently carried out a policy of aggression and war against south Korea and recently engineered the reactionary military putsch in south Korea, seriously obstructing the desire of the Korean people for peaceful unification.

Both sides condemn the brutal U.S. imperialist aggression against Cuba and the Congo. They resolutely support the heroic struggles of the peoples of Cuba, the Congo and Algeria. “In order to oppose imperialist oppression and its policy of war and aggression,” the statement says, “the people throughout the world must unite all forces in opposition to imperialism, form a broad united front against imperialism and carry on their great and arduous struggle without pause.”

The Chinese delegation, the statement declares, expressed its resolute support for the Japanese people's struggle against the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and holds that that struggle also gives tremendous support to the Chinese people.

The Chinese N.P.C. Delegation, says the statement, paid high tribute to the Japanese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism, and the Japanese Communist Party Diet Members' Delegation warmly acclaimed the great achievements made by the Chinese people in the cause of building socialism under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Government, holding aloft the three red banners of the general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's commune.

Sino-Japanese Peoples' Solidarity

The Chinese people warmly welcome and firmly support this joint statement. *Renmin Ribao's* editorial of June 23, entitled “Strengthen the Chinese and Japanese Peoples' Common Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism,” states that the joint statement shows that the visit of the Japanese delegation to China stands out as an important event in the history of Sino-Japanese relations. It shows that the militant friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples established in the fight against their common enemy, U.S. imperialism, is growing daily.

Recalling U.S. imperialist aggression against Japan and China, the editorial points out that U.S. imperialism is the vicious enemy of the Japanese and Chinese peoples. It is precisely because of this that in their common struggle against U.S. imperialism the Chinese and Japanese peoples have always maintained close unity and given support to each other.

In conclusion, the editorial says that the joint statement will surely strengthen still further the common struggle of the Chinese and Japanese peoples against U.S. imperialism.

For Korea's Peaceful Reunification

JUNE 25 is a day which the Korean people, the Chinese people and peace-loving peoples everywhere will never forget. It was on this day 11 years ago that the heroic Korean people rose to wage their war of resistance to U.S. imperialist armed aggression and for the liberation of their fatherland. Two days later U.S. imperialism invaded and occupied China's territory of Taiwan and subsequently spread the flames of war up to the Yalu River. It was under these circumstances that the Chinese people, in October of that year, sent their Volunteers to support the Korean people in fighting against the U.S. aggressors.

Lesson of Korean War to U.S.

The U.S. imperialists originally intended to swallow the whole of Korea at one gulp. They threw into the war one-third of their army, one-fifth of their air force and most of their navy. They spent more than 20,000 million U.S. dollars in war expenditures and, usurping the name of the United Nations, got 15 other countries to take part in their aggression. Yet, what was the result of that? After a test of strength lasting 37 months, the aggressors went down in ignominious defeat. They were driven back to the area of the 38th Parallel; they were compelled to negotiate with the Korean and Chinese peoples and sign the armistice agreement.

"The defeats suffered by U.S. imperialism on the Korean battlefield," as *Renmin Ribao* says in its editorial of June 25, "completely exploded the myth of U.S. 'invincibility.' The United States stood exposed before the world's people in its true colours as a paper tiger. The great victory won by the Korean and Chinese peoples in their fight against aggression has made people realize that U.S. imperialism is not formidable and that its aggression can be defeated. These facts have also told people that they must not show weakness in the face of an imperialist war of aggression but must firmly resist it. Only in this way can aggression be checked and peace safeguarded."

It was precisely because U.S. imperialism was defeated on the Korean battlefield, *Renmin Ribao* continues, that it had no other choice but to sit down and negotiate. But even so it still tried to obtain at the conference table what it had failed to get in battle; it did everything it could to undermine the conference. It was only after a bitter struggle that U.S. imperialism was made to understand that it could not get at the conference table what it had failed to win on the battlefield. Only then was agreement possible. That was the reason why the Korean armistice talks dragged on for more than two years before agreement was reached.

The Nature of Imperialism Won't Change

But after all, as *Renmin Ribao* says, "imperialism is imperialism. U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war have a deep class and economic basis. So long as the United States is ruled by monopoly capital, there can

never be a fundamental change in its foreign policy. U.S. imperialism has not given up its aggressive policy against Korea since its defeat in the war of aggression against Korea."

The U.S. has occupied south Korea as a base of aggression in stubborn defiance of the opposition of the people of Korea and all the world. The traitor group of reactionary puppets in south Korea, supported by U.S. bayonets, has established a bloody rule there and turned south Korea into a living hell. "So long as the U.S. occupation of south Korea continues," *Renmin Ribao* points out, "the people there will not be able to free themselves from a tragic life of slavery; they will not stop their resistance and struggle." Meanwhile, the great achievements scored by the Korean Democratic People's Republic in the rehabilitation of the country and in socialist construction in the past 11 years exert an ever stronger attraction for the people in the southern part of Korea and make them wish ever more fervently for the peaceful unification of their fatherland.

The Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic has made untiring efforts for the peaceful unification of Korea. Last year, the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic proposed a new plan for the reunification of their fatherland. This year, it again proposed that plan and put forward concrete measures for negotiations, and economic and cultural exchanges between the north and south of Korea. These proposals evoked a widespread response and active support from the people in south Korea. The Korean people's desire for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland can never be blocked by any force.

Militant Friendship

The militant friendship between the Chinese and Korean peoples is once again expressed prominently on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the Korean people's war of resistance against U.S. imperialism. As a joint statement issued by the China Peace Committee and five other people's organizations on this occasion states: "The Chinese people have always firmly supported the efforts made by the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the Korean people for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland and the Korean people's just struggle to drive the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism out of south Korea. . . . The splitting of Korea into southern and northern parts and the disastrous sufferings of the people in south Korea have been brought about entirely and single-handedly by U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism must stop its aggression against Korea and its obstruction of the peaceful reunification of Korea. The aggressive forces of the U.S. must get out of south Korea and our territory of Taiwan. The Chinese people will always stand closely by the fraternal Korean people, and together with the peoples of the socialist camp and the people throughout the world, struggle to the very end against our common enemy — U.S. imperialism."

SIDELIGHTS

Yi Brothers of the Red Army. The tall smiling Yi wearing a black turban and flowing cloak gesticulated animatedly as he talked. "That afternoon—it was May 1935—we saw the Red Army soldiers for the first time. One of them approached us and said: 'The Red Army and the Yis are brothers. We should join hands and fight together against the Kuomintang reactionaries.' Then we saw that they were in truth different from the bad Hans who used to bully us. The Red Army was well disciplined. They respected our customs. They insisted on paying for all the food we brought them. Their commander showed their sincerity by becoming sworn brothers with our chief Hsiao yehtan, who was my brother. The two of them took their oath right there by the lake, according to our custom of each drinking a bowl of water sprinkled with drops of blood from a freshly killed fowl. All this convinced us that the Red Army was really an army working sincerely for the good not only of the Hans but also the Yis and all other nationalities. From then on we Yis in the region welcomed the Red Army like real brothers with banners and flags flying and did all we could to help them on their way. . . ." Thus the husky middle-aged Yi described that historic meeting of 27 years ago between Red Army commander Liu Po-cheng and Hsiao yehtan, chief of a tribe of Yis in the Taliang Mountains of Szechuan when the Red Army passed through their region on its Long March and forged strong bonds of kinship with the Yis.

The story—an oft-told episode of the Long March—does not end here. Liberation came to the Yis in 1949. In 1956, after democratic reforms were carried out, they cast off the centuries-old bonds of slavery. In one place over 400 former slaves, with the help of the Communist Party, formed a farming co-operative. On mountain terrain 2,400 metres above sea level, they succeeded in 1957 in planting paddyrice, which yielded 400 *jin* per *mu*, a good average for this area. In the last three years, they reclaimed 2,500 *mu* of wasteland, and are now trying out close planting and other measures which promise higher yields.

The production teams of the farm keep contact by phone. Many members are studying in the co-op's night school. Living conditions have improved beyond recognition. It's a fitting sequel to a famous tale of the Long March.

•
A House of History. One bleak snowy morning, a woman dressed in tattered rags stood shivering with her three young ones on a street corner. A Red Army officer came riding by, stopped, inquired, and without a word, took off the jacket he was wearing and threw it around the shoulders of the woman. For dozens of years, the woman treasured this jacket. Each of her children grew to manhood in its warm folds.

This was the simple tale the little paper placard in the glass case carried; beside it was the worn jacket itself.

This and other mementoes from the revolutionary past are housed in a low grey building standing on the banks of the Hsiangkiang River in historic Tsunyi City, Kweichow Province. It was here that the Communist Party, at a crucial moment on the Long March, held the enlarged meeting of its Political Bureau that threw out the "left" opportunist line and policies which had done so much harm to the Party and established the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung throughout the Party.

In another showcase are two old Red Army notices printed on rough paper. After the Red Army left Tsunyi, old man Hsueh Chengwan carefully hid them away in a bamboo pole under his roof thatch. When he was dying, he told his son to take them down and read them to the family. "One of these days," he said, "the Communist Party and the Red Army will surely come back, and the poor people will live like men again!"

Whether it is an old rifle, a pair of shoes, a rice bowl, a painting, a slogan written on paper, each exhibit in this Tsunyi hall has its own revolutionary story to tell. The "Tsunyi Meeting" Memorial Hall Museum has attracted over a third of a million visitors since opening in 1956.

•
Mementoes of Glory. They look at first glance incongruously out of place there in the polished halls of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Museum in Peking—a cadre's faded,

wrinkled khaki uniform, a pair of worn gloves woven from many-coloured thread-ends, a pair of socks so patched you can't guess at their original colour—but when you know what they are, they glow with glory. They come from Yenan during the 1930s. Life there was indeed full of hardships. But the revolutionary youth gathered there looked confidently into the future and conquered each hardship with light-hearted zeal. They wove their own cloth, made their own gloves and socks. They grew their own food, built their own houses or dug cave dwellings. A stool with only two legs left out of four recalls the seating arrangements at that unique university, the "Kang Ta"—the Anti-Japanese College, where open fields were most often the classrooms, rough slates were used for paper, sorghum stalks as pen holders and seven students of an evening shared each tiny cotton seed oil lamp. Kang Ta students listened in their thousands to the lectures of Chairman Mao and many other revolutionary leaders. In all over 200,000 of them graduated to become key cadres of the revolution in all parts of the country.

