

PEKING REVIEW

38

September 21, 1962

NATIONWIDE CONDEMNATION OF U-2 SPY FLIGHT

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A look at the countryside (p. 18).

Art, Theatre and Other Features

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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by Chao Shu-li

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

September 21, 1962 Vol. V No. 38

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Round the Week

China Condemns U-2 Plane Intrusion

The shooting down of a U.S.-made U-2 plane as it came in for an espionage flight over east China is another inglorious incident in the shameless record of U.S. imperialist aggression against China. Once again the rancorous hostility of the U.S. rulers towards the Chinese people was exposed. This flight endangered peace in the Far East and throughout the world. It threatened the security of China and constituted an act of barefaced aggression which the Chinese people would not tolerate. This act, said Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee at a Peking rally, "has once again thoroughly exposed the vicious features of the U.S. imperialists who are implacably hostile to the people of China and of the rest of the world." It points up the fact, as the *Renmin Ribao* editorial on September 15 said, that "U.S. imperialism is the implacable enemy of the Chinese people and of world peace." (For text of the *Renmin Ribao* editorial, see p. 6.)

China's 650 million people have hailed the resounding success of the air force unit of the People's Liberation Army which shot down the U-2 plane. They have angrily condemned this and all other U.S. war provocations. All the leading newspapers have carried editorials supporting the Chinese Government's statement of September 14 protesting against this U.S. aerial provocation.

Mass protest meetings were held everywhere in the country; leaders of people's organizations and democratic parties, workers, peasants, students, scientists, returned overseas Chinese and fighters of the P.L.A. have unanimously endorsed the Government's statement and denounced the U.S. imperialists and its lackeys, the Chiang Kai-shek gang, for their criminal activities.

Peking Rally

Peking held a mass rally at the Great Hall of the People on September 15 to celebrate the shooting down of the U-2 espionage plane and to oppose

U.S. imperialist war provocations. The rally was attended by Premier Chou En-lai and other government leaders and more than 10,000 representative citizens of the capital—including officers and men of the P.L.A., members of the armed militia, workers, peasants, students and government employees. It gave vivid expression to the will of China's 650 million people determined to do everything in their power to smash the U.S. imperialists' plots of aggression and defend world peace.

Liao Cheng-chih, Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee, presided over the rally. In his opening address, he said that the shooting down of the U-2 plane was a forceful answer to war provocations by the U.S. imperialists. It demonstrated the powerful might of the P.L.A. and the unflinching determination of the Chinese people to safeguard the security of their motherland and defend world peace. Hailing the success scored by the P.L.A.'s air force unit in shooting down the plane and thanking the people of other countries for their wholehearted support, he expressed the conviction that as long as the people of the whole world were united they would surely smash all the aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism. Liao Cheng-chih's solemn statement was cheered to the echo with thunderous cries of: "Long live the valiant People's Liberation Army!" "Down with the U.S. imperialist war provocations!" "Defend the motherland!" "Defend world peace!"

Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Chairman of the China Peace Committee, gave the main speech of the rally. He warmly hailed the P.L.A.'s air force unit for its great success in defending the air of the motherland. The downing of the U-2 plane, he said, was a stunning blow to the sabre-rattling U.S. imperialists and a great victory for the people of China and the rest of the world fighting for the cause of world peace. (For text of Kuo Mo-jo's speech, see p. 8.)

Speaking on behalf of the various people's organizations, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions Liu Ning-I extended his warm congratulations to the P.L.A.'s air force unit which shot down the U-2 plane. Fully endorsing the Chinese Government's statement and protest, he denounced the U.S. imperialists' espionage activities aimed at intensifying tension in the Far East and sabotaging world peace. The intrusion of the U-2 plane over east China, he said, "is a serious crime of aggression; it cannot escape severe condemnation by just world opinion. The people of the whole world has come to see more clearly than ever that U.S. imperialism is the No. 1 enemy of world peace."

Liu Ning-I pointed out that the flight of this U-2 plane was no isolated incident, that the U.S. imperialists were extending their espionage activities by means of such espionage planes and were incessantly carrying out reconnaissance flights over the socialist countries and nationally independent countries. He called on the Chinese people and all the peace-loving people of the world to heighten their vigilance and wage resolute struggles against the U.S. imperialists' arms drive and war preparations.

Cheng Chien, Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, spoke at the rally on behalf of eight democratic parties. He paid tribute to the P.L.A.'s air force unit for bringing down the U-2 plane, and said that the plane's intrusion was a grave provocation both against the Chinese people and against peace in the Far East and throughout the world. Irrefutable facts prove that the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism will never change, that it is determined to be hostile to the Chinese people, and that it is the chief and most ferocious enemy of the world's people, declared Cheng Chien.

He went on to expose Kennedy's double-dealing tactics of talking about peace while actually making preparations for war. Kennedy and Eisenhower, he said, are birds of a feather, both being agents of U.S. monopoly capital and carrying out the same policies of war and aggression. But the Kennedy Administration is even more malicious, more frantic and more adventurous. In the face of such a crafty and ferocious enemy, Cheng Chien said, the people of the whole world must unite still more closely

and support one another in waging a blow-for-blow struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Representatives of the people's armed forces, workers, peasants, militiamen and students also spoke at the gathering. They unanimously condemned the U.S. imperialists for this fresh crime against the Chinese people. They also warned that, with the mighty P.L.A. at the front and tens of millions of militiamen in the rear, any aggressor who dared to intrude into China's territory would be brought to justice. Their speeches were punctuated by stormy applause. Ten thousand voices echoed the militant slogans raised from the rostrum. The rally ended with a united cry: "U.S. imperialism, get out of China's territory of Taiwan! Get out of Asia, Africa and Latin America!"

