

# PEKING REVIEW

11

March 11, 1966

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## WHAT TRICKS ARE THEY UP TO?

On the Moscow Talks Between British and Soviet Leaders

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### Reactionary Coup d'Etat in Ghana

1. Background and comment
2. Chinese Embassy in Accra protests against outrages and obstruction

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

# PEKING REVIEW

March 11, 1966

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## Women to the Fore

**I**NTERNATIONAL Working Women's Day (March 8) was celebrated across the land. The National Women's Federation gave a reception attended by many foreign women guests in the capital.

With socialist revolution and socialist construction developing on an unprecedented scale, Chinese women are playing an increasingly important role. They have made tremendous contributions on all fronts; many have come to the fore as pace-setters. Most famous among them are the women of the Taching Oilfield and the Tachai Production Brigade. In a broadcast over the national radio network on the eve of Women's Day, President of the National Women's Federation Tsai Chang called on women throughout China to learn from their brilliant examples.

**Women of Taching.** Inspiring stories are told all over the country about how the women of Taching Oilfield — workers' wives and dependents — organized themselves to take part in productive labour and made their contribution to the building of Taching. Their exploits made frontpage news in the national press last week.

From the day when Taching Oilfield was first opened up, the Communist Party committee there decided to make it a socialist centre in the fullest sense — producing petroleum for socialist construction as well as training the workers and their family members into true revolutionaries. Arrangements were therefore made to organize study groups for those women who had come with their husbands or children and had no jobs — to help them raise their ideological level and to lead them along the collective road.

Through the study of Chairman Mao's works and through discussions, the women gained a deeper understanding of the revolutionary significance of Taching and the role they should play. Inspiring them was the

example of a pioneering land reclamation team of a dozen or so housewives led by 53-year-old Hsueh Kueifang. The team opened up 32 *mu* of wasteland near the oilfield and harvested 3,000 *jin* of grain. Its success, marginal as it was, set all the women astir. Before long, they formed over 400 similar teams and built farms on the age-old virgin land near and around the oilfield. Last year these farms yielded more than 40 million *jin* of grain, 30 million *jin* of vegetables and 250,000 *jin* of meat, eggs and poultry — an enormous help to the state trading departments in solving the problem of supplying food to Taching.

Apart from these contributions, some of the women of Taching today work in food processing shops, creches and nurseries, canteens and other catering services. Many others are active in popularizing education among the workers and their children and promoting cultural life in the expanding community.

Everywhere in Taching today, one sees a new type of family. Enjoying genuine political and economic equality, both husband and wife work for the revolution, interested in each other's problems and constantly encouraging each other. This new relationship is imparting a healthy influence on the children who, like their parents, regularly take part in physical labour and are developing an ever deeper love for the collective and the motherland.

**Women of Tachai.** The women of Tachai Production Brigade of a rural people's commune in Shansi Province

played an important part in transforming denuded hills into fertile terraced fields. Working in a scientific way and with revolutionary determination they, together with the men, enabled their formerly poor village to achieve prosperity through self-reliance. Chen Yung-kuei, secretary of the Communist Party branch of Tachai, said: "The women are a leading force in Tachai. They have done valuable work in helping our brigade win good harvests. Every one of Tachai's nearly 3,000 plots of farmland is covered with the footprints of our women who take part in all the farming work from sowing to harvesting."

A group of 23 young women, ranging from 17 to 20 years old, have become a shock force in Tachai. They always are on hand in places where difficulties are the greatest. When heavy rainfall in August 1963 hit the crops and toppled some of the embankments protecting the terraced fields, the women worked alongside the men to save the crops and the farmland. They said: "The rain has washed away the crops, but we will make them grow again." That year they reaped a good harvest in spite of adverse weather. Combining hard work with ingenuity, they also succeeded in bringing in rich harvests in 1964 and 1965.

Women everywhere in China are inspired by the examples of the women of Taching and Tachai. They are studying the achievements of Taching, Tachai and other outstanding industrial, farming, educational and cultural units, determined to fulfil Chairman Mao's words that women have a great part in building a strong socialist China.

## Johnson's Double-Barrelled Diplomacy

**W**ITH blare and blarney, Lyndon Johnson declared on March 1 — when his new director of the "Peace Corps," Jack Hood Vaughn, was sworn in — that he was seeking the day when he could be as generous

in peace as he must be determined in battle. He added: "We are ready, when that day comes, to join in a massive effort of reconstruction and development open to all — including north Vietnam."

Aware that escalation of the war of aggression against Vietnam has dragged the U.S. aggressor troops deeper into the pit, Johnson sees fit to embark on "a war for the hearts" of the Vietnamese people.

The so-called "massive effort of reconstruction and development" or the "new programme of economic and social reform," or whatever name it takes, is only an old trick that has been played and replayed by the U.S. imperialists over the past 11 years. It failed in the days of the Diem-Nhu brothers, and it will fizzle out again under the present Thieu-Ky regime.

Designed as a shot in the arm for the Saigon puppet regime, the new programme purports to help it "to stabilize the economy, to increase the production of food, to spread the light of education, to stamp out disease." But, as the West German newspaper *Frankfurter Rundschau* commented, "it is a programme which is full of illusions and once again ignores reality."

In areas under U.S. and puppet control in south Vietnam, corruption is rife. *U.S. News & World Report* on February 14 published a Saigon report saying that "graft, theft, bribery, misuse of U.S. aid funds, a bloated black market, opium smuggling . . . all these enter into the growing problem of corruption." In that city, "almost everywhere you find evidence of the extent to which money and goods pouring from the U.S. into this country are being misused." The report also said that unless corruption could be curbed, "an already difficult and frustrating war, costing the U.S. more and more in lives and money, is cer-

## Talks With C.P.J. and C.P.N.Z. Delegations

A delegation of the Chinese Communist Party held talks in Peking with the Japanese Communist Party delegation on March 3.

Among those taking part on the Chinese side were Vice-Chairman Liu Shao-chi and General Secretary Teng Hsiao-ping. On the Japanese side were Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary; Masayoshi Oka, Standing Committee Member of the Presidium and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee; and other members of the visiting delegation of the C.P.J.

On March 5, talks took place between delegations of the Chinese Communist Party and the New Zealand Communist Party. Participants included Teng Hsiao-ping and Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the C.P.C.'s Central Committee, and V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary, and Alec Ostler, member of the visiting delegation of the C.P.N.Z. On March 7, Vice-Chairman Liu Shao-chi gave a banquet for the New Zealand comrades.

tain to become even harder to win." But how is corruption to be curbed when it has become "a way of life" of the Saigon puppets?

Inflation, that twin brother of misrule, continues in puppet-controlled areas and economic conditions worsen. Causes of the inflation are, in a large measure, spiralling military expenditures which drain the Saigon regime's limited resources and the issuance of large amounts of military notes, following the increase of American troops. This in turn has shot commodity prices sky-high, making it increasingly difficult for the people to maintain even a bare living. *Time* magazine admitted that "the more aid and troops the U.S. pours into south Vietnam, the greater the danger of runaway inflation." The *New York Times* on February 25 noted that the south Vietnamese population was suffering more from "economic dislocation and corruption

than at any other time during more than two decades of intermittent war." And, said *U.S. News & World Report*, "it's American troops who are adding to south Vietnam's economic woes."

What with burning down houses to clear land for expansion of port facilities and for building barracks and military warehouses, bombing villages and schools and killing innocent people, using toxic chemicals and poison gas, spraying defoliants to destroy the crops, there is mounting wrath and indignation against the U.S. aggressors among the Vietnamese people. "Pacification" will be no easy job and Johnson will have a very tough row to hoe in times ahead.

Johnson knows this as clearly as anybody. And more than anyone else, he knows that the American aim in south Vietnam is military suppres-

(Continued on p. 26.)



"We'll help them  
— to construct a  
modern society . . .

— to build a better  
material life . . .

— to increase the  
production of  
food . . .

— to spread the  
light of education  
. . .

— and to bring about a true social  
revolution."

Cartoon by Miao Ti

# What Tricks Are They Up to?

— On the Moscow Talks Between British and  
Soviet Government Leaders —

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

**T**HE British Labour government and the leaders of the Soviet Union are playing a highly active role in the Johnson Administration's scheme for "peace talks" on Vietnam. After the exchange of visits between top-ranking British and Soviet officials, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson visited the Soviet Union in the latter part of February and had talks with Alexei Kosygin and other Soviet leaders. This was the first personal contact between the heads of the two governments since the present Soviet leaders took over power. Their talks covered extensive ground, but the central topic was the Vietnam question.

The communique on the British-Soviet talks said that the two sides "set out with great frankness their respective points of view on the situation in Vietnam." At first glance, it appeared that each talked in its own way with a wide gap between the two parties. But is this true?

## Wilson Let the Cat Out of the Bag

The words of the communique, indeed, were very carefully chosen. Nevertheless, Wilson, out of his own necessity, let the cat out of the bag. He said: "Our meetings were exceptionally useful." He added that he and Kosygin had "agreed that the Vietnam problem defied solution by military means" and that "[the] Vietnam [question] means a continuing cloud over East-West relations generally. I think, however, we are anxious to find ways and means of improving the situation and that they [Moscow] feel that they and we have a role in this."

In the course of the British-Soviet talks, Wilson sent his Minister of State Lord Chalfont to contact the Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in Moscow. A British journal wrote that "both President Johnson and (though he cannot admit it publicly) Mr. Kosygin approved the four-hour talk between Lord Chalfont and Mr. Li Chang, the north Vietnam envoy in Moscow." Following this contact, Wilson freely spread misleading rumours. The Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in a statement on February 25 sternly refuted what Wilson had said and charged him with trying to

absolve U.S. imperialism from the crime of waging a war of aggression against Vietnam.

Thus what Britain and the Soviet Union were up to on the Vietnam question in their Moscow talks is quite clear.

## Record of Anglo-Soviet Collaboration

As a matter of fact, it was not the first time that the Soviet leadership and the British Labour government put their heads together for underhand dealings on the Vietnam question. For a year now, they have made numerous contacts, echoing each other and synchronizing their actions in the wake of the step-by-step U.S. escalation of its war of aggression against Vietnam and its attempt to put over one "peace talks" swindle after another.

**International Conference Without Preconditions.** U.S. imperialism began to bomb north Vietnam on February 7 last year in an attempt to compel the Vietnamese people to give up their resistance and go down on their knees. Five days later, the British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs flew to Moscow and had urgent talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko on the Vietnam question. On February 16, the Soviet leadership officially proposed to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and China that an international conference on Indo-China be called without preconditions. Acting in close association with the Soviet proposal, the British Government, in a message to the Soviet Union on February 20, proposed that Britain and the Soviet Union, as co-chairmen of the Geneva conference, jointly canvass the nations which had participated in the 1954 Geneva conference for opinions on a so-called "peaceful solution" of the Vietnam question. This design of the Soviet leadership and the British Labour government did not succeed, as the Soviet proposal was rejected by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and China and consequently, the British proposal was still-born.

**International Meeting on Cambodian Question.** In April last year, the Soviet Union in its capacity as one of the co-chairmen of the Geneva conference proposed

the convening of an international meeting to discuss the Cambodian question. Britain immediately responded to this proposal. The aim of this Anglo-Soviet united action was to smuggle in Johnson's "unconditional discussions" on the Vietnam question through the channel of this conference. The scheme was nipped in the bud because it was seen through by the Royal Government of Cambodia.

**Commonwealth "Peace Mission."** Last June, the British Labour government set up a so-called British Commonwealth "peace mission" in an attempt to sell the Johnson Administration's "peace talks" formula. The Soviet Government, in a memorandum to this "peace mission" at the time, asked it to "put forward its own proposal" to the Vietnamese people. In appearance, the Soviet leaders adopted an attitude of aloofness, but, actually, they wanted the British Government to bring pressure on the Vietnamese people. This was well understood by Wilson. He stressed: Kosygin "told our representatives to go to Hanoi," so "it is our duty to do this by any means open to us" in order "to create conditions for reconvening the Geneva conference under the co-chairmanship of Gromyko and Stewart." But this Labour government scheme miscarried because the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam sternly denounced Wilson's vile machinations and refused to receive the "peace mission."

**Stewart's Visit to Moscow.** At the end of November and the beginning of December last year when British Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart visited Moscow for talks with the Soviet Foreign Minister, the Soviet Government specially arranged for Stewart to make a televised speech in Moscow. In that speech, the British Foreign Secretary openly urged that Britain and the Soviet Union jointly "call a conference of all the governments concerned." "Let that conference as speedily as possible arrange a ceasefire," he said. He put it still more explicitly when he went back to London. He said: "I have no doubt that the Soviet Government are as anxious as we are that the fighting should be brought to an end there [in Vietnam]."

So here they are, one proposing, the other responding; one conducting activities in the open, the other giving support behind the scenes. This is how closely and harmoniously these two chums, the Soviet leadership and the British Labour government, have cooperated!

### **Joint Service for U.S. "Peace Talks" Swindle**

To extinguish the raging flames of the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation and induce them to lay down their arms and fall into the U.S. "peace talks" trap is something which the Johnson Administration has always craved. Out of its imperialist nature, which is hostile towards the national-liberation movement, and from its need to rely on U.S. imperialism, the British Labour government is energetically serving as a faithful lackey of U.S. imperialism on the Vietnam question. By collaborating and taking

united action with such a notorious U.S. flunkey, the Soviet leadership evidently also wants to give the Johnson Administration as much help as it can in promoting the "peace talks" hoax.

It is true that the roles played by the British Labour government and the Soviet leadership are not entirely the same. The Wilson government is playing the open, undisguised part. Whenever U.S. imperialism escalates the war, it cheers and applauds; whenever U.S. imperialism peddles its "peace talks" hoax, it hawks it all around the world. The Soviet leaders, however, follow a different course. They pretend to support the Vietnamese people by mouthing a few words in condemnation of U.S. imperialism. To deceive the Vietnamese and other people of the world who oppose imperialism, to bring the Vietnamese resistance war under their control, and particularly to strengthen their position in bargaining with U.S. imperialism, they sometimes give some military aid to Vietnam. But their real aim is to try to lead the Vietnamese people by hook or by crook to the Johnson Administration's conference table of "unconditional discussions," so as to bring about another "Munich."