•
Slogan in the Wall. It is nearly 24 years since the Chinese Red Army became known as the Eighth Route Army and then the People's Liberation Army. Yet a visitor to Taichiang County, Kweichow Province, can still see splashed in bold characters on a large brick wall the following words: "The Red Army is the only armed force that can overthrow the Kuomintang and warlord rule!" "We welcome our Miao brothers to join the Red Army!" Many Taichiang residents will be able to tell you the inside story of these slogans. Twenty-six years ago, when the Red Army passed through here on its Long March, it thoroughly won the hearts of the people. An old man of the Miao nationality became the particular friend of the propaganda squad which put up these slogans on the wall of a landlord's house. When the Red Army went on its way, the old man cleverly plastered the slogans over with a layer of mud so as to preserve them from the hands of the reactionaries. When liberation came, the old Miao took the mud off again with his own hands, and the slogans once more appeared. The whole town took so much pride in this that they decided to keep it always as it was—a precious gift from the Red Army.

CINEMA

16 New Films

Sixteen new films including seven full-length features are being shown in cinemas throughout China in these days when the whole country is celebrating the Communist Party's birthday. The three features about China's revolutionary struggles are the long-awaited *Keep the Red Flag Flying* and *A Red Detachment of Women*, both in colour and *The Hurricane*, in black and white, adapted from Chou Li-po's novel of the same name about land reform. Three other features are based on the life and struggles of China's minority peoples: *Daughters of the Tai People*, *Tachi and Her Father* and *Meng Lung Sha*, all in colour. The seventh is adapted from the famous Cantonese opera *Kuan Han-ching* starring Hung Hsien Nu (the "Red Thread Girl") and Ma Shih-tseng. The list also includes a number of animated cartoons, scientific and educational films and three documentaries produced by the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio.

Documentaries of the Revolution

The full-length documentary *Decisive Battle Between Two Destinies* deals with the period following the 1945 victory over the Japanese invaders when China was faced with a choice between two destinies, two futures. Analysing this period Chairman Mao Tse-tung wrote: "... the stage of the War of Resistance Against Japan is over and the new situation and task is domestic struggle. Chiang Kai-shek talks about 'building the country.' From now on the struggle will be, build what sort of country? To build a new-democratic country of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat? Or to build a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie? This will be a most complicated struggle."

The film shows how the Chinese people chose the first destiny and founded the People's Republic of China. Most of its material is taken from newsreels and documentaries of the period. Here is Chiang Kai-shek plotting with the help of U.S. imperialist intervention to usurp the fruits of the people's victory. While playing

at peace negotiations Chiang was actively preparing to launch his civil war. The film shows U.S. warships busily shipping Chiang's troops to the civil war fronts.

Making resolute efforts to avert war and secure peace and expose the intrigues of the people's enemies, Chairman Mao went in person to Chungking to negotiate with the Kuomintang. The film shows the scenes of Chairman Mao alighting from his plane there to be warmly welcomed by the people of the Kuomintang-controlled area.

In the meantime, the Liberated Areas led by the Chinese Communist Party were firmly defending their democratic gains. We see the peasants in their thousands volunteering to join the People's Liberation Army and the people's militia. At that time the Liberated Areas had a population of around one hundred million. Chiang Kai-shek held areas with a population of more than three hundred million. The P.L.A. had only 1,200,000 poorly equipped troops; Chiang Kai-shek boasted an army of 4,300,000 men. His tyrannical regime was backed up with huge amounts of arms, equipment and economic aid from the United States. Kuomintang arrogance and miscalculation is well exemplified by the sequence showing Chen Cheng, Chiang's chief-of-staff, yelling: "In six months we can wipe out all the Communist troops!" Then Chiang himself appears day-dreaming that "three months will do!"

The Third Revolutionary Civil War broke out. It was unprecedented in its scope. Chairman Mao, speaking at that time, said: "All reactionaries are paper tigers." The P.L.A. proceeded to show how true this is. Brilliantly led by the Party and Chairman Mao it skilfully manoeuvred its forces to deal telling blow after blow to the enemy's bloated armies. Using mobile warfare as its main form of operations it inflicted such losses on the Kuomintang troops, that these were forced to shift from the strategic offensive to the strategic defensive. The film brilliantly records the historic turning point in the war when the P.L.A. switched from operations on interior lines to massive offensives on exterior lines. Especially graphic are the sequences showing the decisive Liaosi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin campaigns.

It was at this time that the tottering Chiang regime, on instructions from its U.S. masters, again resorted to peace "negotiations" while trying to muster its forces for further resistance.

We see the arrival of the Kuomintang representatives in Peiping and the start of the abortive peace talks. When the Kuomintang reactionaries refused to reach agreement, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh issued the order of the day to "carry the revolution to the end." Spectacular shots of the crossing of the Yangtse by a million P.L.A. troops and the subsequent liberation of Nanking and the capture of Chiang Kai-shek's "President's Office" carry the film to its end. It takes about an hour's showing time.