The Nation Protests

News of the U-2 plane's intrusion touched off a wave of anger and protest across the length and breadth of the country. Mass meetings were held in all the major cities—in Shanghai on the east coast and Lhasa in the southwest, in Canton on the south coast and Urumchi in the northwest, and in Wuhan, Tientsin, Shenyang, Sian, Hangchow, Chengtu as well as Foochow and Amoy on the Fukien front.

People of all walks of life in Shanghai acclaimed the shooting down of the U-2 plane and denounced the U.S. imperialists' crimes. Many factories, schools and government institutions held meetings celebrating the downing of the spy plane. Workers of the Yangshupu power plant, which was bombed by U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek aircraft shortly after the city's liberation, hailed the event as a heavy blow against the enemy. Professors, scientists and prominent personages joined in the protest. Cheng Hsiao-kang, Vice-President of Chiao-tung University, said that the shooting down of the U-2 plane demonstrated the strength of China's air force and served a warning to U.S. imperialism. Chou Ku-cheng, Chairman of the Shanghai Committee of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, said that the incident gave the lie to Kennedy's talk about peace.

In Wuhan, that rising industrial city in central China, steelworkers at the Wuhan Iron and Steel Works held a

meeting beside their furnaces on hearing the news of the downing of the U-2 plane. They warned the U.S. imperialists that the liberated Chinese people were not to be bullied or intimidated. They pledged to increase steel production and give all support to the P.L.A. guarding the security and peaceful life of the Chinese people.

China's minority nationalities voiced their support for the Government's statement protesting against the intrusion of the U-2 plane. Freed from imperialist and reactionary rule once and for all, they warned the U.S. imperialists that the Chinese people would never again tolerate aggression.

In Lhasa, Panchen Erdeni, Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, enumerated irrefutable facts exposing the U.S. imperialists' policies of war and aggression. The U-2 incident, he said, is another proof that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the world's peace-loving people. He said that no matter what disguises the Kennedy Administration might take, "a mask can never cover up the devil's face," as a Tibetan proverb says. The 1.2 million Tibetan people, he continued, would do their best to strengthen the defences of the motherland's southwestern border and smash every military provocation by the U.S. imperialists.

P.L.A.'s Warning

Officers and men of the three services of the People's Liberation Army stationed in various parts of the country held meetings to celebrate the shooting down of the U.S.-made U-2 plane and condemn this crime by the U.S. imperialists.

Combat hero Chang Chi-hui, who had shot down the U.S. "ace" pilot Davis during the Korean war, said at a meeting that the fate of the U-2 plane should be a warning to U.S. imperialism. This U-2 flight was part and parcel of the U.S. aggressors' stepped-up war preparations in the Far East. "It is a challenge to peace in the Far East and the world and is another proof that the Kennedy Administration is an out-and-out warlike government," he said.

Han Teh-tsai, another combat hero who had brought down the U.S. "ace" pilot Edward in the Korean war, warned that if the U.S. imperialists refused to learn a lesson and con-

tinued to send out espionage planes against China, they would all be shot down.

The ranks of the P.L.A. are filled with anger at this new outrage com-

mitted by U.S. imperialism against the Chinese people. Everyone vowed to stand ready at all times to strike down any aggressor that should dare to invade China.

Worldwide Denunciation

The U-2 spy flight has provoked worldwide reactions. From Hanoi to Tirana, from Havana to Djakarta, this latest U.S. imperialist outrage was angrily denounced.

The press of the socialist countries was unanimous in its condemnation and stood four-square behind China.

Rondong Shinmoon (Pyongyang) castigated the U-2 intrusions against China and the Soviet Union as "intolerable provocations against the socialist countries; they have filled all peoples with burning indignation. These incidents show how blatant U.S. imperialism has become in its aggression and war preparations in the Far East and the rest of the world."

Nhandan (Hanoi) pointed out that the U-2 incident had again completely discredited U.S. imperialism in the eyes of the world. There was now additional evidence to show that Kennedy was even more frantic and adventurous than Eisenhower in carrying out the U.S. imperialist programme of espionage, provocation, sabotage and war against the socialist and other peace-loving countries.

The Korean and Vietnamese papers stressed the connection between the U-2 spy flights and the recent tour of U.S. General Taylor in the Far East, noting that U.S. imperialism was the arch criminal in aggravating tension in the Far East and Southeast Asia.

The Albanian paper *Zeri I Popullit* remarked that with the downing of the U-2, the people of the world could see with still greater clarity that espionage and sabotage were part and parcel of the Kennedy Administration's overall strategy for a new war against the socialist countries. These activities, it pointed out, once again unmasked the peace talk of U.S. imperialism as nothing but a means to hoodwink the gullible and blunt the vigilance of the peoples; they exposed the hypocrisy of the U.S. imperialists who paid lip-service to disarmament and peace while actually preparing for a new war on a grand scale.

The Cuban paper *Hoy* wrote that the repeated U-2 intrusions over the socialist countries were in line with the warlike policies which U.S. imperialism had been stubbornly pursuing in the Far East, West Berlin and Cuba.

The Polish paper *Trybuna Ludu* condemned the U-2 adventure as "aggravating international tension to a dangerous degree." The *Slovak Pravda* of Czechoslovakia pointed out that the U.S. occupation of China's Taiwan posed a very great threat to peace and that the U-2 intrusions fitted well into the framework of U.S.-organized and supported provocations. The *Neues Deutschland* of the G.D.R. noted that before he came to power Kennedy in 1960 had "criticized" the provocation against the Soviet Union by the U.S. U-2 aircraft and described it as foolish and dangerous and now he himself was also committing such dangerous and foolish acts.