**Washington Plays a New Card, Moscow Takes Up the Cue.** In the past year events have shown that the Soviet leaders have acted more and more craftily in connection with the Vietnam question. At first, their activities were quite open, but as time went on, they became more and more stealthy. But since a fox has an enormous tail, it cannot avoid exposing it despite all its effort to hide it. One sees that whenever Washington throws out something new, Moscow immediately takes up the cue, and acts accordingly, overtly or covertly. Recently, Washington played another card in connection with its "peace talks" fraud, deliberately showing some flexibility on what is called the question of the status of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. It was against this background that talks were held between the British and Soviet leaders in Moscow on the Vietnam question. Despite the strict silence maintained by the Soviet leaders, it is not difficult to perceive what they have been up to in the light of Harold Wilson's activities and reactions in Moscow.

### **Abandoning Proper Stand of Geneva Conference Co-Chairmen**

The British and Soviet leaders serve the interests of U.S. imperialism on the Vietnam question by making use of their co-chairmanship of the Geneva conference. Everybody knows that the duties of the co-chairmen are to uphold the Geneva agreements. By their naked aggression against Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have mutilated these agreements. In these circumstances, the co-chairmen, instead of halting the heinous aggression launched by U.S. imperialism, help the Johnson Administration peddle its "peace talks" swindle, and, instead of demanding the immediate withdrawal of U.S. aggressor troops from south Vietnam, urge the Vietnamese people to stop their resistance. This shows

that they are not at all interested in solving the Vietnam question on the basis of upholding the Geneva agreements, but want the Vietnamese people to tolerate the occupation of south Vietnam and division of Vietnam by the United States. Acting in this manner, the co-chairmen have long abandoned the proper stand they should take and have degenerated into the assistants of the U.S. imperialists in their aggression against Vietnam.

In the collaboration between the British and Soviet leaders, each has his own ax to grind. Wilson hopes to establish himself as "the link man between East and

West" so as to raise the prestige of the Labour government and make some political capital. The Soviet leaders, on their part, want to strike a deal with U.S. imperialism through this channel and bring the Vietnam question into the orbit of U.S.-U.S.S.R. collaboration. But all these calculations will eventually prove to be castles in the air, because U.S. imperialism is already deeply bogged down in the morass of aggression against Vietnam and cannot extricate itself. Anyone who assists U.S. imperialism, on his own or in collaboration, will end up with U.S. imperialism in ruin and shame.

*("Renmin Ribao," March 6.)*

## Protests to Ghanaian Authorities

- **Personal search and attacks on Chinese experts by Ghanaian troops constitute a provocation violating the Sino-Ghanaian economic and technical co-operation agreement and harming friendly relations between the Chinese and Ghanaian peoples.**
- **Unwarranted Ghanaian demands to withdraw Chinese experts and reduce the Chinese Embassy staff in Ghana constitute another serious step to tear up the Sino-Ghanaian agreement and undermine friendship and co-operation between the two peoples.**
- **The Chinese Embassy in Accra, in two notes, strongly protested against the outrages by Ghanaian army men and the unwarranted demands of the Ghanaian authorities. As we go to press, the first group of Chinese experts and embassy staff, numbering 125, had returned from Ghana, on March 5.**

*The February 28 note reads in part as follow:*

ON February 27, 1966, at about 12 noon, Mr. Chou Chin-wen, leader of the Chinese construction expert team of the Ghana National Integrated Cotton Textile and Knitwear Factory at Juapong, interpreter Chin Chih-tsai, expert Yuan Yun-tung and Mr. Kuo Ping-kang, a staff member of the Chinese Embassy, were proceeding to the textile factory work site from Accra by car. On their way a group of Ghanaian soldiers stopped the experts and asked them to show their identity cards. While the Chinese experts explained that they came to Ghana on the economic and technical co-operation agreement between the two countries and that no identity card was issued to them by the Ghana Government, the soldiers then forced a search on their person and beat them up. Afterwards the Chinese experts were taken to the Accra police headquarters [where the "National Liberation Council" of the coup forces was located — *Ed.*]. The soldiers there then stripped the experts naked and carried out brutal assault by using whips, gun stocks, fists and feet for as long as one hour. Only because of their repeated protests and requests were they sent back to the Chinese Embassy. Now the hospital examination proves that there is a fracture at Mr. Chou Chin-wen's hip bone and he is not able to stand up. Various wounds are also caused on the bodies and heads of the other three.

March 11, 1966

The fact that the above-stated atrocities of illegal assault on the Chinese experts and the embassy staff occurred at the police headquarters in Accra cannot but be regarded as an act of intentional provocation. It not only seriously impedes the normal work of the Chinese experts, violates the agreement of economic and technical co-operation, but also harms the friendly relations between the peoples of China and Ghana.

The Chinese Embassy demands that the authorities concerned should apologize for this incident, punish those persons responsible and that effective measures be taken to protect the safety of all members of the Chinese Embassy, all Chinese experts as well as other Chinese nationals in Ghana and ensure that no such incidents will occur again.

*The note of March 1 reads in part as follow:*

THE memorandum handed over by Mr. Quao, Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ghana, to Mr. Huang Shih-hsieh, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Accra, on February 28, 1966, demands that all the Chinese technical experts working in Ghana leave the country immediately and that the staff of the Chinese Embassy be immediately cut down to 18. Following the outrage of February 27 in which Ghanaian

troops unreasonably detained in Accra police headquarters and brutally beat up and injured the leader of the team of Chinese construction experts, another expert, a staff member of the Embassy and an interpreter, these unilateral and unreasonable demands made by the Ghanaian Foreign Ministry cannot but be regarded as another serious step taken by the Ghanaian side to deliberately tear up the agreement on economic and technical co-operation between China and Ghana and undermine the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries. Against this, the Embassy of the People's Republic of China lodges a strong protest with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ghana.



**Chou Chin-wen, leader of the Chinese construction experts in Ghana, who was beaten up and whose hip bone was badly injured, is carried from the plane upon arrival in Shanghai on March 5**

The Chinese engineering experts and technical personnel were sent to Ghana in pursuance of the agreement on economic and technical co-operation and the related agreements on industrial and agricultural construction projects signed by the Governments of China and Ghana. The Ghanaian side was fully aware that the construction of the integrated cotton textile and knitwear factory at Juapong and the pencil factory at Kumasi was in full swing, and that most of the building material and machinery for the two factories had arrived in Ghana. Since October 1965, construction had begun on nine principal workshops of the integrated cotton textile and knitwear factory, and more than 7,000 tons of material and equipment had arrived in Ghana. The construction of the pencil factory had started in January 1966, and more than 1,000 tons of material and equipment for it had arrived in Ghana. According to agreement, the Chinese side had also paid the local expenses for the construction. In taking the step in question, the Ghanaian side thoroughly tore up the agreement on economic and technical co-operation and the related agreements between the two countries, and the suspension of the construction caused serious losses to these two projects. Therefore, the Chinese Embassy solemnly points out that the Ghanaian side must bear full responsibility for tearing up the agreements and causing the economic losses.

According to agreement, the Chinese experts and technical personnel were to return home only after the completion of the related projects. But since the Ghanaian side has now failed to guarantee the dignity and personal safety of the Chinese experts and has unilaterally and unreasonably demanded the withdrawal of all the Chinese experts from Ghana, the Chinese side is compelled to agree to recall its experts in Ghana. However, the Chinese side cannot abandon the above-mentioned construction sites and the large quantities of building material and equipment without their being taken over by the Ghanaian side. Proceeding from the friendship between the peoples of China and Ghana and its sense of responsibility for the agreement on

economic and technical co-operation between China and Ghana, the Chinese Embassy hereby puts forward to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ghana the following demands:

1. The Ghanaian side should immediately send responsible officials to Juapong and Kumasi to take over and sign receipts for the above-mentioned two construction sites and the material and equipment there.
2. The Ghanaian side should immediately send responsible officials to Port Tema and Accra to take over and sign receipts for the equipment and material for the above-mentioned two projects.
3. The Chinese side hopes that the Ghanaian side will fulfil the above-mentioned procedures of taking over and signing receipts without delay.
4. For the purpose of handing over the construction sites and the equipment and material to the Ghanaian side, the Chinese side has prepared inventories and an account of the progress of construction work and entrusted the economic counsellor's office of the Embassy and the experts concerned with the task of hand-over. The Ghanaian side must bear full responsibility for the safety of the Chinese experts during their stay in Ghana for the completion of the hand-over.

In the memorandum of the Foreign Ministry of Ghana, the Ghanaian side also abruptly demands that the staff of the Chinese Embassy must be cut down to 18. It must be pointed out that this demand is unreasonable and is a deliberate act undermining the friendly relations between China and Ghana. In view of the unfriendly attitude taken by the Ghanaian side, the Chinese Government has decided to reduce the staff of the Chinese Embassy in Accra.

The Chinese Embassy asks the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ghana to truly ensure the safe withdrawal of the Chinese personnel and to provide the necessary facilities.

# Africa's Revolutionary Tide Cannot Be Stemmed

"The imperialists and reactionaries have tried, are trying and will continue to try their utmost to obstruct and undermine the cause of independence and progress of the African peoples. Facts have proved and will continue to prove that the frantic struggles of the imperialists and reactionaries will only stimulate the peoples of African countries to sharper vigilance and stronger determination in the fight against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for the defence of national independence and the prosperity and the progress of their countries."

— MAO TSE-TUNG

*Message to President Kwame Nkrumah  
of the Republic of Ghana, January 9, 1964*

A MILITARY coup d'etat took place in Accra, capital of Ghana, on February 24, the day Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, arrived in Peking on a visit.

Radio Ghana reported early that morning: "It is announced by Colonel E.K. Kotoka of the Second Infantry Brigade of the Ghana Army that the Ghana military in co-operation with the Ghana police have with effect from today taken over the government of Ghana."

Kotoka also announced that the Parliament was dissolved, that all government ministers were dismissed from office and that the Convention People's Party was disbanded.

On the evening of February 24, reported Radio Ghana, a seven-man "National Liberation Council" was formed to handle state affairs. J.A. Ankrah, former deputy chief of staff of defence who had been dismissed by President Nkrumah last year, was chairman of the council and commander of the armed forces, and Kotoka, a member of the council, was appointed commander of the army.

## Calling on Ghanaian People to Stand Firm

The next day, in a statement issued in Peking, President Nkrumah said, "I know that the Ghanaian people are always loyal to me, the party and the government, and all I expect of everyone at this hour of trial is to remain calm, but firm in determination and resistance."

Stressing that he was the constitutional head of the Republic of Ghana and the supreme commander of the armed forces, the Ghanaian leader declared, "I am returning to Ghana soon."

Just before leaving Peking on February 28, President Nkrumah made another statement to the press. He pointed out that the military coup d'etat was a rebellion against the Government of the Republic of Ghana. "This rebellion does not deserve the support of any government. I am determined to stamp out the rebellion without delay, and in this I count on the support of the Ghanaian people and friends of Ghana all over the world."

"On leaving Peking, the capital of the People's Republic of China," he added, "I express my profound and sincere thanks to the Chinese people and their leaders for their support and generous hospitality."

Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, and Lin Feng, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, who were in the welcoming party when the Ghanaian leader arrived four days earlier, saw him off at the airport.

President Nkrumah arrived on March 2 in Conakry, capital of Guinea, where President Toure and 70,000 people gave him a rousing welcome and pledged firm support. President Toure roundly condemned the imperialists and their lackeys for their crime of subversion. He declared, "We tell our brother Nkrumah that here is his home and that beginning today he assumes the highest responsibility of the state and the party of Guinea."

Meanwhile, in Accra on February 27, the coup forces brutally beat up a Chinese expert and three other Chinese personnel who were helping Ghana build a textile mill. The following day the "National Liberation Council" unilaterally tore up the economic and technical

co-operation agreement between China and Ghana and unjustifiably asked that all Chinese experts working in Ghana be withdrawn from Ghana immediately, and that the Chinese Embassy staff be reduced. The Chinese Embassy in Accra lodged two strong protests (see p. 7).

### Imperialist Intrigue Exposed

The Accra coup immediately touched off an angry barrage of condemnation from many African nations and world public opinion. The accusing fingers pointed one way — at Anglo-American imperialism. The coup was not simply regarded as subversion against President Nkrumah and Ghana alone, but as an imperialist attack on the entire African revolution.

President Toure of Guinea openly denounced Britain for organizing the coup d'etat. At a rally of the Guinean Democratic Party on February 27 he warned, "The British are badly mistaken if they think they have succeeded. . . . We state solemnly, and with more vigour than the London radio: the criminals who have caused the coup d'etat in Ghana will pay for it, and they will pay for it dearly."

A statement issued by the National Political Bureau of the Sudanese Union Party of Mali on February 25 pointed out that the Accra coup is "part of the general offensive unleashed by imperialism to try to compromise the independence and sovereignty of our young states." In Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere also denounced the military coup and expressed support for President Nkrumah. He reiterated that "Africa must get rid of colonialism, exploitation and oppression." The Arab Socialist Union of the United Arab Republic described the coup as an imperialist conspiracy against Africa's independence and said that it was designed to keep the continent under foreign influence. The Cairo paper *Al Massa* stated that the coup was engineered by the United States and Britain, and *Al Goumhouria* stressed in a February 27 commentary that a plot against Nkrumah was "a plot against Ghana itself and the entire African revolution."

Condemning imperialist master-minding of military coups in African countries, the political bureau of the National Revolutionary Movement of the Congo (Brazzaville) noted that reactionary pressure supported by imperialism had been increasing in African states with a view to overthrowing the existing regimes by military coups before putting docile new teams into power. "These coups," said a communique issued by the political bureau, "constitute a mortal threat to the Organization of African Unity and the liberation movement of the peoples still under colonial rule and compromise the national independence of our young states and their economic and social progress."

In Mogadishu, the Somali Foreign Ministry issued a statement expressing regret over the coup and paying respect to President Nkrumah. In Algiers, Algerian Foreign Minister Bouteflika hit at the imperialists for seeking every conceivable means to jeopardize the independence of the African states.

African response to the imperialist-engineered coup in Ghana was expressed in concrete forms. The Malian, Guinean, Tanzanian, Kenyan and the U.A.R. delegations walked out of the meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa in protest against the participation of the representatives of the Ghana coupists. President Modibo Keita withdrew the Malian Embassy and the Zambian Government recalled its High Commissioner in Accra. Mass demonstrations against imperialism and colonialism took place in Guinea, Mali, Senegal and other places.