Glimpses of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army shows that army in 1936 and 1937 in northern Shensi after its victorious completion of the Long March. Here is an intimate glimpse of a people's army, always busy, always in high spirits, closely bound up with the people, helping them in their work, meticulous in observance of discipline, and dedicated to the cause of the masses.

Sketches from Life in Yen-an is another documentary short shot in Yen-an during the War of Resistance Against Japan. Here are many facets of life in Yen-an; notably Chairman Mao and other leading members of the Party at work and in their daily life, and students at the famous Yen-an Anti-Japanese Military and Political University and the Lu Hsun Institute of Arts. There are moving shots of the great production campaign launched by the troops and the people there during the difficult years of Japanese and Kuomintang blockade.

THEATRE

Art from 18 Lands

The Central Song and Dance Troupe and the Central National Music Ensemble are presenting a unique programme of 20 and more songs, dances and musical items learnt either here in China or on foreign tours from artists of 18 different Asian, African

and Latin American countries. As might be expected, then, it is an evening of items each with a most distinctive national style and flavour, each showing some special characteristics of the arts, as well as a glimpse of the customs and manners of the countries from which they came. There are classical dances like the Burmese *Court Dance* and the Cambodian dance *Fairies Amidst the Flowers*, depicting ancient court life or religious ritual; and dances taken from the work life of the people, like the *Bamboo Hat Dance* of Viet Nam, the *Fishermen's Dance* from Japan and Pakistan's *Ankle Bells*. Dances learnt from Cuban, Colombian and Bolivian artists portray young people in love and also the wedding customs of those countries. Several Latin American and African songs are sung.

It is a concert of many moods: There are dances and songs from Africa and Latin America with clear, strong rhythms brimming with warmth; and lyrical, delicate melodies from the lands of Asia, with slow rhythms. One Burmese dance is outstanding with its graceful lines, built on the sinuous weaving motion of the arms, body and legs. A Cambodian dance, with frequent significant pauses of statuesque beauty, tells its story mainly through elegant gestures and the accompanying songs. An Indian dance *Ball Playing*, with its fast-changing facial mimicry and expressive motions of the hands, catches the very spirit of little girls at play.

Many of these items were performed to the people of their native countries when Chinese art troupes toured there. They drew warm applause from audiences appreciative of the deep interest China's artists show in their cultures.

SHORT NOTES

"A Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," Vol. IV, just published, contains 61 memoirs and poems written by marshals, generals, and rank-and-file members of the People's Liberation Army. It includes "Southern Kiangsi Guerrillas," a poem by Chen Yi, and memoirs "Shanchengpao—Last Battle of the Second Revolutionary Civil War" by Nieh Jung-chen, "Cross the River and Eastward March!" and "Our Banners Flutter in the West Wind" by Hsiao Hua, "Three Years

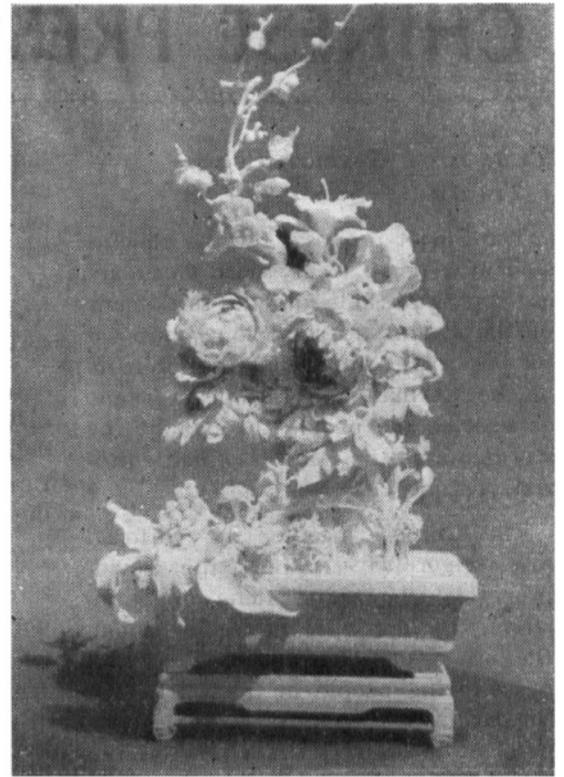
of Guerrilla Warfare in Western Fukien," written jointly by Chang Ting-cheng, Teng Tzu-hui and Tan Chen-lin, and "Reminiscences of Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Warfare in the Northeast" by Chou Pao-chung.

This 300,000-word volume is divided into three parts. The first deals with events from the arrival of the revolutionary armed forces in the Shensi-Kansu Border Regions after the completion of the Long March to the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan; the second part describes the difficult struggles waged by the guerrilla units of the Red Army remaining in 14 regions in the southern provinces, and their close relations with the local people; the third part recalls the life of the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Army during the early period of its formation and the militant friendship between the Chinese and Korean peoples as well as between the Chinese and Japanese peoples forged in their battle against the Japanese militarists.

The first and third volumes (volume two is still under preparation) of this collection of memoirs were published more than a year ago. Written by people who themselves took part in the events they describe, they make exciting and inspiring reading.