In Asia and Africa too, public opinion came out in resounding condemnation of the provocative U-2 spy flights. *Warta Bhakti*, an Indonesian paper in Djakarta, considered the U-2 flights dangerous no matter what pretexts were advanced by Washington. They made people realize that U.S. intrusions into the air space of other countries were premeditated and well planned, that the United States was making aggressive war preparations in every corner of the world.

The Indian paper *Swadhinata* linked the U-2 flights with U.S. preparations for surprise attacks against the socialist countries. Hence, it declared, "all peace-loving people of the world will be glad to see that the defensive measures of an independent country have been so improved against U.S. imperialist attacks. We hail this anti-imperialist action and the preparations to defend peace. This is undoubtedly contributing to the strength of the world peace forces against war plots."

The Burmese paper *Ludu*, castigating the U-2 flights and Washington's hypocritical efforts to hide the truth

about their crime, declared editorially: "It is time the whole world joined together in meting out a just punishment to the U.S. imperialists."

Al Gomhuria (U.A.R.) in a commentary denounced U.S. imperialism for repeatedly using the U-2 flights to create international crises. The current U-2 incident proved that the United States was supporting the mad attempt of the Chiang Kai-shek gang to occupy China's mainland. *Sawt Al Ahrar* (Iraq), warning Washington against playing with fire, declared: "The Americans are the chief trouble-makers who are disturbing world peace by daily violations of the sovereignty and territory of other states and of other people's right to self-determination."

In face of this brazen imperialist act, the Asian and African peoples are not looking on with folded arms. Already, the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization in a statement of support for the firm stand taken by the Chinese people against the U-2 flights, has called upon the peoples of Asia and Africa to intensify their struggle for the liquidation of all foreign military bases and the eradication of old and new colonialism. In Japan, Kaoru Yasui, Director General of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, Yoshitaro Hirano, Chairman of the Japan Peace Committee, and many other public figures have reiterated their protests against the stationing of U-2 planes on Japanese soil.

In fact, these U-2 flights were such obvious provocations against peace that they caused irritation and dismay, even among U.S. allies. In this respect, the comments of the bourgeois papers in Britain and Japan — both countries having U-2 planes stationed on their territory — are typical. While *Asahi Shimbun* and several other Japanese papers acknowledged that the continued U.S. use of U-2s for spy flights over China and the other socialist countries is "detrimental to peace," the British were more caustic. "A miserable blunder" (*Daily Mail*), "the embarrassing U-2" (*Daily Telegraph*), "not a bright idea" (*London Times*) and "stupid and irresponsible" (*Daily Herald*) were some of the epithets hurled at the Kennedy Administration.

Once again, U.S. imperialism has been pilloried by world public opinion.

U.S. Aggressors in the Dock

The following are excerpts from "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of September 15. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE intrusion into China's air space by a U.S.-made U-2 plane is convincing evidence that U.S. imperialism is the implacable enemy of the Chinese people and of world peace. The policies of aggression and war of the Kennedy Administration poses a constant threat to peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

The stepped-up deployment of its forces for aggression against China by the Kennedy Administration is a component part of its global plans for aggression and war.

"Peace" Tricks

Recently, the Kennedy Administration has been playing all kinds of "peace" tricks and professing willingness to "live in peace" with all countries, settle international disputes through negotiations, stop nuclear tests, prohibit nuclear weapons and realize universal disarmament. Yet, it is precisely under cover of this "peace" cloak that it has pushed ahead with still greater vigour its plans for aggression and war, frantically preparing for a nuclear war and engineering local wars and "special wars" everywhere, greatly aggravating international tension.

The U.S. imperialist war of suppression against the south Vietnamese people is daily increasing in scope; some 10,000 U.S. military personnel are now engaged in this aggressive war. The United States continues its military occupation of Thailand, using it as a base for intervention and threats against Laos and to support its "special war" in south Viet Nam. The United States is also egging on Thailand and south Viet Nam to meddle with Cambodia's neutrality and independence. It is intensifying its efforts to set up a Northeast Asia military alliance, to establish a "Polaris" submarine base in the Pacific and ship guided missiles of the latest type to Japan.

U.S. war preparations for an invasion of Cuba have recently been speeded up; there have been repeated military provocations against that country. Having used mercenaries to carry out insensate attacks and sabotage

against Cuba, the United States is now clamouring for a direct military invasion of that country.

Coupled with this are a series of new U.S. provocations in West Berlin and the accelerated arming of West Germany, including the equipping of two West German missile battalions. The United States is planning to call up another 150,000 reservists and, despite worldwide opposition, has announced plans for new atmospheric nuclear tests over the Pacific. Not long ago, a U.S. U-2 plane made another intrusion into the territorial air of the Soviet Union for espionage purposes. U-2 planes are extending their activities to all parts of the world, encroaching on the sovereignty of various countries and menacing their security. Such are the ways by which U.S. imperialism shows itself before the whole world as the most dangerous enemy of the peaceful life and security of the people of all countries.

Mounting Resistance

The U.S. imperialist arms drive and war preparations and its crimes of aggression have roused the world's peoples to increasingly strong resistance. The heroic people of south Viet Nam, fighting a bitter and resolute struggle against the "mopping up" operations of the U.S.-Diem troops, have scored new victories. Faced with the threat of new attacks from U.S. imperialism, the Cuban people are closing their ranks still more solidly around their Revolutionary Government headed by Premier Fidel Castro. They are mobilized and prepared for battle, more than ever determined to wipe out any enemy who dares to invade their motherland. The arms drive and war preparations of U.S. imperialism and its crimes of aggression are providing ever deeper lessons to the peace-loving people of all lands. More and more people have come to understand that there must be no illusions about U.S. imperialism and the Kennedy Administration, that national independence and world peace must be defended by resolute struggle.