### Revelations in Washington and London

While tempers ran high in Africa and the rest of the world, Washington and London did not hide their delight. In fact, the U.S. and British attitude towards the military coup in Accra revealed a good deal of their fingers in the pie. Both countries lost no time in recognizing the military regime in Ghana. U.S. State Department spokesman McCloskey declared that a State Department note handed to the charge d'affaires of the Ghanaian Embassy on March 4 "constituted U.S. recognition of the Ghanaian government of the National Liberation Committee." McCloskey also said that the State Department had expressed the hope in the note for continuing "friendly and mutually beneficial relations" between the two governments.

Earlier, on March 2, even before U.S. recognition was officially announced, U.S.I.S. praised the statements of the coupists as "encouraging." An AP dispatch of March 3 quoted Washington officials as saying that if the "new Ghana regime" asked for technicians and teachers, "the Administration will consider such a request. Meanwhile, it was made clear the proper U.S. government agencies are making preparations in case a request is received."

U.S. press reports likewise shed light on the U.S. link to the events in Ghana. The *Christian Science Monitor* of February 28 quoted a "report from London" that "Washington may have been involved in the anti-Nkrumah coup." In an article entitled "No Tears Shed for Nkrumah," the *New York Herald Tribune* (February 25) said: "Administration officials yesterday were openly delighted by the coup that ousted Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah." It quoted a State Department official as saying that "there'll certainly be no unhappiness here."

In London, the British Labour government announced recognition of the Ghanaian coup clique on March 4. Ghana had severed diplomatic relations with Britain last December in protest against British connivance at the white colonialists' declaration of "independence" of South Rhodesia. London did not bother to conceal its pleasure at the coup and its hope for a quick come-back of British colonialism in Ghana.

British General Henry Alexander, former chief of the Ghanaian defence staff who was kicked out in 1961 by President Nkrumah, declared on the day of the coup that it was "an excellent day." He called Kotoka "a good soldier."

The London *Times* gloated that "the militant African left has suffered a heavy blow," and that "Ghana would be worth salvaging again." The paper also expressed the hope that the event could be a "turning-point" for African countries to give up their struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

### A Spur to Africans' Anti-Imperialist Fight

The imperialists can never learn their lessons. Again, they have laughed too soon. The reactionary coup d'etat in Ghana instead of being a gain for them has already made the African people more vigilant than ever against imperialism and colonialism, and it will spur them to fight back more resolutely than before. President Toure was correct when he said that the only way to achieve victory was to wage struggle every day, and that the freedom of Africa would be

the result of the struggle of the peoples of Africa. He pointed out that if imperialism thought that its time had come, "the progressives of Africa would say to imperialism: Thanks! Because the offensive of imperialism is going to accelerate the march of history in Africa."

Also, President Nyerere of Tanzania declared: "Africa is ripe for revolution. We must carry on the revolution of Africa. Our attention must continue to be directed at those forces which humiliate, exploit, oppress Africa. We must not stop."

These declarations voice the general sentiment of the African people today. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: The reactionary counter-current is trying to swamp the main current of national independence and people's democracy, but it can never become the main current.

## Facts on File

### Record of Imperialist Subversion Against Ghana

GHANA, a land of more than 238,000 square kilometres with a population of 7.5 million, had had much success in ridding itself of colonial influences and consolidating national independence since it cast aside the shackles of British colonialism and announced its independence on March 6, 1957. This, however, earned Ghana the deep hatred of U.S. and British imperialism which, over the years, have directly or indirectly engaged in sabotage and subversion against the Ghanaian Government.

The imperialist crimes against this country which leads the world in the production and export of cocoa, and which is rich in gold, diamond, bauxite and valuable timber can be seen from a glance at Ghana's history since independence.

In 1958, Ghana's security organs uncovered an imperialist-backed plot to assassinate Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, then Prime Minister of Ghana.

On June 24, 1959, the Government of Ghana issued a White Paper exposing an imperialist-supported conspiracy to overthrow the government.

On October 3, 1961, the Government of Ghana again unearthed a plot to murder President Nkrumah and other government leaders and to overthrow the government by armed force. Among those arrested were J. Appiah, son-in-law of the former British Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Stafford Cripps. The White Paper issued by the Ghanaian Government on December 11 concerning this plot pointed out that British General Henry Alexander, former chief of the Ghanaian defence staff, was involved in this conspiracy which had financial support from foreign companies.

From August 1, to September 20, 1962, bombs were used in three attempts on President Nkrumah's

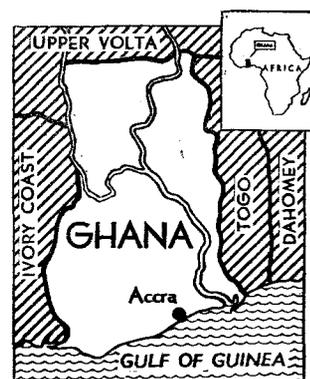
life. The August 1 attempt was made when a bomb was thrown at President Nkrumah's car as he passed through Kulungulu Village. An article in the *Ghanaian Times* exposed this attempt on the President's life as being connected with the U.S. State Department.

On January 8, 1963, there was a big explosion in the Accra sports stadium soon after President Nkrumah addressed a meeting.

On January 2, 1964, when President Nkrumah left his office, an assassin fired five shots at him at close range, fatally wounding a security guard. The Ghanaian weekly *Spark* exposed this act as being part of a plot by foreign interests.

On February 8 of that year, the Ghanaian Government expelled six imperialist agents (five Americans and one Englishman) who were engaged in subversion in Ghana.

These crimes against Ghana show clearly that U.S. and British imperialism are not reconciled to their defeats in Africa and that they are leaving no stone unturned in trying to make a come-back and halt the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle that is growing in Africa.



Sketch map by Wei Ning

# The Tasks of Worker, Peasant and Soldier Writers

by CHOU YANG

Following are excerpts of a speech made by Chou Yang at the All-China Conference of Young Activists in Spare-Time Creative Writing held in Peking towards the end of 1965. Chou Yang is a Deputy Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. An English translation of the full text of this 23,000-word speech, originally entitled "Raise High the Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thinking, Be Fighters on the Literary Front Who Can Labour as Well as Write," appears in the monthly magazine *CHINESE LITERATURE*, No. 3, 1966. — *Ed.*

**T**HIS literary conference differs from all previous ones in that the participants are a new contingent on our literary front. You come from the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. You can work as well as write; when you take up guns you are fighters, and when you take up pens you are fighters too. You are a production force, a combat force, and also a creative force. The appearance of such a force on our literary front is an event of unprecedented importance in the history of our literature.

You are new people who have grown up in the age of socialism, educated by the Party and the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, steeled in the class struggles and production struggles of the masses. The aim of your writing is clear: You write for the workers, peasants and soldiers, for the revolution. With strong class feeling you describe in your writing the new life, new struggles and new men and women of the working class, the peasantry and the army. To you, writing is a kind of battle, a battle to win ideological positions.

Some of your works, both as regards ideological content and artistic form, have reached a fairly high standard achieved by few of our writers in the past. Of course, your achievement is not confined to your writings. What is even more important is that by conducting spare-time cultural activities on a large scale among the masses in factories, villages and army units, by telling revolutionary stories, singing new songs, putting on new plays, and fighting the backward old culture to serve contemporary politics and production, you have really popularized socialist art and literature among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and occupied strategic positions among them. In this way you have really turned our art and literature into a strong fighting front with workers, peasants and soldiers participating in it. You have infused fresh blood and rev-

olutionary spirit into our writing and into the cultural life of China's millions. This is a fresh victory on the literary and art front, a victory for the socialist cultural revolution, a victory for Mao Tse-tung's line on art and literature.

There are various kinds of art and literature in the world today, progressive and reactionary. The art and literature which serve imperialism and capitalism are reactionary, decadent and moribund, a poison to corrupt men's minds. Modern revisionist art and literature have degenerated to the point where they ape the bourgeois art and literature of the West. While still posing as socialist, in fact they oppose socialism and the people, and are a turncoat art and literature. They slander the revolution, revolutionary wars and proletarian dictatorship, preach bourgeois humanism, pacifism, fear of nuclear weapons and the philosophy of "survival at any price," along with all kinds of decadent bourgeois ideas and the shameless bourgeois way of life. Art and literature of this sort have become instruments for the imperialists to engage in ideological subversion in the socialist countries, to prepare the way for the restoration of capitalism.

Our art and literature are diametrically opposed to those of imperialism and revisionism. They inspire our people to go forward all the time, to carry on the revolution continuously. They arm the people with socialist and communist ideas, with ideas of the class struggle and the people's war, and with proletarian internationalism. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung once said, they are "powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy."

The current domestic and international situation is very favourable. Our workers in art and literature should raise even higher the red banner of Mao Tse-

tung's thinking and take an active part in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. They should strive to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, to become both revolutionaries and workers, using the weapon of art and literature to oppose resolutely imperialism and revisionism, propagate socialism and oppose capitalism. Let our art and literature serve still better the workers, peasants and soldiers, the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world.

### **The Struggle on the Literary and Art Front, And the New Situation in the Cultural Revolution**

The fundamental way for us to ensure that our art and literature fulfil their task well is by firmly implementing the line on art and literature laid down by the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Should art and literature serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, or the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes? Should they serve socialism or capitalism? Should they be guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking or by modern revisionist ideas? This is the struggle on the literary and art front between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism.

As early as 1940, in *On New Democracy*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that our culture "should serve the toiling masses of workers and peasants who make up more than 90 per cent of the nation's population, and should gradually become their very own." In 1942, in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, he further pointed out that art and literature should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and that the key to the solving of this problem lay in writers and artists integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Comrade Mao Tse-tung applied Marxism-Leninism to the reality of the revolutionary cultural movement in China, giving for the first time in the history of the proletarian revolution the most comprehensive, thoroughgoing and correct programme for the proletarian cultural revolution and the line for proletarian revolutionary art and literature. After the liberation, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the directives, "Let a hundred flowers blossom; weed through the old to let the new emerge;" "Let a hundred flowers blossom, a hundred schools of thought contend," and proposed the creative method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. In *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the National Conference on Propaganda Work of the Chinese Communist Party* he gave detailed and penetrating expositions of the directive "Let a hundred flowers blossom, a hundred schools of thought contend" in the light of the new situation and tasks in the period of socialism.

Many years of experience have proved that when we fully and correctly carry out Mao Tse-tung's line on art and literature, our work is successful. When we go against this line, our work suffers setbacks.

If the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is divorced from serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and from serving socialism, our art and literature will take the road of revisionism and bourgeois liberalism. On the other hand, if we try to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and the cause of socialism without adopting this directive and the democratic method of the mass line, our art and literature will head towards dogmatism and mental stagnancy. Mao Tse-tung's line on art and literature is against both revisionism and dogmatism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking on art and literature is extremely rich in content. The core of it is: **Art and literature must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers; writers and artists must integrate themselves with the masses.**

On the literary and art front, the difference between the working class and the bourgeoisie, the difference between socialism and capitalism and the difference between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism centre on this issue: Whether or not to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and to merge with them.

Mao Tse-tung's line on art and literature was born in the midst of struggles and opened a path for itself amidst struggles.

The *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* was the product of a great debate. At the same time it summed up the struggle against various current trends to oppose the workers, peasants and soldiers and to split away from them. It also gave a scientific summary of the basic experiences of the literary and art movement since the **May Fourth Movement of 1919**.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, literary and art workers in our country have had five great debates and criticisms in connection with whether we should carry out the proletarian line or bourgeois line in literature and art.

There are two main reasons for the frequency and fierceness of these struggles on the literary and art front. In the first place, they are an objective reflection of the domestic and international class struggle, which is inevitable. Art and literature are extremely sensitive organs of the class struggle. It is bound to find reflection in them, and indeed is often first reflected here. Art and literature are like antennae which instantly sense each movement by any class. Every time the situation in the class struggle changes, every time the working class meets with difficulties, every time the working class carries out self-criticism, the bourgeoisie will seize the chance to attack. And often the attack is first launched in the literary and art field, since this is the most sensitive field and the weakest link. In the second place, the bourgeoisie still

possesses certain advantages in the literary and art field; so they believe that they are still powerful enough to challenge the working class there. The great majority of intellectuals, including intellectuals who are Party members, have had a bourgeois education. They retain a good deal of what belongs to the bourgeoisie in their world outlook and literary and art outlook. When people do literary and art work, they can easily be contaminated by bourgeois ideas, by bourgeois concepts of fame and profit, especially if they cut themselves off from the workers, peasants and soldiers, from manual labour, from the actual struggle. Then it is even easier for them to be influenced by bourgeois ideas, to become enslaved by these ideas or act as their spokesmen.

It is evident then that the struggle on the literary and art front is inevitable. Unless we wage this struggle, our art and literature, our artists and writers, are liable to degenerate politically. Our economic base is socialist, our political system is proletarian dictatorship. If art and literature, which are part of the ideological superstructure, propagate bourgeois or revisionist ideas instead of working-class, socialist ideas, far from helping to consolidate the socialist economic base and proletarian dictatorship they will help to undermine them, paving the way and preparing men's minds for the restoration of capitalism.

By waging the struggle continuously on the literary and art front, not only can we avert or minimize the danger of revisionism in our art and literature, we can also greatly speed up the development of socialist art and literature. Our proletarian art and literature advance in the course of struggle. Criticism and struggle clear the way for their development.

The Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art ushered in a completely new era in our revolutionary art and literature. The recent reappraisal and struggle on the literary and art front may be considered as another large-scale rectification of art and literature since the Yen-an Forum, a continuation of the rectification in Yen-an under new historical conditions. A new high tide in our socialist cultural revolution has appeared. It has brought about and will continue to bring about great changes in all branches of art and literature, and we are now in the process of these changes.