New Ivory Carvings. Inspired by the Chinese Communist Party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom" in the field of culture, a group of Peking ivory carvers created the intricate piece of carving illustrated above in honour of the Party's birthday. Peonies, plum flowers, narcissi and camelias blossom in profusion in a basin patterned on the traditional Ming Dynasty style. It measures 50 cm. in height and weighs 30 kilogrammes. They call it "Salute to July First."

Another group of artists of the Peking Ivory Workshop has completed another new work dedicated to the Party and entitled, "A Million Troops Cross the Yangtse." This shows the scene of the historic river crossing in the final stages of the Liberation War. It is carved in relief in ivory and set on a hardwood background also carv-



Salute to July 1

Ivory carving by Yang Shih-tsun,
Chang Yu-hua and Kao Wen-ying

ed to show the rolling waves of the river.

A third work, "Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the National Institute of the Peasant Movement in Canton," is nearing completion. A bas-relief carved in ivory, it shows Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the 1920s, teaching peasants revolutionary theory in preparation for the revolution.

CURRENT EXHIBITIONS

Museum of the Chinese Revolution. Opened on July 1 in honour of 40th anniversary of Chinese Communist Party. 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. (no admittance after 4 p.m.). Daily except Monday. For time being group visits only.

Museum of Chinese History. 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. (no admittance after 4 p.m.). Daily except Monday.

People's Liberation Army Photography Exhibition. At Palace Museum. 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. Till July 20.

International News Photography Exhibition, 1960. At National Union of Journalists' Club. 9 a.m. to 12 a.m. and 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. Till July 5.

Central Institute of Industrial and Handicraft Arts Exhibition of Applied Arts. 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Till July 16. At Artists' Union Gallery.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

Time for a German Peace Treaty

The Soviet proposal for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany as soon as possible and the settlement of the Berlin question is a proposal for peace. It conforms to the interests of the German and European people as well as the people throughout the world, states the *Renmin Ribao* editorial of June 28.

The Chinese people, the editorial says, vigorously support the Soviet proposal; they are determined to strive, together with the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all peace-loving people in the world, for the realization of the peaceable proposal of the Soviet Union, to foil the plan of the U.S.-led imperialist bloc for the revival of West German militarism and to safeguard world peace.

The 20th anniversary of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people, the editorial says, was recently warmly commemorated by all progressive mankind. The people of the various countries paid glowing tribute to the Soviet people for their great victory in the anti-fascist war and their outstandingly meritorious services to the whole of mankind. In reviewing the historical lessons of 20 years ago, the people have unanimously expressed the determination that history shall not be allowed to repeat itself. Speaking at a meeting marking the anniversary in Moscow on June 22, Comrade Khrushchov made a profound analysis of the lessons drawn from the last world war and pointed out that the Western countries were embarking on the same dangerous road of 20 years ago. He sternly warned them that not only the German revanchists, but all those who tried to support them in a new adventure against the socialist countries would share Hitler's fate. Comrade Khrushchov's speech, says the editorial, should serve as a useful warning to bring the Western instigators of new wars to their senses.

The editorial points out that Western official circles have done their utmost to distort and fling mud at Comrade Khrushchov's speech. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk came out personally to play the role of

slanderer, alleging that "there are many contradictions and historical fallacies" in Comrade Khrushchov's speech and that his views on the origin of World War II referred to in the speech "will scarcely impress any serious historian."

If Rusk is not totally ignorant of history, says the editorial, then he is deliberately distorting historical facts. But Rusk will never succeed in altering the history of the recent past.

The Soviet people, the editorial recalls, began their patriotic war following fascist Germany's perfidious attack on their country. The nature of World War II which broke out as a result of the clash of interests among the imperialist powers underwent a change after the Soviet Union, attacked by the Hitlerite bandits, launched the sacred war against fascist aggression. It was a war not only in defence of the Soviet Union but also of all nations fighting against fascist enslavement. The heroic Soviet people played a decisive role in winning the victory of the anti-fascist war. These are facts that cannot be denied.

The editorial adds that it was entirely due to the connivance of the U.S., British and French imperialist powers that Hitlerite Germany and its accomplices were able to unleash their world war of aggression. In pursuance of their despicable anti-Soviet aims, the Western imperialists energetically fostered the German militarist forces in an attempt to turn them into a spearhead against the Soviet Union. The U.S., British and French imperialists fondly hoped to use the fascist states to deal a fatal blow to the socialist Soviet Union and at the same time weaken their rival, the Axis of fascist aggression. This design was most shamelessly expressed by former U.S. President Truman, who was then a senator. He said: "If we see that Germany is winning we ought to help Russia and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and that way let them kill as many as possible."

The Western countries, the editorial points out, more than once worked clandestinely in collusion with the axis powers on a compromise plot. It cites as examples the negotiations

after 1943 between U.S. and British diplomatic officials and diplomats of Hitlerite Germany and fascist Spain. The topic of their talks, the editorial says, was how the United States and Britain could back out of the war and prevent the Soviet Union from winning. These facts are no secret; how can they be called "historical fallacies?"