The Chinese Government statement declares: "So long as U.S. imperialism persists in its policies of aggression and war, so long as the United States still occupies China's territory of Taiwan, China's security cannot be ensured, nor can the tension in the Far East and the world be eliminated. For the sake of China's security and Far Eastern and world peace, the armed forces of the United States must be withdrawn from Taiwan; they must be withdrawn from Japan, southern Korea, southern Viet Nam, Laos, Thailand and the Philippines; they must be withdrawn from all U.S. military bases on foreign soil." This gives expression to the firm, unshakable will of the 650 million people of China. The Chinese people will work in concert with the people of all other countries who cherish peace, to smash the U.S. imperialist plans for aggression and war and safeguard national independence and world peace. When the people throughout the world are united even more closely, the policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism will inevitably be defeated; and they certainly can be defeated.



Cartoon by Ying Tao

China Protests Against Spy Flight of An American U-2 Plane

Following is the text of the statement issued on September 14, by the Government of the People's Republic of China protesting against the provocative spy flight of an American U-2 plane over China. — Ed.

ON September 9, 1962, a U.S.-made U-2 plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang intruded into the air space over eastern China on an espionage mission and was shot down in the act by the Air Force of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. This intrusion constitutes a crime of flagrant aggression by U.S. imperialism against China. It is a serious challenge by U.S. imperialism to peace in the Far East and the world. While warmly celebrating this great victory of the defenders of the territorial air of their country, the 650 million Chinese people cannot but express their strong indignation against the U.S. imperialist aggressor who has all along been hostile to the new China.

After the incident took place, the United States Government, on the one hand, declared that the U-2 plane was purchased by the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the American Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, attempting to show thereby that the whole affair had nothing to do with the United States, but on the other hand it admitted that the United States obtained information collected through the activities of such espionage aircraft. This is indeed a futile attempt; it is also a self-contradictory statement. The United States has U-2 planes stationed in many parts of the world. Wherever the U-2 planes go, the danger of war follows. The people in all countries where American U-2 planes are stationed strongly demand that the United States withdraw them. It is well known that all these U-2 planes are under the direct control of the United States itself. How can Taiwan be an exceptional case? The servicing, maintenance, use and command of these planes are all in the hands of the United States. The present U-2 intrusion into China was solely directed by the United States. The U.S. Government is the chief culprit in this aggressive crime. The Chinese Government hereby lodges the strongest protest with the U.S. Government.

The intrusion of this American U-2 aircraft into China is by no means an accidental or isolated incident. For a long time, U.S. aeroplanes and warships have continually intruded into China's air space and territorial waters. Not long ago, the United States even incited and encouraged the Chiang Kai-shek gang to prepare for an adventurist invasion of the southeastern coastal areas of China. After this scheme was exposed, the U.S. Government still made flat denials; it indicated again and again that it had no intention of attacking China with armed force, and declared that it would not allow the Chiang Kai-shek clique to invade the Chinese mainland. The present U-2 incident sufficiently shows, however,

that all these statements are just a hoax. And this incident itself represents an important step taken by the U.S. Government in inciting and encouraging the Chiang Kai-shek gang to invade the mainland of China.

The present incident is a component part of intensified U.S. aggression and military deployments for war in Asia and throughout the world. In Asia, the United States is frantically suppressing the patriotic anti-U.S. struggle of the people in southern Viet Nam, continuing its occupation of Thailand, interfering in the internal affairs of Laos, directing south Viet Nam and Thailand to threaten Cambodia, actively rearming Japan and bringing Japan and south Korea into co-operation to knock together a Northeast Asia military alliance. The United States is directing the West German revanchists to make ever more rabid provocations in West Berlin against the German Democratic Republic; at the same time it is openly clamouring for an aggressive war against Cuba. John F. Kennedy has asked Congress for the authority to call up 150,000 reservists when necessary. Not long ago, the U.S. Government disregarded its own solemn pledge to the Soviet Union and again dispatched a U-2 plane to intrude into Soviet air space for espionage purposes. All the above clearly shows that the United States is stepping up the execution of its policies of aggression and war throughout the world, and that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious enemy of the people of the world.

More U.S. Military Intrusions

Despite China's repeated warnings, U.S. planes and a warship have continued intrusions into China's territorial air space and waters. The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued five serious warnings, the last being the 214th.

On July 26 between 13:40 and 14:03 hours, a U.S. military plane flew over Yunghsing and Tung Islands of the Hsisha group, Kwangtung Province. On August 12 between 13:32 and 13:48 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into the air space over the same area.

On September 8 between 11:58 and 12:15 hours, a U.S. military plane flew over Yunghsing and Shih Islands of the Hsisha group of Kwangtung Province.

On September 11, between 10:53 and 10:56, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the area of the Chengssu Islands in Chekiang Province, and between 13:05 and 13:14 hours on the same day, another U.S. military plane flew over the area of Yunghsing Island of the Hsisha group, Kwangtung Province.

On September 16 between 00:23 and 03:15 hours and between 09:55 and 11:48, a U.S. warship twice intruded into the area east of Haitan and Paichuan in Fukien Province.

Since its inauguration, the Kennedy Administration of the United States has time and again professed itself willing to ease international tension, settle international disputes through negotiations, discontinue nuclear tests, ban nuclear weapons, bring about general disarmament and live together in peace with all countries. But it has been doing exactly the contrary. The actual deeds of the United States have been aggression and war preparations; its various peace-loving poses are nothing but a disguise to mislead the people of the world. The latest U-2 plane incident is another reminder that there must be no unrealistic illusions about U.S. imperialism. Only by resolutely repulsing the aggressor can one effectively stop the aggressive and warlike activities of the imperialists and defend the independence of nations and world peace.