First, art and literature are becoming transformed. This change has appeared primarily in the theatre, a front-line position. In 1961 and 1962 the feudal and bourgeois forces began their attack in the literary and art field by storming the theatre. The working class also began its counter-attack on the forces of feudalism and capitalism, to carry forward and deepen the socialist cultural revolution, by occupying the theatre. The production on a large scale of many revolutionary Peking operas on contemporary themes opened a new chapter in the cultural revolution. Operas like *The Red Lantern* and *Shachiapang*<sup>1</sup> have received a warm welcome from very large audiences. The drama festivals in all parts of the country have also produced a con-

siderable number of fine local operas. Experience proves that so long as we persist in the direction of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, and the cause of socialism, so long as we have the courage to make bold innovations, the patience to carry out repeated experiments, the daring and ability to use new revolutionary content to change the old forms, we shall produce new forms as well as new content. This applies equally to traditional Chinese forms and to foreign forms. Thus we have put on *The Red Detachment of Women*<sup>2</sup> as a ballet; *The East Is Red*,<sup>3</sup> a pageant of the Chinese revolution in song and dance, a bold experiment which has proved successful; and a symphonic orchestra playing the music of *Shachiapang*. Similarly, Szechuan sculptors and folk artists, co-operating with the masses, have made, with deep class feeling, the extremely moving sculptured figures in *Compound Where Rent Was Collected*.<sup>4</sup> These varied achievements prove that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line—weed through the old to let the new emerge; make the old serve the new, and foreign things serve China—is the most correct way to develop our new national socialist art and literature. We have already amassed very useful experience in this respect. All art forms loved by the people were created by our forbears with their heart's-blood. We must analyse them with discrimination, use and develop them creatively; they are certainly not to be cast lightly aside. Revolutionary ideas and a new content will bring about a change in different art forms, whether on the stage, in music and dancing, sculpture or literature. Is not our literature also undergoing changes? We have many innovations in those new folk-tales and short stories which describe the new people, new ideas and new morals in our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. Both as regards ideological content and artistic technique, these have made striking improvements over previous works of the same genre and show distinctive new features.

Next comes the change in the cultural life of China's hundreds of millions of workers and peasants. The new upsurge in industry and agriculture, the development of the movement for socialist education in our cities and countryside, and the deepening of the cultural revolution have given fresh impetus to the spare-time cultural activities of the workers and peasants, especially the latter. The main emphasis in all our cultural and educational work now is being directed to the villages. The centre of spare-time cultural activities in the countryside is the village club or cultural centre. Many of you at this conference are activists in those clubs. You have won cultural positions for socialism in villages, factories and mining districts all over the country. If not for these positions you took, our socialist cultural revolution could not have become imbued with a genuinely mass character. It is you who spread the new revolutionary culture, who propagate Mao Tse-tung's thinking, who serve as the undaunted vanguard in the socialist cultural revolution.

Another change is in the ranks of our literary and art workers. On the one hand, a new literary and art contingent has emerged from among the workers, peasants and soldiers, the new contingent of spare-time writers whom you represent. On the other hand, professional writers and artists are enthusiastically responding to the Party's call, eagerly going down in great numbers to live with the workers, peasants and soldiers in order to remould themselves. While joining in manual labour and the current struggles, they are taking revolutionary culture to our villages, factories and army units. A great change has taken place in their minds. Spare-time and professional writers and artists are striking deep roots among the workers and peasants, they are studying Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works and creatively applying his teachings. This means that a sound contingent of writers and artists who are genuine revolutionaries and manual workers at the same time is growing up.

### **Write First and Foremost About Socialism, Write First and Foremost About Heroic Characters**

The reappraisals and struggles on the literary and art front have been concerned mainly with solving the problem of whether or not art and literature should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and the cause of socialism. Once our direction is determined, the task of developing creative work should become one of primary importance.

In creative writing the problem is mainly what to write about and how to write. Our literature today should: first, write first and foremost about socialism; secondly, write first and foremost about heroic characters.

The transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution involves two historical stages, two different eras. During these two stages our revolutionary, proletarian art and literature have had certain common features but certain differences too. One common feature is that the art and literature in both periods were created to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary politics, guided by proletarian and communist ideology. The difference is that in the stage of the democratic revolution the main task of our art and literature was to propagate the national democratic revolution and oppose imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism; while in the stage of the socialist revolution their main task is to propagate the socialist revolution and socialist construction, oppose capitalism, and at the same time together with the revolutionary people of the world to oppose imperialism and revisionism. Because the economic basis of our society and the world situation have changed, there must necessarily be changes in the tasks and content of our art and literature too. In the stage of democratic revolution, our aim was to establish the politics, economy and culture of new democracy; and although these contained socialist elements, which were the decisive ones, the politics, economy and culture as a whole belonged to new democracy and not to socialism. After 1949 the

situation changed. The proletariat won political power over the whole country. After the three great socialist transformations<sup>5</sup> our whole economic base became socialist, which meant that our entire culture must also become socialist to correspond to the economic base. This is a fundamental change. Since the completion of the democratic revolution, the main contradiction within the country has become that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. The main task of socialist art and literature is to oppose capitalism. True, they must also oppose imperialism and feudalism, and from the world viewpoint opposing imperialism is still a most important task, yet at home our main task is to oppose capitalism. For quite a long time a number of our writers and artists lacked a clear understanding of the change in our art and literature during these two different historical stages. Today, to propagate socialism and oppose capitalism, to uphold proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology are the foremost tasks of our entire ideological, literary and art front.

Comrades, most of your writings deal with socialism, and your merit is that you are relatively familiar with it. To write about socialism is our glorious task. In this age of ours is there anything in the world more worth describing and praising than socialism? To write about socialism is our duty and our good fortune too.

According to the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, the class struggle will persist throughout the entire socialist historical period until we finally reach communism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has summed up new historical experience and profoundly developed this idea, pointing out that contradictions remain in socialist society after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production; there are contradictions between the people and the people's enemies, contradictions among the people, as well as classes and class struggle. He has pointed out that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, runs through this entire historical period until communism is achieved. This is a vitally important creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's concept that classes and class struggle exist in socialist society shows us the fundamental direction for writing about socialism. In the last few years more works about socialism have begun to appear, and their viewpoint is getting clearer. Since they describe the new men and new deeds in our socialist age, as well as the class struggle and struggle between the two roads in our socialist society, they are exercising a greater influence.

We should be daring enough to write about all sorts of contradictions and struggles in socialist society: the contradictions among the people, the class struggle, and the struggle between the two roads. If we do not write about these, we shall be going counter to the realities of our age, to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's view on the class

struggle and the struggle between the two roads, and as a result we shall reach the dead-end of "theory of no conflict."

Our stress on writing about socialism does not mean that we oppose writing on historical themes. But works on today's socialism should have priority and be produced in the largest number. Of course, the democratic revolution and the people's struggles in the past are indispensable themes in our literature. There are still many subjects in the period of democratic revolution which can and should be written up. For instance, the great history of the people's wars in our country in the various stages of the revolution, the history of the struggles of our working class.

Whether or not we write about the progressive, heroic characters among our workers, peasants and soldiers affects the question of whether or not our literature is truly revolutionary and socialist, and whether or not our writers take a genuine proletarian stand. Whether or not we can create typical heroes of the working class and labouring people shows whether or not our socialist literature is mature. The literature of each class praises the ideal characters of that class. Even when we reach communism and classes no longer exist, we shall have to write about heroic characters. The literature of that time will undoubtedly continue to present progressive characters, to help people to continue impelling history forward.

The problem of writing about heroic characters today is an urgent practical problem. Who are our heroic characters today? They are men like Lei Feng and Wang Chieh, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, completely loyal to the revolution, who fear neither hardships nor death; people like those of the Taching Oilfield and Tachai Brigade who struggle to transform the world in the spirit of the "Foolish Old Man Who Removed Mountains." Today such heroes are legion.

We should describe the deeds of advanced young people on different fronts and create splendid images of various types among them today as examples for other young people. As a whole our young people are undoubtedly the keenest, most dynamic section of the population; and today the main trend in our youth is even more progressive and revolutionary. They have a buoyant, vigorous spirit and are bubbling over with eagerness to serve the people. They have the enterprise to carry on the revolution continuously and the determination to struggle to the end against all enemies and all difficulties. A new communist generation is growing up. Our literature should truthfully depict this buoyant, vigorous spirit of our youth.

Of course, our literature must not write only about heroic characters, nor can we describe them in isolation; we should show them in the midst of conflicts and struggles. Heroes grow to their full stature in the midst of struggle, and only so can their noble qualities be revealed.

The main content of our literature is socialism and heroic characters. But the forms and styles of different

works should vary. If we aim at achieving variety but deviate from the direction of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and the cause of socialism, we will backslide and take the wrong, bourgeois path. Provided that we stick firmly to writing for the workers, peasants and soldiers, for socialism, the more variety there is in form and style the better. We should allow and encourage competition between different styles in the way of expression. This is what we mean by letting a hundred flowers bloom in socialist art and literature. Our writers should try to explore and create artistic forms, whether in oral or written literature, which the people like, and provided the people like them we must advocate and propagate them. The new revolutionary content demands new forms and new styles. When we have the correct political content and an attractive artistic form, our literature will be better able to educate and influence millions of people.

For a swift, sound development of our socialist literature, we must adopt the method of co-operation between the leadership, the writers and the masses. The leadership should point out the direction and assign tasks for the writers, giving them ideological help and advice in the course of their work. In this way politics is in command of literature, and the wisdom of the individual is combined with that of the collective, so that writing ceases to be simply the work of an individual and becomes a genuine part of the work of the Party, of the revolutionary work of the people. To carry out this method of co-operation between the leadership, the writer and the masses means having Party leadership and the mass line in writing.

### **Bringing Up a New Generation of Writers For Socialist Literature**

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly pointed out that our Party must pay great attention to bringing up and training worthy heirs to our proletarian revolutionary cause. He speaks of this as a long-term plan for our proletarian revolution, a plan for a century, ten centuries or a hundred centuries. The cause of proletarian art and literature also requires us to train and bring up those who will carry it on.

Special importance attaches to the problem of bringing up a new generation of workers in socialist art and literature. This is because:

First, these new artists and writers will succeed the older generation, but they will not take entirely the same road and may even have to take a fundamentally different road. We should inherit the revolutionary spirit of our many predecessors in revolutionary art and literature from the May Fourth Movement onwards. We should also respect and learn from the rich experience of the older generation of writers. But we cannot take it over wholesale; we must study and analyse it critically. You are living in a different age; you are living, working and fighting in the basic units of factories, rural communes and the army as new workers, peasants and soldiers of the socialist age; you have ex-

perience in productive labour and fighting. You have been brought up and educated from the very start by the Party and Mao Tse-tung's thinking. The great majority of you will never leave your work on the production front or in the basic units, but will continue to write and work at the same time, and this is fundamentally different from the older writers. So you will take a new road, one which makes you genuine revolutionaries and labourers, which will gradually lessen the difference between mental and manual labour and lead eventually to communism.

Secondly, this problem is important because the intellectuals, including those in the field of literature, art and science, are one of the chief targets of the imperialists and bourgeoisie, who are trying to win them away from the working class. In addition to attempting to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship by force, the class enemy is plotting hard to bring about a "peaceful evolution." This dastardly plot has already achieved results in the Soviet Union under the rule of the Khrushchov revisionist clique. Since the imperialists and the bourgeoisie have few illusions about our revolutionaries of the older generation, they have put their hope in our younger generation, especially in our young intellectuals. They hope you will change colour, hope that once you have knowledge you will despise the labouring people, cut yourselves off from them and learn bourgeois ways.

On the question of bringing up those who will carry on our proletarian revolutionary cause, there are two diametrically opposite lines: one is the Marxist-Leninist line which insists that writers and artists should become revolutionaries and manual labourers at the same time, so that our younger generation are able both to write and take part in productive labour, to gradually lessen the difference between manual and mental labour until finally it is eliminated and the way is prepared for the entry into communism. This method involves having politics in command, ideology in command. Another line is the modern revisionist one which makes writers and artists cut themselves off from the revolution and the masses and lead a soft life as a privileged élite, until finally they become hostile to the revolution and the people and the way is prepared for the restoration of capitalism. The method is the use of material incentives with fame and profit in command. This revisionist line can only result in changing many intellectuals, writers and artists into new bourgeois intellectuals, an élite who become a part of the social basis of revisionism. When the cart in front overturns, the cart behind should beware. We must guard against this danger.

We are living in an environment of sharp and complex class struggles at home and abroad; the struggle for victory on the ideological front between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will not be settled for a very long time, not for several decades or even several centuries. So each of us must arm ourselves with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, take

a firm proletarian stand, and always remain on the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, struggling and advancing incessantly. We must be mentally prepared for a long-term struggle, be prepared to stand up to tests in the tempest of struggle.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has listed five requisites for the new generation of proletarian revolutionaries. First, each must be a "true Marxist-Leninist," "a revolutionary working wholeheartedly for the great majority of people in China and in the world." He must also be able to unite with the great majority of people so that they will work with him, must have a democratic working style, be modest and able to criticize himself, etc. No matter what your occupation, you must first of all regard yourself as a revolutionary. In our case, we are literary and art workers but first of all revolutionaries. The relation between the two must never be reversed.

The fundamental way to ensure that our literary and art workers do not degenerate politically lies in not cutting ourselves off from the workers, peasants and soldiers, not cutting ourselves off from labour — not just for the time being but for all time. The aim of our socialist cultural revolution is to make intellectuals who are at the same time labouring people, and workers and peasants who are at the same time intellectuals, to create the conditions for the gradual lessening of the difference between manual and mental labour until finally it is done away with altogether. Only then can we successfully build socialism and go on towards communism. We must therefore continue to carry out the system of cadres' participation in manual labour, and experiment further with the educational system of "part-work, part-study" and "part-farming, part-study." This is basic in constructing our country. Only in this way can we guarantee that our state will not change colour. Our young writers must always retain their revolutionary spirit, they must not lose their revolutionary colour. The most important way of ensuring this is by not cutting ourselves off from labour or from the workers, peasants and soldiers.

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<sup>1</sup> Two new Peking operas based on revolutionary struggles during the War of Resistance Against Japan. The original title for *Shachiapang* was *Sparks Amid the Reeds*. See *P.R.*, No. 24, 1964.

<sup>2</sup> Based on a film of the same title. The story is about a women's detachment led by the Chinese Communist Party which fought against the despotic rule of a landlord. This ballet is a successful experiment in adapting a foreign art form to portray Chinese revolutionary struggles. See *P.R.*, No. 6, 1965.

<sup>3</sup> An epic portrayal of the modern revolutionary history of China. See *P.R.*, No. 41, 1964.

<sup>4</sup> See *P.R.*, No. 49, 1965.