A review of these old scores in history today, twenty years after the events, the editorial continues, will naturally put the Western countries in a highly disgraceful light. But the whole of postwar history shows that the ruling circles of the Western countries deliberately forget these serious lessons of history. As Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Malinovsky has pointed out, they still attempt to embark on a policy that pushed mankind into World War II. U.S. imperialism, which aspires to dominate the world, is the main force of reaction and aggression.

As is generally known, the editorial says, in the postwar years, the imperialist bloc headed by the United States has openly repeated the Munich policy and devoted its full efforts to reviving the West German and Japanese militarist forces, speedily rearming them so as to use them as storm troopers against the socialist countries. These two hotbeds of war nurtured by the Western countries headed by the United States are posing a growing threat to world peace.

The U.S. rulers are exasperated by Comrade Khrushchov's speech, says the editorial, not only because it has touched their tender spot but also because he has reiterated the firm Soviet stand on the German question. Comrade Khrushchov renewed his demand that the Western countries conclude a peace treaty with Germany as soon as possible and normalize the status of West Berlin. At the same time, he made it clear once again that if the Western countries continue to delay the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, the Soviet Union, together with all other peace-loving countries, will sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic. He also warned them that they must not expect that the Soviet Union will countenance encroachment on the territorial integrity of the German Democratic Republic and infringement on its sovereignty. This firm stand of



Remember Hitler's End!

Cartoon by Ko Ming

the Soviet Union is undoubtedly a powerful blow to the criminal designs of the United States and its British and French allies to support the adventurist plan of the West German aggressive forces by continuing to delay the conclusion of a German peace treaty. Some military and political leaders of the United States have even wanted to resort to threats of war to extricate themselves from their awkward predicament. But who will be intimidated by this? Comrade Khrushchov pointed out in his speech that "now even our sworn enemies admit that the Soviet Union is the strongest power militarily. Besides, the Soviet Union is not alone now. We live and work within a great community of socialist countries whose population exceeds one billion." Under these circumstances, the editorial says, how can the imperialists expect that they will be able to realize the "cause" which Hitler failed to realize? If imperialism dares to launch a new world war, the editorial stresses, it can only hasten its own doom.

Angolan People Will Triumph

Public opinion in China has reiterated its solid support for the

mounting anti-colonialist struggle now going on in Angola and other Portuguese colonies. This is China's response to the call of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization for the observance, starting from June 21, of a week of solidarity with the people of those lands. In editorials and statements, newspapers as well as people's organizations, such as the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association, have put their full weight behind the people of Angola and other Portuguese colonies in the fight for national independence and denounced the brutal massacre of the African people by the Portuguese colonialists.

Renmin Ribao, in an editorial on June 24, characterizes the armed struggle of the Angolan people as "a new important development of the African national liberation movement." It points out that in the course of their fight against the Portuguese colonialists, the Angolan people have established their own armed forces. From the mining districts in the north, fighting has now spread to the plantation areas in the centre and into the southern regions bordering Southwest Africa. The war of liberation is raging in 7 out of the 13 districts of Angola; the people's armed forces have freed vast tracts of territory.

The Angolan people, the editorial notes, are facing a gang of Portuguese colonialists who stop at no savagery. True to their slave-trading tradition, these pirates have been practising genocide to maintain their colonial rule. In less than four months, more than 50,000 Angolan people, including defenceless women, children and the sick, have been murdered; another 60,000 have been forced to flee their homeland and seek refuge in the Congo. These butchers, the editorial declares, vainly hoped to strangle the Angolan national liberation movement by mass killings, but a heroic people can never be exterminated. By their

brutality, the Portuguese colonialists can only make the Angolan people close their ranks still more and fight resolutely to the end. As an example of this, the editorial draws attention to the fact that the People's Movement of the Liberation of Angola and the Angolan People's Union—the two biggest political parties leading the Angolan people's fight for liberation—are now planning to organize a united front.

"What deserves the vigilant attention of the Angolan people is that U.S. imperialism is trying to pass itself off as a 'friend' of the African people," the editorial continues. While openly shielding the Portuguese colonialist criminals, U.S. imperialism is scheming now to use the United Nations to step up its penetration into Angola and replace the Portuguese colonialists. At a recent meeting of the U.N. Security Council on the Angolan situation, the U.S. delegate did his best to defend the colonial policy of the Salazar regime and even went so far as to describe the cunningly deceitful plot of the Portuguese for so-called "reforms" in Angola as "an encouraging development." U.S. Secretary of State Rusk slandered the Angolan people's struggle for independence and freedom as "rioting." He threateningly warned the African people against taking the Angolan people's "path." All this, states the editorial, shows that the U.S. neo-colonialists, like the Portuguese old colonialists, are the most vicious enemies of the African peoples struggling for independence and freedom.

The editorial also calls attention to the fact that the people of Angola and other Portuguese colonies are uniting still more closely and strengthening their mutual solidarity and support in the common struggle. The recent meeting in Casablanca of nationalist organizations from Angola, Cape Verde, Goa, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, Sao Tome, etc. demonstrated the common hatred of the people of the Portuguese colonies for colonialists both new and old. The heroic armed struggle of the Angolan people is bound to become a mighty source of inspiration to the people of all the Portuguese colonies in their fight for independence.