The Chinese Government and people are clearly aware of the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and constantly maintain a high degree of vigilance against U.S. aggression and provocation. Since 1958 the Chinese Government has served 213 warnings on U.S. actions in sending its military aeroplanes and warships to violate China's air space and territorial waters. We have done

this in order, on the one hand, to keep an account of U.S. debts to us and, on the other hand, to remind the people of all countries, the American people included, that they must give serious attention to the danger of U.S. imperialism dragging the whole world into a nuclear war disaster. And this is not the first time that China has downed U.S. espionage aircraft. We downed a RB-57D plane over northern China on October 7, 1959, a RF-101 plane over eastern China on August 2, 1961, and a P2V plane over northeastern China on November 6, 1961. The U-2 plane is the fourth U.S. espionage aircraft that we have downed. One fact after another shows that, so long as U.S. imperialism persists in its policies of aggression and war, so long as the United States still occupies China's territory of Taiwan, China's security cannot be ensured, nor can the tension in the Far East and the world be eliminated. For the sake of China's security and Far Eastern and world peace, the armed forces of the United States must be withdrawn from Taiwan; they must be withdrawn from Japan, southern Korea, southern Viet Nam, Laos, Thailand and the Philippines; they must be withdrawn from all U.S. military bases on foreign soil.

At the Peking Rally

KUO MO-JO'S SPEECH

Following is an abridged translation of Kuò Mo-jo's speech at the Peking rally held on September 15. Sub-heads are ours. — Ed.

SIX days ago, the heroic People's Liberation Army downed a U.S.-made U-2 plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang which intruded into our air space. This is well done.

Strong repercussions throughout the world have been caused by this war provocation of the U.S. imperialists trying to get military intelligence on our country by means of U-2 aircraft through the Chiang gang. This incident has aroused the bitter anger and just condemnation of the 650 million Chinese people and all the other peace-loving people of the world. Even some of the allies of the United States have expressed their dissatisfaction. The U.S. imperialists are in the dock. However they may argue and deny it, the U.S. Government, faced by iron-clad proof, has to admit that it supplied the Chiang gang with U-2 aircraft and got military intelligence on China through the Chiang gang. This U-2 incident has once again thoroughly exposed the vicious features of the U.S. imperialists who are implacably hostile to the people of China and of the rest of the world.

An Extremely Grave Incident

The intrusion of this American U-2 plane into China is an extremely grave incident. It is a new, grave step taken by U.S. imperialism in inciting and supporting the Chiang Kai-shek gang to invade our mainland. It is a new U.S. imperialist military provocation against the socialist camp. It is an important component part of the U.S. imperialists' intensified arms drive and war preparations on a world scale.

The U.S. imperialists have occupied our territory of Taiwan and are hanging around the Taiwan Straits; they are using these places as an important base from which to threaten Far Eastern peace and attack China. For several years now American aeroplanes and warships have been intruding again and again into our territorial waters and air space. The Chinese people have recorded these crimes item by item and told the world of them. To date [September 15], the Chinese Government has given 213 warnings to the United States. What is more, both economically and militarily, U.S. imperialism has been fostering the forces of the Chiang gang, supporting and encouraging it to invade our mainland. Last June, following the exposure of the U.S. plot to back the Chiang gang in preparing an invasion of our southeastern coastal areas, the U.S. imperialists were compelled to make a hypocritical pledge that they would not support the Chiang gang in invading the mainland. This U-2 incident has now thoroughly exposed this so-called pledge of the United States as a complete hoax. This incident and the scheming activities which the incoming Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Maxwell Taylor, has recently engaged in in Taiwan show that U.S. imperialism is intensifying its effort to engineer a new plan for a military adventure against China. This incident has enabled the Chinese people to see even more clearly the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and its bitter hatred for them. So long as U.S. imperialism occupies China's territory of Taiwan, China's security and the peace of the Far East cannot be ensured, and the Chinese people have to maintain a high degree of vigilance and be ready at any moment to smash any U.S. imperialist act of aggression or provocation. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. U.S. imperialism must

pay for all the crimes it has committed against the Chinese people.

In May 1960, after an American U-2 plane was shot down by the Soviet armed forces, the then U.S. President Eisenhower, with his man caught red-handed, was forced to promise that such espionage activities would not be resumed. But the facts show that such U.S. imperialist espionage activities against the socialist countries, far from being discontinued, have become even more unbridled since Kennedy took office. U.S. imperialism has now spread its U-2 bases to more than ten regions on four continents. These bases are all mainly directed against the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union and China. Within the short period of ten days from August 30 to September 9 this year, American U-2 planes intruded successively into the air space over the Far Eastern Region of the Soviet Union and over eastern China. These facts once again show that the U.S. imperialists' wild ambition to destroy the socialist camp will never change. The people of the entire socialist camp will certainly further heighten their vigilance and strengthen their unity and continuously enhance their economic strength and national defence forces in order to smash the wild schemes of U.S. imperialism.

Attacks on National and Democratic Movements

While intensifying its war provocations against the socialist countries, the United States is fiercely attacking the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. U.S. imperialism is stepping up its armed repressions against the people in southern Viet Nam, continuing to interfere in the internal affairs of Laos, and using Thailand and southern Viet Nam as bases for military threats and political subversion against the peaceable and neutral countries of Southeast Asia, and particularly against Cambodia. U.S. imperialism is stepping up the arming of Japan with missile weapons in an attempt to form a Northeast Asia military alliance with Japan as its nucleus, directed against China and the Soviet Union and with the nationally independent Asian countries as objects of aggression. The tour of the American butcher Maxwell Taylor in the Far East shows that U.S. imperialism is vigorously preparing a big plot for a new war adventure in the Far East.