<sup>5</sup> The socialist transformations of agriculture, handicraft, and capitalist industry and commerce, which were accomplished in 1956.

# At Yangtan Commune Headquarters

**This second of a series of six articles by Peking Review correspondents tells how the commune is organized and combines local government administration with management of its members' collective economy and how it fought the worst drought in 38 years.**

**T**HE office of the Yangtan Commune Management Committee is in Yangtan village, the largest in the commune. Over 400 families live there. Like the loess earth all around it, it is the colour of yellow ochre shot with gold. Nearly all its outer walls are made of tamped loess as are its lanes except for those roughly paved with massive old grey flagstones. Many of the houses are of grey brick held with white mortar, but these are tucked away behind ornate gateways set in the loess walls. There are still many signs of the past in broken old walls and empty house sites, but its main square and all its lanes are clean swept and tidy. One can see at a glance that sanitation is well attended to. It has a number of fine old buildings with curved grey-tiled roofs and a wealth of stone and wood carving. It is framed in newly planted trees.

Around the central square is the county government's hostel, the Yangtan Supply and Marketing Co-operative's general store, the clinic, the credit co-op and a primary school under commune management. One part of the store, like most such shops all over China, sells general consumer goods like cloth and knitting wool, daily necessities like soap and towels, household goods such as pots and pans, stationery and foods including sugar, tea, condiments and sweets. Its range of goods is chosen with experienced knowledge of local needs. When we dropped in, housewives were buying towels and cloth. One was trying out a sewing machine. Several cycles had just come in from Tientsin and we were told they would soon be sold. A group of men and boys were buying books while others were clustered around a Shanghai-made transistor radio.

The other part of the store sells farm tools and goods such as hoes and chemical fertilizer. The two departments can supply the ordinary needs of commune members and will take orders for special requirements. So far as daily shopping is concerned, a commune member has no need to make the journey "into town" for anything. The co-op does a brisk business not only in sales to members but in marketing their surplus fruit, eggs, wool and other produce.

The commune office is not far away. Inside a wide new gateway we found ourselves in an oblong courtyard with two lines of slender aspen saplings flanking a central path. Ahead was a meeting room. On either side were one-storey buildings completed only last year.

To the left was the post office and some dormitories. To the right the commune offices. There were few people about and we noticed that most of the office rooms were padlocked. Curious, we asked the commune secretary the reason.

"Only two or three of us are on duty here just now: the vice-chairman and I at the moment, and a girl at the telephone switchboard. We handle the routine work and see that the necessary instructions and other communications from higher up go down to the brigades and teams and keep papers, reports and requests flowing in the other direction. The rest of the cadres at the centre are living and working with the commune members in some of the production brigades and teams. That gives them the advantage of an 'on-the-spot view' in guiding commune work. That way they keep in close touch with the actual work and see how general instructions from the top look like from below. If you spend too much time here — at the top — you tend to lose touch with the grass-roots."

## We Meet the Chairman

Learning that the commune chairman, Chiao Chifeng, was working in the Wanhu Production Brigade about three kilometres away, we decided to visit him there.

The July sun was scorching. Groups of men and women were hard at work in the terraces on both sides of the road, planting maize, yellow beans, tobacco and other autumn ripening crops.

We found the commune chairman in the office of the Wanhu Brigade. A man of 37, of medium height, deeply tanned and with bright eyes under bushy brows, he was in high spirits, just back from the fields, and welcomed us warmly. He was an "old cadre" with many years of revolutionary work behind him. Born in a poor family of Menghsien County, Honan, he had left that province with his parents when his home district was ravaged by famine, and came to southern Shansi. Yicheng County, where they had settled, was liberated by the People's Liberation Army, and the people's government formed there had sent him to school. After completing his second year in junior

middle school he had joined the revolutionary ranks, working for the Party Committee and then the Communist Youth League Committee of Chuwo County. The Party had given him a good training. He was at once a skilled farmer and good administrator. He gave ready answers to all our questions about Yangtan Commune.

### Structure of the Commune

The rural people's commune, he explained, "combines the people's power at the basic level in the countryside with collective economic organization" — meaning, in other words, that it carries on all the functions of local government at what was formerly the township (xiang) level and also manages the local farming and other productive activities. The Yangtan Commune Management Committee, we found, actually does the administrative work which the former township people's council or people's government did before under the leadership of the county people's government. The general Delegates' Conference of Yangtan Commune members is the People's Congress of the former township.

Every two years all commune members elect delegates to the Commune Delegates' Conference. They vote as members of their production brigade and their 10 electoral districts (constituencies) coincide with the areas of the commune's 10 production brigades. The conference's 71 delegates in turn elect 15 members to the Commune Management Committee. The C.M.C. at its first meeting elects the commune chairman and vice-chairman.

The Delegates' Conference, meeting twice a year, decides on all major commune matters. It represents various circles of the population. Before the final electoral lists are drawn up, there is much discussion to see that the Delegates' Conference will include experienced, veteran farmers, representatives of the various handicraft workers (stone-carvers, carpenters), and those doing other skilled workshop jobs, women, youth, family members of revolutionary martyrs and demobilized P.L.A. men who have returned to the villages to do farm work, and so on. It is natural therefore for the secretaries of the commune's Communist Party committee, and Communist Youth League committee and the chairman of the Women's Association to be elected delegates and C.M.C. members. They have already been chosen by the members of the Party, the C.Y.L. and the Women's Association as responsible cadres who are good leaders and good at their work and who serve the people outstandingly well. With the leaders of these organizations on hand, the C.M.C. can give unified leadership to all activities in the commune from cultivating crops to education and sports.

The class leadership of the commune is well shown in the composition of its Delegates' Conference and Management Committee. Of the 71 delegates elected on August 8, last year, 29 are poor peasants and 20 are lower-middle peasants (as mainly classified at the



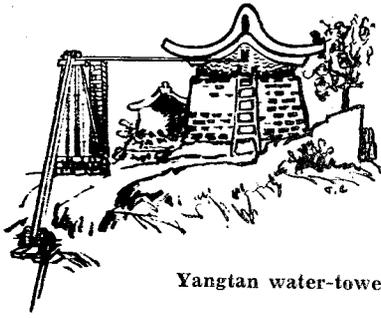
On-the-spot consultation. Commune deputy Party secretary Wang Teh-ho (right), a veteran farmer and a cotton expert

time of the land reform in 1948). While in the 15-member Management Committee, eight are poor peasants and five lower-middle peasants—members of those social groups which know best the miseries of the past in the villages and are most determined in fighting for socialism.

The Yangtan C.M.C. has a secretary in charge of civil affairs and one, two or three members to look after each one of the following tasks: (a) production and construction, (b) public security, (c) militia and conscription, (d) finance and trade, and (e) culture, education and public health. Production brigade leaders and others who are not members of the C.M.C. may be called to meetings for discussions.

### Informality the Keynote

During the days we were at the commune offices, we saw its staff at work. Informality was the keynote. Leading comrades from the co-op store would come in for advice on how to distribute the commune's quota of chemical fertilizer or what sort of insecticide to order and how much. Credit co-op cadres came to discuss how to allocate the state loan for farm production among the different brigades. Medical workers dropped in to settle the date for the next phase of the patriotic health movement. A visiting group of agronomists came to arrange consultations about cotton growing. Several young couples came to the office to register their marriages. When they came out with their marriage certificates and saw us, these bold young girls of Yangtan who can shoot a rifle with the best in the militia, would lower their eyes and blush, smiling. Visitors like us came and were as warmly welcomed. The office was sometimes like an extempore judge's chambers. Two or three persons would come to lay complaints or get a quarrel or dispute settled. The commune cadres mediated, calmed the excited and



Yangtan water-tower

soon everyone departed satisfied. There are no policemen in Yangtan.

As in any local government (people's council), the whole committee gets together as needed to discuss

overall work. But we gathered that formal meetings are held to a minimum in favour of operational, on-the-spot leadership. Minor problems are settled on the spot; larger ones go to the C.M.C.

The commune chairman, vice-chairman and certain other members of the C.M.C. receive modest salaries like any other cadres from the people's government. These are the only people in the commune who receive fixed monthly salaries. All other commune members including the tile-makers, carpenters and oil press workers, receive their pay in terms of work points from the teams or brigades where they work.

The commune has its own book-keeping department. Taxes to the government are paid by the production brigade or team (as basic accounting units) directly to the county. The county provides the commune (as a government organ) with funds to pay wages, upkeep of the office and other government expenditure. While some communes also run certain industrial enterprises directly, as commune-owned property, Yangtan C.M.C. does not.

Comrade Chiao told us that the guiding line in commune work was "to give unified leadership to all activities, linking them directly with farm production and organizing them to serve it better."

### Schools in the Commune

We saw a convincing example of this in the development of education in Yangtan. Before the commune was formed there were not many schools there. When the commune was founded it set about boosting production, but immediately found that this was not something that could be tackled in isolation. Among other things, education and culture had to go forward at a rapid pace too. The upshot is that the commune now has 23 junior primary schools, three primary schools with all six grades and one agricultural middle school. A junior middle school for part-time study, part-time farm work has been set up and plans are going ahead for a part-time study, part-time work forestry middle school. The commune's primary schools are sited within convenient distance of all school-aged children in the commune's 26 villages.

The part-time study, part-time work agricultural middle school curriculum is closely geared to the farm-

ing needs of the commune. It has its own plot of land which the students farm, but in the busy farming seasons it closes down so that students can go to help their production teams. The courses include politics, the Chinese language, maths, and general farming knowledge. All subjects are closely related to practical needs. All the students come from the commune and most will return to the commune for work when they graduate. Accordingly, the Chinese language course emphasizes the needs of students in practical commune work. They learn how to make a report, draw up a production plan, keep minutes, write letters. In maths, they learn how to measure land, how to use the abacus, quick calculation, general book-keeping and accounting. General farm knowledge covers the techniques of cultivating cotton, wheat and other local crops.

Since the school opened in 1960, a good number of graduates have gone back to work in the teams. Some have become team leaders, technicians, accountants and so on.

Health services (of which more later), the work of the credit co-op in issuing loans, and the supply and marketing co-op in selling and purchasing, are likewise guided to focus all efforts on the major tasks of the commune.

The commune, in other words, functioning as the basic organ of state power, has enabled the state to give much more effective political and economic leadership to the collective economy of the peasants. By mobilizing the masses politically around the policies of the Party and Government, by organizing and leading production directly, by getting direct economic and other help from the state, by directing efforts to fulfil the tasks set by the state while at the same time looking after the livelihood of its members, it is better able to co-ordinate agricultural production with the state's overall plans. Communes thus differ radically from the basic organs of state power prior to the commune movement — which were purely governmental and administrative organs — as well as from the advanced co-operatives — which were purely economic organizations.

Comrade Chiao put it this way: "With 2,400 families here anxious and willing to work and entitled to live well, work has to be organized on a big collective scale. That needs an organization and the commune is the organization that fits that task."

### Fighting the Drought

The organization, the discipline and energy of Yangtan showed itself well last year when it fought

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1 mu = 0.066 hectare or 0.1647 acre

1 jin = 0.5 kilogramme or 1.1023 pounds

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the worst drought since 1927. Usually, most of the rains fall in midsummer, July-August, but in 1965 little rain fell from May to August, the critical period of growth for the cotton and other autumn ripening crops. When May and June went by with no sign of rain and the weather stations gave no hope of speedy relief, the Party organization and the Commune Management Committee of Yangtan immediately opened the discussion on what measures to take. All that was normally done to offset drought conditions, had, of course, already been done: The terraced fields had been thoroughly harrowed and hoed to break the crust and topsoil so as to stop the rise of moisture by capillary action and so retard evaporation. In the teams higher up the mountain side where no wells had yet been dug because of the great depth at which sub-soil water lay, the farmers had repaired the old underground cisterns. These are like enormous narrow-mouthed jars sunk into the earth. They can be as wide as a small room and from three to five metres deep. Lined with clay or plaster, they collect water from freshets and small springs.

Some of the older peasants, remembering similar portents of drought in the old days, were haunted by fears of utter loss of their crops. The great majority, however, and particularly the Party members and young people, were simply determined to fight it out. The only question was "how?"

On the basis of past experience it was decided to bring out all the insecticide sprayers — they make excellent watering cans — and, where these were not enough, call for a mass mobilization of commune members to water the plants with any container available. Not all the plants could be watered so work would be concentrated on the more promising fields of cotton.

### Into Action

Carefully choosing the time for action the commune issued the call for general mobilization. As we passed the club house of the Yangtan Brigade's second team that evening, we heard the megaphone speaker shouting out the summons from its rooftop. Those who heard it quickly passed it on and within minutes every household in the team was alerted. Before dawn next day the young farmers had carried large jars and tanks made of gasoline drums to the fields and had filled them with water from the wells. At daybreak the people, old and young, were streaming to the fields. With pots and pans they carried water to every individual cotton plant. One tottering oldster insisted on coming to the fields with her bowl: "If I can keep even one plant alive, that's something!" Shock groups of the strongest

used the sprayers. One able-bodied man could water around 1,000 plants or 0.2 to 0.3 *mu* a day. That could save around a dozen *jin* of cotton above the yield that could be expected without watering. Every extra *jin* of yield was a victory for socialism and the commune.

After that first watering, an on-the-spot conference was called in the fields of the second team which had done best so far in the anti-drought campaign, and other teams studied its methods. A visiting cotton specialist suggested that spreading calcium superphosphate and diluted urine around the roots of the plants would give them added strength to withstand the drought. That call too went out over the megaphone, and the youth squads were there to collect in the morning!

The commune gave water twice to 2,800 *mu* of cotton and spread fertilizer on 7,800 *mu*. It had 13,600 *mu* under cotton, but the limiting factor was the availability of water. The strictest measures were taken to save water. A number of new wells were sunk. The hillside Qiaolu Production Brigade started the fight with only enough water in its cisterns for its animals and household use. They searched out a small spring, invested 800 yuan in rubber hose pipe and got water for 180 *mu*.

When the campaign started in early August, the commune had estimated the drought would cut the yield of cotton from the 100 *jin* per *mu* which had been planned for and in June, expected, to only 40 *jin*. The individual watering of 33.6 million plants had given them a new grip on life. But still the drought continued.