The editorial declares: All the people of the world who uphold justice

stand on the side of the Angolan people in their heroic struggle against the Portuguese colonialists and unanimously denounce the Portuguese atrocities. A movement in support of the Angolan people's struggle is developing throughout the world. The recent Soviet Government statement showed the unflinching support of the socialist countries for the just fight of the Angolan people.

Renmin Ribao concludes: "From their own experience, the Chinese people are well aware that the struggle to overthrow imperialist-colonialist rule is an extremely arduous one beset by a host of difficulties. But no enemies, no difficulties can hold back the people who are determined to fight for independence. The Angolan people, who are awakened, united and have taken up arms, will surely march step by step and firmly towards final victory, no matter how complicated and tortuous is the struggle. They will surely drive the Portuguese colonialists out of Angola and build a new, independent Angola where they will be masters."

Stevenson Booed in Latin America

Stevenson's recent tour of Latin American countries as President Kennedy's special envoy is described in *Renmin Ribao's* editorial (June 30) as a "dirty mission and a flop." This "good-will visit" was an unpleasant trip for Stevenson, the paper comments, not only because he met with the protests of the people wherever he went and was called "an unwelcome emissary of U.S. imperialism" but also because his mission failed dismally. Stevenson's bitter experience shows that the tide of national-democratic revolution continues to rise in Latin America.

Analysing the purpose of Stevenson's trip to Latin America, *Renmin Ribao* points out that a new tide against yankee imperialism has swept that entire area following the recent ignominious defeat of the U.S. in Cuba. To make up for that U.S. defeat Stevenson was sent to Latin America when Washington policy-makers found the situation there getting worse for them. Stevenson's mission was to peddle Kennedy's plan of so-called "alliance for progress" and to "urge" governments of Latin American countries to take joint action against Cuba.

THE PASSING SHOW

Going Democratic in South Korea!

In south Korea where the military junta operating under martial law decree has banned all political parties, trade unions and other social organizations, closed 70 out of 100 newspapers, made mass arrests and passed sentences of death or life imprisonment on political prisoners, the "Information Ministry" announced the holding of a public opinion poll on what the public thinks about the "revolutionary government"; 1,500 persons in Seoul were "polled" over a period of three days.



"What do you think of me? Speak up!"

"Theirs Is Not to Reason Why . . ."

U.S. Lt.-Gen. Leslie R. Groves has declared: "In my opinion, a most unfortunate philosophy has been advanced in recent years. This is that a soldier must know what he is fighting for and the reasons behind it. A properly trained soldier does not have to be convinced of the righteousness of his cause."

It has become far more difficult for the U.S. to try to isolate Cuba today, says the editorial. The more consolidated and deeply rooted the Cuban revolution becomes, the greater is its influence on the Latin American peoples and the greater are the support and sympathy it gets from them. This is because the Latin American peoples are becoming more convinced that the Cuban people are following a correct path and that the defence of the Cuban revolution is the defence of their own aspirations and ideals.

The editorial goes on to say that such a public opinion has been formed in Latin America today that whoever opposes the Cuban revolution, opposes progress and liberation in Latin America. The feelings of the various Latin American peoples for what they love and what they hate are so unequivocal and strong that the ruling circles in many states realize the danger of their being discarded and opposed by the people if they disregard this will of the people. This is the reason why the United States failed to win even a few open supporters for its recent armed aggression against Cuba and why Stevenson failed to fulfil his dirty mission.

The U.S. overlords who believe in the "almighty dollar" think that the dollar can serve their blackmail purposes, the editorial says. Kennedy purposely signed the 500 million dollar "aid" bill for Latin America on the eve of the announcement of Stevenson's visit to Latin America. But Cuban Premier Castro has put it aptly: Latin

America "cannot be bought over with millions of dollars." Besides, the editorial notes, the "alliance for progress" has little attraction even for many ruling groups in Latin American countries, because, as progressive public opinion in Latin America has pointed out, Kennedy's "alliance for progress" is nothing but a replica of the old "alliance for misery" which U.S. imperialism has been exporting to Latin America for the past one hundred years, it is "an alliance between the shark and sardines."

Because Stevenson met with rebuffs everywhere he went in Latin America, the U.S. has had to postpone the Inter-American Economic Conference which was scheduled to open in Montevideo on July 15. The purpose of that conference, *Renmin Ribao* points out, is to push the "alliance for progress" programme on a big scale to oppose Cuba and enslave Latin America.

But U.S. imperialism will never willingly give up its vested interests in Latin America, nor will it ever change its policy of aggression there, continues *Renmin Ribao*. The Latin American peoples have learnt from their own experiences that no illusions whatsoever should be entertained about U.S. imperialism.

Latin America is no longer the "backyard" of the United States. The Latin American peoples are determined to be the masters of their own destinies. No matter what U.S. imperialism does it is foredoomed to failure in Latin America, the editorial concludes.

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Fraternal Ties

These columns report all the more important of the various political, economic and cultural exchanges between China and the other socialist states. But many of the considerable number of everyday exchanges unfortunately have to go unrecorded simply through lack of space. Some are only between localities, but in sum they all show in their varied ways the deep roots socialist international relations have struck in the people's life. Here are some brief items gleaned from recent press reports.