It should be noted particularly that U.S. imperialism is launching a new war provocation against Cuba. U.S. aircraft have raided Cuban cities and villages again and again. U.S. gunboats have openly bombarded Cuba's capital Havana. In addition to using mercenaries for frantic invasion and sabotage, U.S. imperialism is actively preparing a direct military attack on Cuba.

In order to advance its aggressive plans in various parts of the world, U.S. imperialism is creating fresh tension in West Berlin. U.S. imperialism has recently staged a series of large-scale military manoeuvres both at home and abroad, and, brazenly disregarding condemnation by the people of the world, has repeatedly carried out nuclear tests, particularly atmospheric tests. U.S. imperialism is producing a spate of war propaganda. It is not only plotting for local warfare and "special warfare" everywhere, but openly admits that it intends to wage a "preventive" nuclear war. This frantic arms drive and war preparations by U.S. imperialism throughout the world call for the keenest vigilance among the people of all countries.

The above facts show that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious enemy not only of the Chinese people, but also of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and of the people of the whole world. Wherever U.S. imperialism goes, there it brings the danger of war. The nature of U.S. imperialism will never change. It is certain that U.S. imperialism will try to push through its policies of war and its plans for aggression. U.S. President Kennedy has talked endlessly about U.S. willingness to coexist peacefully with all countries, to ease international tension, to carry out disarmament, to discontinue nuclear tests, and so on and so forth. But all this talk has been proved by the actual deeds of the U.S. imperialists themselves to be just so many lies designed to deceive the people. One must not cherish the slightest illusions about this vicious enemy, U.S. imperialism. Vicious though it is, however, U.S. imperialism is weak in the face of the people's struggles. This is fully borne out by the experience of the struggles of the people of various countries against U.S. imperialism, particularly by the recent experience of the struggles of the people in Laos, southern Viet Nam and Cuba. We believe that, so long as the people of the world heighten their vigilance, strengthen their unity and wage a struggle directed squarely against U.S. imperialism, they can certainly defeat the policies of war and aggression of U.S. imperialism and safeguard the fruits of their revolutions and world peace.

We'll Smash Any U.S. Provocation or Aggression

The Chinese people, consistently following the teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, have all along conducted a resolute and uncompromising struggle against U.S. imperialist war provocations. We have never cherished any illusions about any of the "peace" tricks played by U.S. imperialism. A U.S. imperialist U-2 plane has now been shot down by our heroic People's Liberation Army. A claw of the U.S. bandit has again been nipped by our people. But U.S. imperialism will not hereupon stop its aggression and provocation against our country. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people are determined to continue to hold high the three red banners of the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune, courageously push forward the socialist construction of our country, continuously enhance our economic strength and national defence, maintain constant vigilance, and be ready to smash any provocation or aggression by U.S. imperialism. The Chinese people are determined to strengthen their unity with the people of the other socialist countries as well as the peoples all over the world, actively support the revolutionary movements waged by other peoples and, together with them, carry on to the end the struggle against U.S. imperialism and for world peace.

Once again we give a grave warning to the American aggressor: The great People's Republic of China and the great Chinese people will never tolerate invasion or being bullied. No matter where the U.S. bandits invade, they will be wiped out on the spot by the Chinese people. Also, we once again give warning to the Chiang Kai-shek gang: If you come to attack or harass the mainland of the motherland under the direction of U.S. imperialism, you will certainly meet with the punishment you deserve.

U.S.-Commanded Reconnaissance Over China's Mainland

— As told by a former Chiang Kai-shek's air force officer

ON September 9, the Air Force of the Chinese People's Liberation Army shot down a U.S.-made U-2 spy plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang over east China. On the same day the "government information office" of the Chiang clique's "executive yuan" issued a statement to the effect that the gang had purchased two U-2 planes from the American Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in July 1960 and shipped them to Taiwan for use in December of the same year. This statement, as the U.S. news agencies' Taipei dispatches stressed, was apparently intended to clear the U.S. of involvement in the incident. But no amount of trickery can cover up the crimes which the U.S. imperialists have committed. In the espionage flights which the Chiang Kai-shek gang makes over China's mainland, the U.S. not only illegally supplies various types of planes but assumes direct command of the actual missions.

Convincing proof of this is provided in an account of his personal experiences given by Wu Pao-chih, a former major and flight commander and acting operations chief of the 4th squadron of the 6th group of the 5th wing of the Chiang Kai-shek air force. He was shot down by the Chinese People's Liberation Army on August 2,

last year, while on a reconnaissance mission over coastal Fukien Province in a RF-101 plane.

In a recent interview with a correspondent of the Hsinhua News Agency, he described what he had observed and experienced when he served in the Chiang Kai-shek air force. He disclosed that the espionage flights over China's mainland of U-2 planes of the Chiang Kai-shek gang were undertaken on the direct command of U.S. military personnel. The following are the facts he revealed.