The next worry was the autumn sowing of the wheat. The call went out to prepare to sow under drought conditions. Here the key work lay in fine har-



Yangtan Brigade members harvesting their record 1965 wheat crop

rowing and breaking the clods with spades to give the seed a bed of tith. Sown in this way the seed could remain in the soil for 20 days without spoiling. In some places work went on day and night. The cotton plants were given a third watering to keep them going. Finally all this toilsome labour paid off. Rain fell in early September. True it was only 30 mm. — which with previous showers added up to a quarter of what normally fell in the season, but, with the steadfast efforts of the commune, it saved the situation.

## The Indian Scene

# Food Crisis and Why

*In the food store, no more flour or rice.*

*In the restaurant, no more bread or cakes.*

*From the people's mind the Congress [Party] has vanished.*

*From their faces the smiles have disappeared.*

— A poem published in a Tamil paper

**The food shortage in India today has reached a critical stage. In a land of 480 million people, 300 million do not have enough to eat. In the worst-hit areas, grass roots, jute leaves and bark from trees are the only alternative to death by starvation for great numbers of people. Despair and panic run through town and countryside. Popular protests and demonstrations are spreading.**

### Chronic Shortages

**P**RIOR to independence, India experienced food shortages in varying degrees almost every year. This state of affairs has not changed in the post-independence period. Among the worst shortages in the past 19 years were those of 1949-50 and of 1958 and the great Bihar famine of 1951.

In recent years, the gap between annual requirement of food grains and home supply has been as high as seven or eight million tons, even though the demand is calculated on the basis of minimum consumption.

A serious food crisis broke out in 1964. That year the Indian Government's own estimate placed the total demand at 90 million tons and the deficit at 11 million tons.

The shortfall in 1965 was worse than in any post-independence year. A recent first-hand account pre-

The commune got not 40 but 71 *jin* of cotton per *mu*, and, after another fall of rain in early October, the winter wheat did well.

It is at times like these — when they look down at their garden-like, terraced fields rich with crops despite a brazen, pitiless sky that the peasants sense the confidence born of a great collective economy and say: "Yes, the commune is good. What could we have done against such dangers in the old days with our single hoes and water buckets!"

dicted that "the coming months could bring the acutest shortage of rice and wheat and the worst famine since 1943" (*London Times*, January 6, 1966). In a sense the current serious shortage was carried over from the food crisis of 1964. It was made more acute by the war of aggression against Pakistan which has added to India's already serious economic difficulties.

Whatever the official admissions about the current shortage — they range from six or seven million tons up to 11 million tons — the deficit is estimated by the *Indian Press* to be in the region of 15 million tons. According to U.S. President Johnson, it is even larger — roughly 19 million tons.

The tentacles of famine and starvation are tightening their grip around many states of India. The worst hit include Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Mysore, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. In Maharashtra, *Blitz's* special correspondent writes, "there is not a single grain of food left in the houses of literally hundreds of thousands of poor peasants and farm labourers." The picture is no less ominous elsewhere. In a village near Calcutta, a family of five — husband, wife and three children — committed suicide because of starvation. In Jaipur, families unable to obtain food are selling children.

Food prices have risen steeply. Hoarding and profiteering are rampant. Charges have been made at a meeting of the Indian Congress Parliamentary Party Executive that out of 1964's food production and imports, only one-third found its way to the market (*Blitz*, December 11, 1965). The *Times of India* reported that in Delhi, after rationing was instituted, wheat was selling on the black market for 100 rupees (about 21 U.S. dollars) per quintal. *Link* (November 21, 1965) reported that in West Bengal rice was sold at 120 rupees per maund [one maund=40 kilogrammes]. Earlier,

a UPI report (November 10, 1964) said that black market prices of food grains were 40 to 100 per cent higher than the official rates and sometimes five or six times as much. Few people can afford such prohibitive prices.

To allay the rising public discontent, the Indian Government has instituted rationing in New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and other big cities. But this does not mean that the holders of ration cards can always get their ration from the government food shops, meagre as it is. The fact is that they often come away empty-handed. As the supply situation is worsening the ration for adults has been reduced from 12 to six ounces a day. According to recent Indian press reports, Food Minister Subramaniam has admitted that in many states the ration is as low as half an ounce or three-quarters of an ounce a day.

While hungry millions are facing starvation, the Indian politicians are bitterly arguing about what and who is to blame for the food shortage—the failure of the monsoon or the failure of the government's food policy. The Indian ruling group has nothing better to offer the people than advice to tighten their belts. The late Prime Minister Shastri called on the Indians to respond to his "Miss a Meal Every Week" appeal, when millions already live on one meal a day or can't afford a meal at all. At the recent annual conference of the Congress Party, the new Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi is reported to have urged all citizens to "change their food habits" to suit the present level of Indian agricultural production. Apparently she has not asked herself how can there be any choice for those who live on grass roots.

The Indian reactionaries are placing their main hopes on handouts from their Washington masters. And Washington is not missing the chance to exploit India's food difficulties and tighten its own control over the country.

Reversing a previous decision to negotiate food agreements with India on a monthly basis, U.S. President Johnson on December 8, 1965, authorized an allotment of 1.5 million tons of food grains over a three-month period. Prior to this, 2 million tons had been shipped to India since last July. But a monthly supply of 500,000 tons was far from enough to meet India's need. Food Minister Subramaniam hastened to Washington to beg for more. And then Johnson became really "generous." He promised that 15 million tons of wheat would be granted to India in 1966. An Indian newspaper commented bitterly: "15 million tons of American poison!" (*Blitz*, December 25, 1965.) At his February 4 press conference, Johnson said that he had authorized another 3 million tons of food grains to be shipped to India as quickly as possible.

### **Mounting Anti-Hunger Struggle**

The worsening food situation has aroused the people to widespread struggle.

March 11, 1966

According to incomplete figures published in Indian newspapers, 2 million people took part in demonstrations from late July to late August last year. The movement had spread to nine states by the latter half of August. "Anti-hunger week" has been observed and "anti-hunger committees" set up in many places to protest against the government's food policy.

The Indian countryside in recent years has witnessed frequent peasant struggles against landlord exploitation and the government's reactionary rule. Hard-pressed peasants rise to oppose forcible collection of rents, debts and taxes and eviction. With hoes and sickles they fight the landlords and the police. All this points up the fact that class contradictions and class struggle have become quite sharp in both urban and rural areas.

The Indian Government has adopted brutal measures of repression to cope with the situation. Far from complete statistics show that in late August last year, some 18,000 anti-hunger demonstrators were arrested in Manipur and in the states of Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan.

This year, on January 28, a general strike broke out in Kerala in protest against the state government's decision to reduce the rice ration for adults. In spite of the repressive measures taken by the Indian authorities, demonstrations against the government's food policy continue unabated.

On February 16, more than 10,000 government employees and students in Calcutta staged a huge anti-hunger demonstration to demand adequate supplies of grain. Police opened fire. Fifty persons were wounded and a large number of students arrested. The demonstration went on for several days. Student demonstrators were joined by rickshaw men, peddlers and even petty businessmen. The struggle was spreading to the outskirts of the city. Official sources admitted that 3,449 people have been arrested since the demonstration started.

Similar popular struggles have been reported in other parts of India.

### **Feudal Land Ownership Remains**

Why does this acute and chronic food shortage exist? India is not lacking in natural resources. The trouble is entirely man-made and is directly attributable to the reactionary domestic and external policies pursued by the Indian Government.

India's vast expanse of territory includes 376 million acres of cultivated land, of which three-fourths are planted to food crops. This works out to nearly 0.8 acre of cultivated land per capita. Richly endowed by nature, most areas can grow two crops every year and some southern districts even three. The Indian people are hard-working and ingenious. There is no reason whatsoever why they should not be able to create

a decent and prosperous life for themselves. It is the backward feudal relations of production, coupled with the U.S. imperialist dumping of "surplus" food, that have undermined India's rural economy and retarded its agricultural growth.

The landlords and rich peasants who make up only 15 per cent of India's rural population own 85 per cent of the country's land under cultivation. The poor peasants, hired farm-hands, middle peasants and others who account for 85 per cent of the rural population have only 15 per cent of the cultivated land. Feudal exploitation is very harsh. Rents exacted from the peasants often devour half their harvests and as much as three-quarters in some areas.

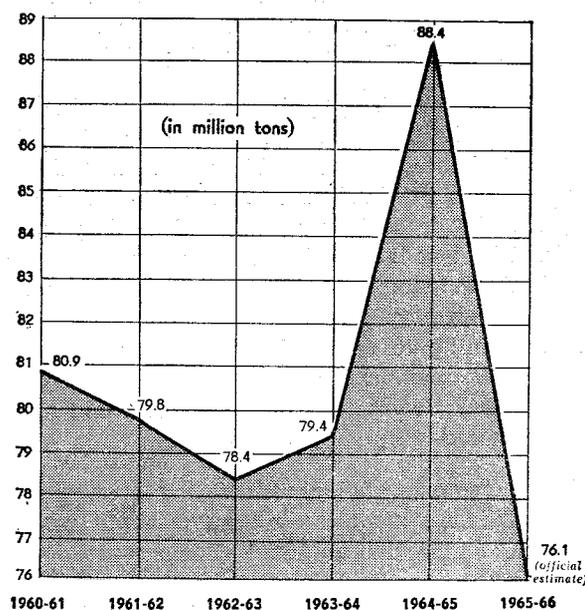
After independence, the Indian Government proclaimed that it would implement "land reforms." Among other things, the programme called for the taking over, with compensation, of a part of the land from some feudal owners including the *zamindars*; the "reform" of tenancy terms; and the imposition of ceilings on land holdings. But the land acquired by the government through redemption was to be sold to the peasants at a price equivalent to 10 or even 20 times the land rents. For peasants living in grinding poverty, to think of buying such land was just a day-dream. As for the so-called tenancy reform, not a single state has carried it out in earnest. Ceilings on land holdings, wherever fixed, are high. The Punjab state, for one, set the ceiling at 30 acres per capita. On top of that, the land owners are allowed to share out their holdings with kinsfolk and friends. As a result, scarcely any above-ceiling land remains for redistribution.

In a word, the Indian Government, which represents the interests of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords, has not altered the system of feudal land ownership in the country. Since 1962, it has not even bothered to talk any more about the "land reforms," however nominal they might have been.

If rents are the upper millstone grinding the Indian peasantry, heavy government taxation and usury are the nether. Deprived of their last coin and grain, the peasants often have to go to the usurers to borrow money or foodstuffs at annual rates of 200 per cent or even higher. Once shackled with such debts, chances for a quick clearance are very slim indeed. Many debtors eventually have to sell or mortgage whatever meagre portions of land they do own, and hire themselves out as labourers. Statistics compiled by the Reserve Bank of India showed that at the end of June 1962, 62.1 per cent of the rural households were in debt, each owing 654 rupees on the average.

In these circumstances, the peasants have no financial resources to improve their farming technique, let alone introduce modern agricultural methods. Antiquated ploughs and hoes are still in general use. Little fertilizer is applied, and the land becomes poorer and

## INDIA'S FOOD GRAINS PRODUCTION



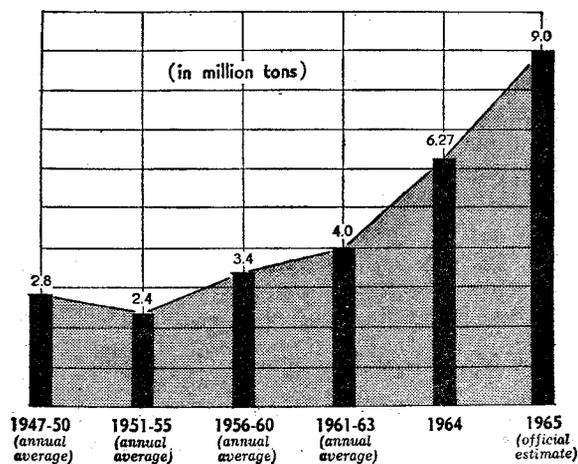
poorer for want of manure. The Indian Government has built a number of irrigation projects, but one-fourth of them are not in use because the peasants cannot afford to pay the fees. Government neglect of afforestation, flood prevention and soil conservation result in the inundation of large tracts of farmland every year.

These reasons combined account for the slow growth of food grains production since India's independence (see chart above).

## U.S. Food "Aid" Wreaks Havoc

Imports are the chief means used by the Indian Government to bridge the big gap between food production and consumption. Since independence India's annual imports of grains have risen sharply (see chart below).

## INDIA'S IMPORTS OF FOOD GRAINS



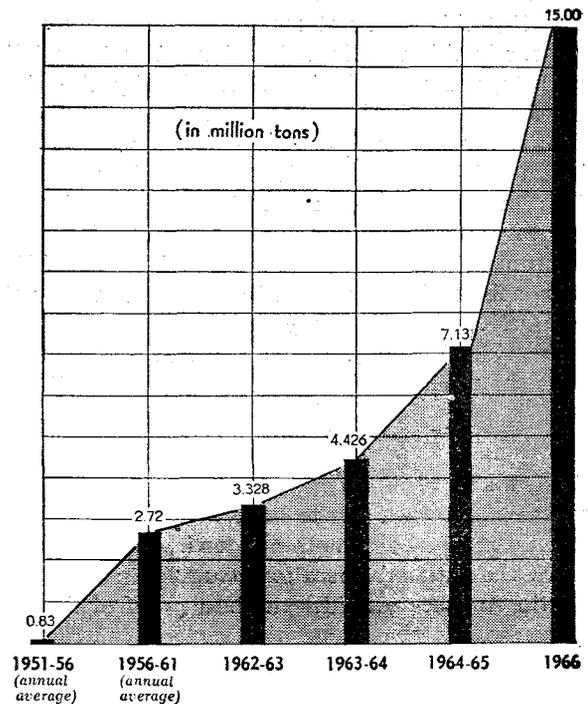
The United States is the No. 1 purveyor to India (see chart on the right). Its dumping has wrought serious havoc on the Indian economy and made it more and more dependent on U.S. "aid."

It is estimated that the United States, under the so-called Public Law 480, has sold to India food grains worth more than 3,000 million dollars. The returns from such sales are deposited in the Reserve Bank of India as U.S. government funds. By the end of 1963 these funds already amounted to 15,000 million rupees, equivalent to 60 per cent of India's currency in circulation. Washington has loaned part of these funds to the Indian Government and part of them to enterprises under "joint U.S.-Indian operation." Bearing the innocuous label of "aid," these loans have paved the way for U.S. monopoly capital to infiltrate Indian industries and hence control the country's economic lifelines (for a more detailed analysis of U.S. food "aid" to India see *Peking Review*, No. 34, 1965, p. 18).