Soviet Union: A Chinese youth delegation from Heilungkiang Province is going to Khabarovsk to take part in the Soviet Youth Day celebrations there. This Soviet Far-Eastern city, on the northern bank of the Heilungkiang (Amur) River has many friendly ties with the northeast Chinese province on the neighbouring bank of the river.

From Hupeh Province in central China, a delegation of the local Sino-Soviet Friendship Association is going on a tour of the Ukrainian Republic of the U.S.S.R.

Korea: Art lovers in Kirin Province, northeast China, are enjoying performances given by a cultural and art group from Jagang Province of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Jagang and Kirin are neighbours joined by the waters of the famous Yalu River which forms their common boundary.

Viet Nam: From the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam comes a delegation which will make a special study of Chinese experience in water conservancy and electric power. It has already made a 22-day tour of Canton and other parts of Kwangtung Province and is now visiting Kiangsu Province, east China.

Mongolia: Last week, in Ulan Bator, three projects built with Chinese assistance, including a seven-story department store, were completed and handed over to the Mongolian Government, ready for use before the

coming fortieth anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution.

The Mongolian people have been enthusiastically contributing voluntary labour on various projects in honour of the coming anniversary. Thousands of Chinese working in Mongolia to help in its national construction together with their families have also been taking part in this labour of love.

G.D.R.: A photo exhibition entitled "Two German States and Two Armies" is evoking wide interest in Peking. Prepared by the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic, it shows the sharp contrasts between the People's Army of the G.D.R. that stands in defence of peace and the country's socialist construction, and the West German Bundeswehr that revives German militarism and prepares for aggressive war.

Colombian C. P. Congress

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party sent fraternal greetings to the 9th Congress of the Colombian Communist Party held in Bogota. It expressed admiration for the successes achieved by the Colombian Communist Party and wished it still greater successes in the struggle against U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, for the defence of world peace, the preservation of national independence, the winning of democracy and freedom, and for improvement of the people's livelihood.

Friendship Between Chinese And Japanese Youth

A Chinese youth delegation headed by Yang Hai-po, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League, has just completed a visit to Japan during which it attended the 7th Congress of the Japanese Democratic Youth League.

Before its departure from Tokyo, it issued a joint statement with the Japanese Democratic Youth League, the Japanese Socialist Youth League and the youth departments of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan and the All-Japan Federation of Farmers' Unions. The statement declared that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples and also the enemy of peace-loving people throughout the world. It pledged that Chinese and Japanese youth would further strengthen their unity

in the active struggle against U.S. imperialism and for Asian and world peace.

Kuwait's Independence Greeted

Premier Chou En-lai has sent a message of congratulations on the proclamation of the independence of Kuwait to Sheikh Abdullah as-Salim as-Sabah.

Touring West Africa

A goodwill delegation of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association has just returned to Peking from a tour of eight West African countries — Guinea, Mali, Ghana, Niger, Upper Volta, Senegal, Togo and Dahomey.

During its stay in the Republic of Dahomey, the last country on its itinerary, it was received by Huber Maga, President, and Sourou Migan Apithy, Vice-President, of Dahomey.

Somali Municipal Delegation

A municipal delegation from Mogadiscio, capital of the Republic of Somali, headed by its Mayor Ahmed Mudde Hussen, is touring Peking and Shanghai, two of China's leading municipalities.

Mayor Peng Chen of Peking underlined the feelings of the Chinese people towards their Somali guests when he said in greeting the delegation, "The Somali people are our dear friends and brothers. We underwent the same experience of suffering from imperialist-colonialist oppression in the past. The common task confronting us today, now that we have both been liberated, is to safeguard our national independence and build up our own countries. We should support and help each other."

Chinese Artists in N. Europe

A group of 25 Chinese folk singers, musicians, dancers and acrobats is winning thousands of new friends for China in Northern Europe. In Finland, their three-week tour was a great hit with audiences in Helsinki and ten other cities. Their presence lent much colour to the celebrations in honour of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Finland-China Society. The Chinese artists have also met many representatives of Finnish cultural life.

The same group gave successful performances in Norway and Sweden in April and May.

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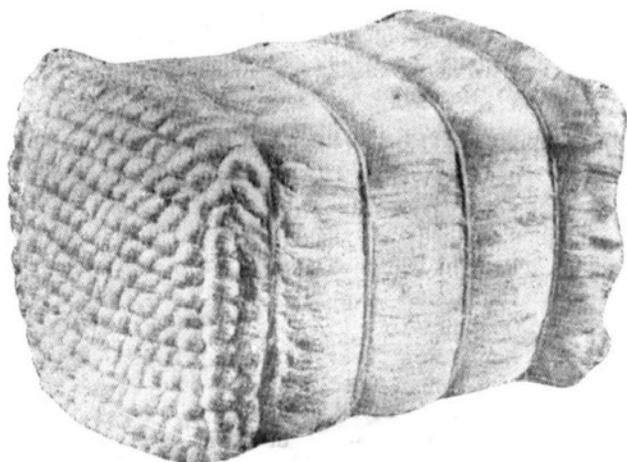
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