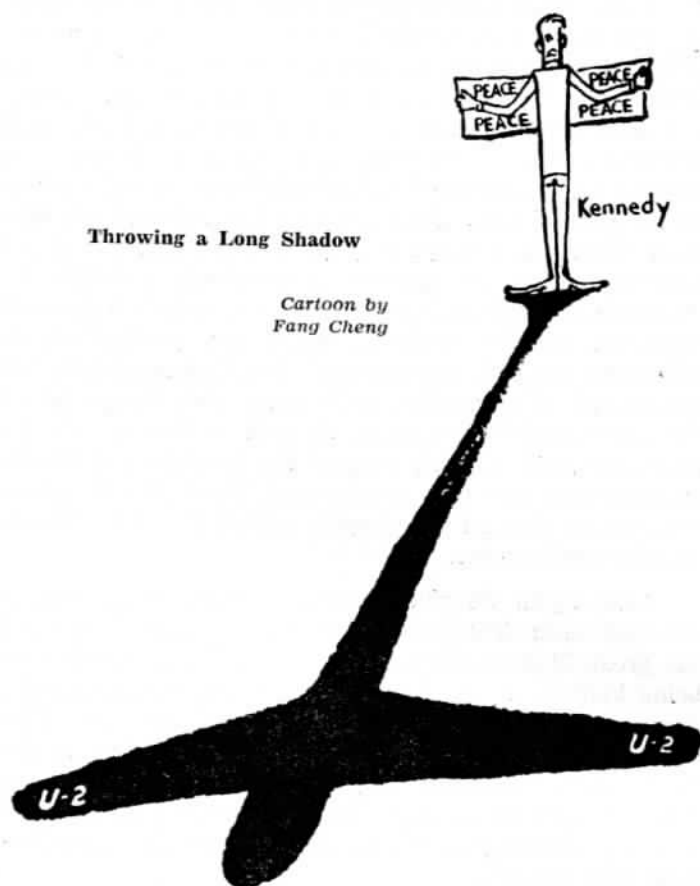
U.S. Controls U-2 Planes in Taiwan

The Chiang Kai-shek clique received the two U-2 high-altitude reconnaissance planes from the U.S. armed forces in the second half of 1960. The 35th squadron of the Chiang Kai-shek air force was immediately established for these planes in Taoyuan on Taiwan. Nominally under the direct command of the intelligence bureau of the headquarters of the Chiang Kai-shek air force, it was, in fact, controlled by U.S. intelligence agents in its operations and training of personnel. U.S. personnel were in charge of the maintenance of the U-2 planes, which had their special hangar surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by soldiers. No outsiders were admitted and that included wing and group commanders of the Chiang Kai-shek air force.

U.S. military personnel also directed the 4th squadron of the 6th group of the 5th wing of the Chiang Kai-shek air force which was an espionage unit specializing in aerial photographs. All harassing missions conducted over the mainland by all types of the U.S.-made reconnaissance planes of the squadron were organized and directed by personnel of the U.S. 13th Air Force stationed in Taiwan.

The 4th squadron to which Wu Pao-chih was formerly attached had four U.S.-made RF-101 reconnaissance planes with six pilots. All had passed strict "loyalty" tests. These pilots received six months of flight training at the Okinawa base of the U.S. Far East Air Force. Each time they undertook espionage missions over the mainland, they were briefed personally by officers of the U.S. 13th Air Force.

Among the U.S. officers who instructed the 4th squadron, Wu Pao-chih said, were Captain Leenad Johnson in 1960 and Captain John Metcalf at the beginning of 1961. This latter was succeeded by First Lieutenant Jerry Armstrong in July of that year. Accompanying them were U.S. intelligence officer Nicles and a meteorological specialist with the rank of first sergeant. Sometimes Lieutenant-Colonel McClurkin, head of the U.S. advisory group to the 5th wing of the Chiang Kai-shek



Record of the U-2s

- U-2s (Utility-2) are U.S.-made spy planes built for aerial observation and air reconnaissance. A 1958 issue of the *Model Airplane News* provided American youngsters interested in model planes with a complete design of the U-2 and reported that such planes "are flying across the Iron Curtain, taking aerial photographs." Actual spy flights began in 1956.

- U-2s, designed and made by the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in California, are powered by jet engines. Light in weight (7,200 kilogrammes), they are capable of flying above 20,000 metres and can cruise at extremely high altitudes. They have a maximum speed of 800 kilometres per hour (at an altitude of 15,000 metres). When flying at high altitude, the engine may be switched off so that the plane soars like a glider. In this way its flights may last as long as nine hours.

- U-2s are equipped with up to 15 infra-red cameras, powerful enough to photograph an automobile from a height of some 19 kilometres.

- U-2 reconnaissance flights are directed by the Central Intelligence Agency with the approval of the U.S. President. All personnel connected with U-2s are screened by lie-detectors. Matters concerning U-2 flights are mostly dealt with orally to reduce written records to the minimum.

- U-2s are based not only in the United States but in Britain, West Germany, Japan, the Philippines, Turkey and such places as Okinawa and Taiwan. From these bases, U-2s have penetrated far into the skies of the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries, as well as of countries in the Near and Middle East, North Africa, Southeast Asia and Latin America to spy on these countries.

- The Kennedy Administration is using U-2s to engage in spying activities on a worldwide scale. In carrying out this programme in the Atlantic, three U-2s were dispatched to Britain last August. In the Pacific, it was recently decided to send two U-2s to be permanently stationed in Australia. On August 30, a U-2 plane intruded into the air space over areas east of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk in the Soviet Far East.

- On September 9, a U-2 plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang flew over east China to collect intelligence for the U.S. The Chinese People's Liberation Army Air Force brought it down. This is another example providing conclusive evidence of the U.S. imperialists' use of U-2s to spy on the socialist countries. This is the second U-2 to be shot down while actually engaged on a spying mission. On May 1, 1960, a U-2, piloted by the American Powers, was shot down by the Soviet armed forces when it penetrated deep into the air space of the U.S.S.R.

air force, and flight adviser Captain Gustin Klatt were also present at briefings.

At the joint operation centre of the U.S.-Chiang air force in Taipei, Lieutenant-Colonel Paul of the U.S. 13th Air Force personally briefed personnel of the Chiang Kai-shek gang undertaking espionage flights over the mainland. When the first two missions were undertaken by the RF-101 reconnaissance planes of the 4th squadron, Lieutenant-Colonel Paul came to make arrangements personally at the Taoyuan air base where the squadron was stationed, accompanied by Colonel Huang Ching-yi, deputy director of the intelligence bureau of the headquarters of the Chiang Kai-shek air force.