The massive imports of U.S. food grains have started a vicious circle. Unable to compete with U.S. dumping, many Indian growers of food have had to shift to other crops. Thus the area planted to food grains has decreased; and more U.S. food has to be imported to make up for the increasing deficits.

Experience has proved that if the Indian rulers persist in their present course, they will not be able to lift the country out of the mire of food shortages or relieve its other economic difficulties. The great Indian

## INDIA'S IMPORTS OF U.S. FOOD GRAINS



Charts by Su Li

people, however, will know how to take their destiny into their own hands and create a prosperous new life for themselves.

—TING CHUAN

## LOOKING BELOW THE SURFACE

### About Progress and Twists And Turns

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung has said: "Like every other activity in the world, revolution always follows a tortuous road and never a straight one." He has also said that "there are no straight roads in the world; we must be prepared to follow a road which twists and turns" and that "while the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns."

The revolution goes ahead even though it makes zigzags. This is its dialectical unity and its universal law of development. This emergence of twists and turns of one kind or another is inevitable. It is precisely through them that revolution makes steady progress.

#### Why the Ups and Downs?

Why must there be ups and downs on the road of revolutionary advance? This is because revolution represents a constant struggle of the newborn forces with the decadent ones. Sometimes the balance of forces

is temporarily unfavourable to revolution; sometimes the revolutionary leadership itself may make a mistake of one kind or another — all this may cause twists and turns in the course of revolutionary progress. In a word, things that are new must grow through repeated struggles.

In his philosophical work, *On Contradiction*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote: "In each thing there is contradiction between its new and its old aspects, and this gives rise to a series of struggles with many twists and turns. As a result of these struggles, the new aspect changes from being minor to being major and rises to predominance, while the old aspect changes from being major to being minor and gradually dies out." That is to say, there are twists and turns in both the emergence of the new and the decline and decay of the old. The newborn forces can rise to predominance only after repeated struggles with the decaying forces.

#### Progress Is the Main Current

From the dialectical materialistic point of view, the appearance of twists and turns in the road of revolution should cause no surprise; they cannot change the forward movement of revolution.

The trend of the present international situation is one in which "the East wind prevails over the West wind." But this does not mean that there are no ups and downs in this excellent situation. The imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists headed by the United States, and their flunkies are making frantic counter-attacks; the modern revisionists who act as accomplices of the imperialists and reactionaries are disrupting revolution; in some lands, revolutionary struggles have temporarily suffered reverses and in others the political situation has taken an adverse turn. All these are liable to cause ebbs and flows. But in no way can they stem the tide of the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the world. The vigorous advance of this movement remains the main current in the international situation.

### Turning Bad Into Good

Twists and turns in themselves are not always bad. Of course one prefers not to have them. Still, they can be transformed into something good. The course followed by the national-liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America provides the best proof of this. The three continents are where the various contradictions of the contemporary world converge and where the contradictions between the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists headed by the United States and the peoples of this region, in particular, are most complex and acute. The revolutionary struggles of the peoples of this region have seen the greatest number of twists and turns, too. Yet, it is these that have taught lessons to the people, tempered them, raised their political consciousness and brought about a deepening of the national-liberation struggle.

A good example is that of the Congo (Leopoldville). The Congolese people's struggle suffered severe setbacks a few years ago as a result of the attacks by imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists, its betrayal by revisionists and the lack of experience on the part of the revolutionary forces. However, having paid for their lessons with blood, the people of the Congo attained new heights of political consciousness, and the patriots took up arms and resumed their revolutionary struggle over the vast expanses of their land. Compared with several years ago, this struggle of the Congolese people, after traversing a tortuous path, has today made much progress.

What sort of attitude should one take towards the twists and turns in the path of revolutionary advance?

### What Attitude to Take

The attitude of Marxist-Leninists and thoroughgoing revolutionaries is diametrically opposed to that of the opportunists and revisionists. The former do not slacken their vigilance but anticipate possible twists and turns when revolution advances smoothly; and when twists and turns do come, they are never panic-stricken; nor do they sink into passivity and despair. They work out correct strategy and tactics to persevere in revolution. On the other hand, when the opportunists and revisionists see the twists and turns in revolution, they spread theories to abolish it and even virulently curse it.

In 1848, after the failure of the June uprising of the Paris proletariat, the curse "woe to June" reverberated throughout Europe. But Karl Marx highly appraised the June uprising, saying that "the first great battle was fought between the two classes that split modern society."

When the 1905 Russian Revolution met with its setback, the opportunist Georgi V. Plekhanov came out with the cry that it "should not have taken to arms." But V.I. Lenin retorted with precisely the contrary — "a fearless and relentless armed fight was indispensable." Lenin appraised the 1905 Revolution as the final rehearsal for the Great October Revolution.

Today, whenever a temporary zigzag appears in the revolutionary road in a certain country, the modern revisionists, like the opportunists of former times, jubilantly try to peddle their rubbish on the abolition of revolution. They want to deceive others into thinking that it was a mistake to make revolution in the first place and to persuade them to give up revolutionary struggles. This is the hallmark of a renegade.

**Let the imperialists, reactionaries and traitors to the revolution rejoice! History will prove that the time when the forces of reaction are beside themselves with joy and puffed up with arrogance is the time when the tide is turning and for them this is the beginning of the end.**

— HSIANG TUNG-HUI  
("Renmin Ribao," March 7.)

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### THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

sion, not "social reform" or "political pacification," in order to maintain Washington's colonial rule there. To talk about "a massive effort of reconstruction and development open to all" while continuing to send reinforcements to south Vietnam only exposes Johnson's hypocrisy and cynicism.

It is said that everything in the Johnson strategy seems to be done in twos. He may have other cards up his sleeve but, short of complete withdrawal of U.S. aggressor troops from south Vietnam, his new programme is headed straight down the drain.

### U.S. Spy Plane Downed

An unmanned, high-altitude U.S. reconnaissance plane which intruded

over central-south China was shot down by an air force unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army on March 5.

Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence Lin Piao issued an order the same day. It commended the air force unit concerned and urged commanders and fighters of all air force units to strengthen their combat readiness and shoot down all intruding enemy planes.

# ROUND THE WORLD

U.S.A.

## More Blood and Tears

President Johnson is putting his shirt on it. The American people, he says, will have to shed more "blood, sweat and tears" as his Administration is facing "a long and hard road" in its war of aggression in Vietnam. Johnson so declared at a White House press conference late last month.

On March 2, his Defence Secretary Robert McNamara substantiated Johnson's words by announcing the dispatch of another 20,000 men to south Vietnam, bringing the total American military strength there to 235,000. Besides the 43 manoeuvre battalions and 20 artillery battalions already there, McNamara indicated that another 21 infantry battalions about 90,000 strong would be ready by July 1 "if required."

The previous day, after a prolonged wrangle over the "best" way to prosecute the war, the U.S. Congress approved the Administration's request for an additional \$4,800 million appropriation for it. But there was little joy for Johnson in this because Congressional concern over the widening war is still strong. Many who voted for the appropriation made it clear that this did not mean their endorsement of the adventurist escalation strategy in force.

And so even when he expends more lives and more money in the war, Johnson does not neglect the other aspect of his counter-revolutionary tactics, namely, his "peace talks" fraud.

... **More Political Tricks.** As early as February 7, U.S. Ambassador at large Harriman, who accompanied Johnson to the Honolulu conference, made it known that the U.S. would be willing to have the South

Vietnam National Front for Liberation participate in "peace talks" as an "independent group." Senator Robert Kennedy later suggested a "coalition government" in which the N.F.L. may be given a role. A few days later, a White House spokesman stressed that the Administration favoured "free elections" in south Vietnam and that there was no disagreement between the official position and that of Senator Kennedy if Kennedy "did not propose a coalition government with Communist participation before elections are held."

Serving as a trial balloon, all these talks about N.F.L. participation in "peace talks," "elections" and "a coalition government" indicate clearly what Washington stands for: one, the U.S. will keep on with its "unconditional discussions" fraud while not withdrawing its troops; two, in "peace talks," "elections" or a "coalition government," the N.F.L. can only participate as a minority group, not as the sole representative of the south Vietnamese people which it is.

The purpose of these deceptive formulae is twofold. Washington wants in the first place to give a new shine to its discredited "peace talks" offer and secondly, to give its political brokers something to work with as they try to mastermind a Munich to betray the Vietnamese people and help the U.S. out of its impasse.

## His Hands Are Clean

And, as Chairman Mao Tse-tung told the American writer Anna Louise Strong two decades ago, to start

a war, the U.S. reactionaries must first attack the American people, attacking them—workers and democratic circles—in many ways, politically and economically. One of the latest confirmations of this is the Johnson Administration's wanton suppression of the Negro movement, which, as is only natural, has merged with the powerful campaign against the U.S. imperialist war in Vietnam. In January, the New York State Supreme Court sentenced William Epton, a Negro leader and Vice-President of the Progressive Labour Party, on a framed-up charge of "criminal anarchy." (See *Peking Review*, No. 6, February 4, 1966, p. 3.)

Epton was convicted in point of fact for his beliefs, convicted for urging his compatriots not to fight in the genocidal war of aggression in south Vietnam and all wars of aggression against oppressed people anywhere. A recent issue of the American weekly *Challenge* has published Epton's speech to the court, a speech which is much more than a defence and which is actually an indictment of U.S. imperialism. Epton was found "guilty," as he himself said, of many things, and above all, of being a communist and a black one at that.

To the court he declared: "If these are the 'crimes' that I have been



New Yorkers demand that Epton be freed

found guilty of, then I am guilty — a thousand times over. In fact, I will be 'guilty' of these 'crimes' as long as . . . there is a breath in my body."

Exposing the U.S. Government and explaining the reason for his persecution, Epton pointed out that the U.S. Government is "an imperialist-racist government, and since it is in this position it must assure its home base, silence dissent and whip its own people into line." But, as far as his people are concerned, he said that they "will not walk into the concentration camps, the furnaces and the gas chambers." "We would sooner die fighting first before we allow this to happen to us," the Negro leader stressed.

Epton was well aware of the creeping advance of fascism in the U.S. He asked: "If a government uses gas and fire against the Vietnamese people, what's to prevent them from carrying out the same policy here? If a government uses fascistic methods to suppress others, it is only one step removed from using the same methods against its own people."

For the arch-reactionaries who are running the country, Bill Epton had a warning: "When the future equivalent of the Nuremberg trials take place, it will not be Bill Epton who will be standing in the dock. It will be the Johnsons, the McNamaras, the Bundys, the Rusks, the war-mad industrialists who make war for profit and their agents who will be tried for crimes against humanity. . . ."

In winding up his speech, this American revolutionary spoke with a clear conscience: "My hands are clean. I have no blood on them! I ask you — can the U.S. Government and its agents make these same statements?"

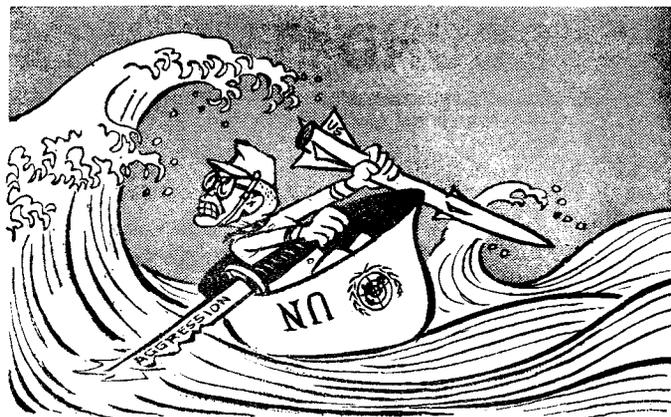
#### COLOMBIA

### One Falls, Thousands More Arise

And how will the multiform persecution of the revolutionaries in the

Slow Boat to . . .

Cartoon by  
Lan Chien-an



U.S. and elsewhere end? It can only end in arousing the people to make revolution more widely and with greater intensity.

In Colombia, a new wave of struggle and protest is raging following the news that Father Camilo Torres has been killed by the pro-U.S. reactionary regime.

A Catholic priest and a leader of the Colombian "United Front Movement," Camilo Torres was also a patriot who was filled with loathing at the sanguinary crimes perpetrated by the reactionaries. So he left the church, took up arms and joined the struggle in the mountains. Two months ago, he proclaimed in a manifesto that he had joined the National Liberation Army "so that future Colombians may have a fatherland of their own independent of the north American power."

The news of his death was followed by street demonstrations and protest meetings in the capital city of Bogota, where workers, college students and others clashed with the troops and mounted police. To give vent to their anger, demonstrators burnt a car owned by the U.S. Sears Roebuck department store and stoned others belonging to the military and government officials. Demonstrations also took place in Cali, Bucaramanga, Medellin and other provincial towns. In Santander Province, where Carlos Lleras, presidential candidate of the ruling "National Front," was campaigning, he got one slap in the face and had his speeches interrupted by indignant demonstrators.

#### JAPAN

### Militarist Plot Thickens

Tojo's Japan and its *samurai* are trying to speed up their come-back, this time in collusion with U.S. imperialism which is modelling itself on German nazism.

As the Third Armament Expansion Plan begins this year ahead of schedule, the Sato government's direct military expenditure for the current year will be 340,600 million yen, 40,000 million more than the previous year. A *Yomiuri Shimbun* report disclosed that in addition to two Nike-Ajax missile battalions already stationed near Tokyo and Kita Kyushu, three more Hercules missile battalions would be stationed in the Osaka-Kobe area, in Tokai and Tohoku. In January, the maritime "Self-Defence Corps" launched a naval craft carrying nuclear capable torpedoes. It was also reported that all new vessels launched in the future would be equipped with nuclear capable weapons.

Spoiling for a fight, Nishimura Tomoharu, Chief of Staff of the naval "self-defence" forces, cried not long ago: "The situation in Asia is turbulent, the self-defence forces should be sent to the battlefield at a moment's notice in case of an eventuality." More recently, Foreign Minister Etsusaburo Shiina told the Lower House that it was time for "concrete discussion and study" of the question of sending troops abroad. He made this statement as

Washington was applying pressure on its satellites to dispatch more troops to south Vietnam to help escalate its aggression there. It is a time when the U.S. is shifting the focus of its global strategy from Europe to the Far East and training its sights on China as its main enemy.

In preparing to send troops abroad, the Japanese militarists are flagrantly violating the Japanese Constitution which renounces war and are grossly defying the spirit of the Potsdam Declaration. To deceive public opinion, the Sato government is drawing up a "bill for co-operation with the United Nations" in an attempt to "legalize" the dispatch of Japanese troops to foreign countries. The bill reportedly gives "full backing" to any steps taken by the U.S.-controlled U.N. Once the compulsory military measures were decided by the U.N., Japan would offer troops, labour, military material, air and other bases, ports and transportation facilities, said *Tokyo Shimbun*. At the same time, the Japanese Government is secretly studying the revision of the "Self-Defence Forces Law" for the same purpose.

In acting as pawns for U.S. imperialism and fishing in troubled waters, the Japanese reactionaries have started on the road to ruin.

BRITAIN

## Early Election: "Make Or Break"

Only 16 months after the last general election, British parties will again go to the hustings on March 31. In announcing this, British Prime Minister Wilson did not give any reasons, but on a previous occasion he had made it clear that an early election would be decided by whether the Government had the ability "to continue to do its job" and "to speak clearly on behalf of Britain in dealing with overseas statesmen."

This announcement clearly reflects Britain's increasing political and economic instability. The Wilson government, since it came to power in October 1964, has had to face constant threats to its survival because of its tiny and vulnerable 3-vote majority in the House of Commons. Important and controversial bills have become more and more difficult to pass. Dissatisfaction with the Labour government's subservient pro-U.S. foreign and defence policies is growing. Its toeing Washington's line on the Vietnam question has met with strong opposition from the

British people and Labour's rank and file. Its "East of Suez defence policy" in co-operation with the U.S. too has caused differences within the Labour government, culminating in the resignations of Navy Minister Christopher Mayhew and First Sea Lord Admiral David Luce. Its relations with the African countries on the Rhodesian issue are in a mess.

Britain's economic situation too is a king-sized headache for the Wilson government. Industrial stagnation has continued for over a year while inflation keeps accelerating. Trade deficits are widening. Sterling slid below its \$2.80 parity rate for the first time in five months at the announcement of the election day. A major conflict between the Labour government and the trade unions is developing as a result of the implementation of the wage policy.

As the British press indicates, Wilson has decided to hold an election before the situation gets worse. By exploiting the growing internal contradictions within the Conservative Party and the "inexorable reaction against 13 years of Tory rule," he hopes to increase the Labour majority in the House of Commons and so strengthen Labour rule. To him, indeed, it certainly is a decision that will either "make or break."

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## NEWS NOTES

### Hurrying Things Up in Geneva . . . On-the-Spot Tutelage in New Delhi . . . Revanchists Given Free Hand in Bonn

Anxious to retain their nuclear monopoly, the U.S. and the Soviet Union have made a new deal for the quick conclusion of a "nuclear non-proliferation treaty" at the 17-nation disarmament conference in Geneva. Despite objections from neutral nations, they will discuss nothing except this "treaty" in order to avoid "complicating" the issues which would delay the agreement.

\* \* \*  
In New Delhi, India and Japan have wound up the first official talks under their recent agreement for periodic

consultations. The main subject was increased concerted anti-China activity in support of Washington's plan to "contain" China. During the talks, American Ambassador to Japan Reischauer rushed to New Delhi; UPI said this was "evidence of U.S. interest in greater Indo-Japanese co-operation." The Tokyo newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* was more outspoken when it reported that Japan and India formed the "core" of an anti-China alliance in Asia which the U.S. is trying to put together.

Paul Luecke, Bonn Minister of the Interior, conceded recently that membership of West German Nazi revanchist parties and organizations and anti-Jewish organizations had increased by about 40 per cent in a year, from 32,200 in 1964 to 44,900 in 1965. Nazi revanchist actions and instances of anti-Semitism in 1965 too were three times as many as in the previous year. Among the 521 cases registered were terrorist activities including arson, sabotage, and insults and threats to people. The Bonn authorities who dismiss such outrages as "really not dangerous," signalled the ending of the criminal tribunals in Hamburg and Stuttgart by setting free two Hitlerite war criminals responsible for mass murder.

# ACROSS THE LAND

## Stress on Simple Farm Tools

WHILE developing modern farm machinery suited to China's specific conditions, China's farm equipment research workers are paying increased attention to the development and production of simple, semi-mechanized tools and better farm implements. These are widely in demand as they raise labour productivity, lighten work, can be made in large numbers at little cost by local workshops.

An example of these is a jute stripper, invented by a farm machinery research worker of Kwangtung. This province annually plants large areas to jute and the harvest has always been laboriously stripped by hand, leading to cut and swollen palms. The simple new stripper now saves Kwangtung jute-farmers' hands and much time. It is made up of a hand-cranked wooden roller which forces the lengths of jute against a sharpened metal hook, the whole mounted on a wooden bench. The first model worked satisfactorily, raising labour productivity several-fold, and cost around 5 yuan to make. But the maker was not fully satisfied. After collecting and studying users' opinions and further research, he turned out an equally good model which now sells for a mere 0.8 yuan.

## Nurses Become Doctors

CAN nurses become doctors? They couldn't in pre-liberation China. But in New China, they can and they do, just as workers become engineers, and peasants, research members of agricultural research institutions.

In the northeastern city of Harbin 86 former nurses have been promoted to posts as medical practitioners by the local Bureau of Public Health. All have excellent professional records of ten or more years in nursing. In addition to their rich practical experience in medicine they have all completed spare-time medical college courses. One of them is 43-year-old Chao Hung-wen, who completed

middle school and a medical college course in spare-time study. She now works at the Harbin Municipal No. 1 Hospital for Workers. Another is Ma Su-fan, once a beggar girl in the streets of old China. She completed primary, middle and nursing school courses with the help of the People's Government.

Many experienced nurses in Peking, Shanghai and other cities have also qualified as doctors after finishing spare-time medical college courses. Time off for study is normal practice in all hospitals of New China.

## Sea Harvest

**Big Catches.** Fukien Province fishing communes have landed a heavy winter haul of hairtail fish, 16,000 tons bigger than that of last winter. Hairtail makes up the bulk of the winter catch in Fukien and Kiangsu. The latter province took in its biggest catch in history despite unfavourable fishing conditions.

This past winter, more Party and government cadres than ever at county, commune and production brigade levels went to sea with the fishermen as working crew members. The better leadership they were thus able to give, in addition to new fishing techniques and equipment, were decisive in landing these bumper catches.

**Fukien Farms the Sea.** Razor and surf clams, oysters and ark shells,

four famous shellfish of Fukien, are now being cultivated in beds covering 14,000 hectares in the shallow coastal waters of that province. The off-shore sea farms of Fukien last year put a record 45,000 tons of these marine delicacies on the nation's tables.

Raising edible sea algae is another of Fukien's fast-growing sea products industries. Kelp (*Laminaria japonica*) and lavers were found only in the cold coastal waters of China north of the 40th Parallel, but mass scientific research work by the people's communes in recent years has helped to introduce them into southern waters. Last year 2,500 tons of dried kelp and 100 tons of lavers were harvested from 400 hectares of the province's sea farms.

## Briefs

Nine Tibetan women workers of the Lhasa Carpet Factory have retired on pension. This makes them the first working-class pensioners in the history of Tibet.

A 1,000-hectare tract of land reclaimed by a P.L.A. unit from the sea along the coast of Kwangtung Province yielded two crops of rice last year and provided the state with 4,000 tons of grain.

A research station for the study and protection of migratory birds has been set up on an island in Chinghai Lake (Koko Nor) which lies 3,200 m. above sea level and is China's biggest salt lake. Chinghai Lake is in N.W. China.



# CULTURE

## ***Ulanmuchi Troupe Tours All China***

The famed Ulanmuchi troupe of the Inner Mongolian grasslands has recently completed a seven-month nationwide demonstration tour, which has been cited as a model in carrying out the Party's policy on art and literature.

Organized into three troupes each of 12 versatile performers, the Ulanmuchi artists covered 52,500 kilometres. Since last June, they visited all of China's 26 provinces and autonomous regions on the mainland, met with artists and writers at each stop, and performed for over a million people. Throughout its eight years of existence, the Ulanmuchi has performed for, lived and worked the year round among the herdsmen and peasants of Inner Mongolia. This time, on a nationwide tour sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, with the same spirit of complete devotion to the people, it has won further fame as a banner-bearer in the socialist cultural revolution.

Small in number, carrying only simple props and travelling light, they are able to bring socialist culture to places that a more imposing troupe might find impossible. On this tour, they performed in big theatres, factory workshops, and fields, on building sites and trains, in peasant homes and hospitals, wherever there were working people to see them.

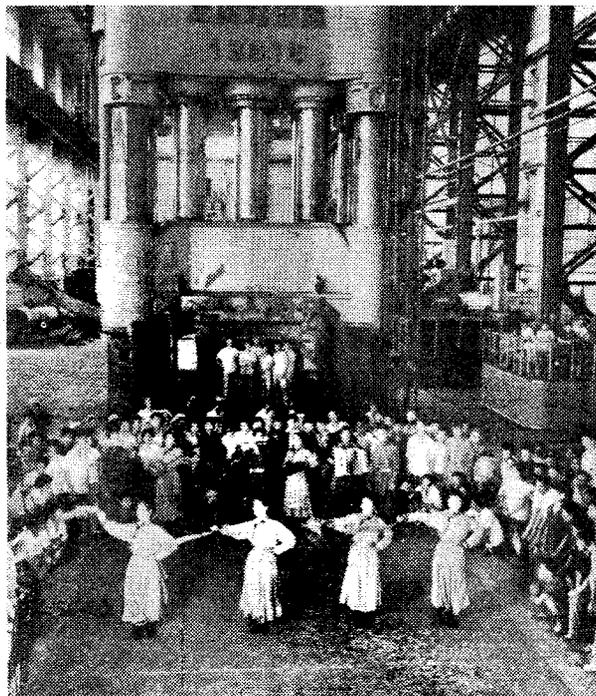
Off stage, the Ulanmuchi artists worked in the fields with their peasant audiences, did a spot of work in a workshop, or stood sentry duty with the P.L.A. No request was too big or small for them. They explained government policies and current affairs in the villages, mended clothes for the soldiers, acted as barbers in remote mountain valleys, did housework for the old and disabled, took part in local efforts against flood and drought. Sons and daughters of former poor peasants and herdsmen, they never forgot that they are just ordinary working people.

With their background, they knew how to take the rough with the smooth. Brought up in the Mongolian pasturelands, they sweated in the summer heat of subtropical Kwangtung and Kwangsi, but still gave their usual two or three performances a day. Singing or dancing at the altitude of the Tibetan Plateau was quite a test, but they were buoyed up in coping with such difficulties by the knowledge that the Tibetan people were, like their own folk, bitterly exploited and oppressed in former days.

Remembering their predecessors, the travelling propaganda teams of the old Red Army or the theatrical troupes of the Communist-led Eighth Route Army during the 1930s and 40s, the people flocked to their performances. In Tsunyi, the city where, in 1935, during the Long March, the Chinese Communist Party determined its correct road to victory under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, one-third of the inhabitants saw their performances. In Shanghai, 20,000 tickets for their show were sold out in a couple of hours. Red Army veterans in Ching-kang Mountain and old peasants of Yen-an presented revolutionary relics to them, encouraging them to carry on and develop the traditions of the people's revolutionary arts.

In every city or rural centre visited by them, local art workers attended the performances and reviewed their own work in the light of the Ulanmuchi experience and spirit. All agreed that the touchstone distinguishing the revolutionary artists and others is whether one serves the people unconditionally.

Theatrical companies and concert ensembles in all parts of the country are now organizing their own Ulanmuchi-style touring troupes. And



**With a 12,000-ton press as a background, a between-shifts performance for workers at Shanghai's Jiangnan Shipyard**

stage art schools everywhere are learning to train young Ulanmuchi-style artists.

This demonstration tour has carried the name of Ulanmuchi far beyond theatrical circles. In China today, the name has become synonymous with complete devotion to the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Mobile medical teams, P.L.A. fighters, government officials all seek to learn this new style of work. Following the example of the Ulanmuchi comrades, many young students have expressed their eagerness to go to work in the remotest regions and in the most difficult places.

"With everyone learning from our experience, what must we do?" Ulanmuchi members asked themselves. The answer they gave was: Always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching "Modesty helps a person to make progress whereas conceit makes him lag behind," be a willing pupil of the working people for ever. Never be divorced from them, or from physical labour. Always forge ahead, dedicated completely to singing and dancing for the working masses, for socialism, for the revolutionary cause of the world's people.

# RADIO PEKING's

## English Language Transmissions

—DAILY—

	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA	00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	42, 41, 30
	01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	42, 41, 30
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	03:30-04:30	18:45-19:45 (Monrovia) 19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown) 20:30-21:30 (Lagos) 21:30-22:30 (Cairo)	50, 43, 31
	04:30-05:30	19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos)	50, 43, 31
SOUTHEAST ASIA	20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 19:30-20:30 (Singapore) 20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila) 18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)	252, 224 32, 31, 25, 19
	21:00-22:00	20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 20:30-21:30 (Singapore) 21:00-22:00 (Saigon, Manila) 19:30-20:30 (Rangoon)	224, 32 31, 25, 19
SOUTH ASIA	22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 19:00-20:00 (West Pakistan) 20:00-21:00 (East Pakistan) 19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)	42, 41, 30
	23:00-24:00	20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 20:00-21:00 (West Pakistan) 21:00-22:00 (East Pakistan) 20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)	42, 41, 30
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	00:00-01:00	21:30-22:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 21:00-22:00 (West Pakistan) 22:00-23:00 (East Pakistan) 21:40-22:40 (Kathmandu)	229
	16:30-17:30 17:30-18:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.) 19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25, 19, 16 25, 19, 16
EUROPE	04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30 (G.M.T.) 21:30-22:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	58, 48, 45, 42
	05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30 (G.M.T.) 22:30-23:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	48, 45, 42
NORTH AMERICA (East Coast)	08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	25, 19
	09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	31, 25, 19
	10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	31, 25, 19
NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)	11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	42, 31, 25
	12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	42, 31, 25