U.S.-Commanded High-Altitude Spying

U.S. military intelligence directly commanded Chiang Kai-shek's U.S.-made aircraft in Taiwan when they went on high-altitude reconnaissance and photographic missions over the mainland.

In 1957, Wu Pao-chih recalled, the U.S. sent two RB-57A high-altitude reconnaissance planes to Taiwan; these were attached to the 4th squadron of the 6th group of the 5th wing of the Chiang Kai-shek air force. These were later replaced by two RB-57D high-altitude reconnaissance planes.

The two planes were only nominally under the Chiang Kai-shek air force unit. Actually, before each reconnaissance mission, the pilots concerned were briefed directly by intelligence officers of the U.S. 13th Air Force, without the knowledge of the wing and group commanders of the Chiang Kai-shek air force.

Inspectors sent by Chiang Kai-shek's air force headquarters to the 5th wing were denied access to the two

high-altitude reconnaissance planes. Their maintenance was carried out entirely by the U.S. Air Force ground crew. The placing and removal of the photographic film in the aircraft was done exclusively by U.S. personnel.

There were no markings at all on the fuselages of these two high-altitude reconnaissance planes. They were kept top secret. The day before each mission, the pilots involved were ordered into a special "black room" to receive instructions from U.S. military intelligence officers and prepare for the flight. Contact with any outsiders was forbidden.

Only the U.S. military intelligence personnel knew how these planes carried out their missions and what routes they followed.

The U.S. Gets the Data

Citing his own experience, Wu Pao-chih confirmed that all the data obtained on reconnaissance missions over the mainland by the Chiang Kai-shek air force were handed over to the U.S. military organizations in Taiwan.

On the day before each harassing mission over the mainland by RF-101 reconnaissance aircraft of the 4th squadron, officers of the U.S. 13th Air Force in Taiwan came to the Taoyuan air base and, behind closed doors, briefed the Chiang Kai-shek pilots on the mission and its objectives. The U.S. personnel fixed the route and altitude of the flight. The commanders of the 5th wing and the 6th group and members of the intelligence bureau of the headquarters of the Chiang Kai-shek air force present generally had nothing to say.

The crews of the Chiang Kai-shek air force who went on these reconnaissance missions made computations in accordance with the charts given them by U.S. personnel.

Three hours before the planes took off, U.S. officers of a group sent by the U.S. 13th Air Force checked the results of the computation, told them the meteorological conditions and the fire power of the anti-aircraft artillery around the target areas and the location of radar stations along their routes over the mainland. Photographs taken in previous reconnaissance flights were shown by the U.S. officers to the crews. Then, the U.S. officers recapitulated the mission, announced the time assigned for the take-off, things to be noted, and the signals and codes to be used on the return flight if intercepted by the Air Force of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. After the take-off, officers of the U.S. 13th Air Force followed the flight of the RF-101 reconnaissance planes. If they were intercepted by the P.L.A. Air Force, the U.S. officers ordered them to fly back. On the return from the recon-

naissance flights, the photographs taken on the missions were developed by the Chiang Kai-shek air force and sent to the U.S. military establishments in Taiwan.

Of the four RF-101 reconnaissance planes of the 4th squadron, three were put out of service between June and early August 1961. One was hit during a mission over the mainland and was not repaired. Another was destroyed in an accident and the pilot was injured. The other was the plane in which Wu Pao-chih was captured. One of the two RB-57As and one of the two RB-57D high-altitude reconnaissance planes of the squadron were shot down.

Talking of the shooting down of his plane, Wu Pao-chih looked on it as a stroke of good luck. "I no longer have to sell my life for the Yankees," he said.

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The Infamy of Modern Revisionism

The following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on September 17. Its original title is "See to What Depths the Modern Revisionists Have Stooped!" Subheads are ours. — Ed.

ON August 7, Tito had a long talk with the American correspondent Drew Pearson. U.S. monopoly capital attached special importance to this interview and published it in 250 U.S. newspapers. We [the *Renmin Ribao*] publish this material today; it deserves our attention and teaches us by negative example. Readers can see from this to what depths the modern revisionists have stooped.

Four years ago the Tito clique formulated the "Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia" to oppose the international communist movement. Now, this renegade Tito has taken another big step "forward." In his talk with Pearson, he openly advertised the realization of the "economic integration" and "political integration" of the world, and openly asked his master, U.S. imperialism, to use "economic and democratic methods" to cope with "certain infiltration or aggression in a broad sense by communism." The interview shows up still more glaringly the renegade features of the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia.

The Tito group proves to the world by word and deed to what depths the modern revisionists have descended and how much more degraded they will become in the future. No matter what flowery words they use or how they camouflage themselves, once they have embarked on the road of betrayal of the revolution and become pawns of imperialism, they inevitably continue down this shameful road which leads to ever greater and deeper shame. Such were the counter-revolutionary careers of such old renegades of the international workers' movement as Bernstein, Kautsky, Plekhanov, Trotsky, Chen Tu-hsiu, and their like. The counter-revolutionary

careers of such modern revisionists as Tito will also end likewise.

The Revisionist View on War and Peace

The Tito group has propagated its modern revisionist views centring on the questions of war and peace. In this interview, instead of exposing the real enemy of peace before the people, Tito tried to cover up U.S. imperialism. He maintained that the danger of war existed at present merely because military circles had influenced the U.S. and Soviet Governments and "everybody" was armed to the teeth. Here, the Tito group completely negated the essential difference between the imperialist countries and the socialist countries and between the imperialist United States and the socialist Soviet Union. It objects to exposing the true features of U.S. imperialism, to mobilizing the masses to wage a resolute struggle against the policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism and against colonialism, both old and new. These utterly preposterous ideas which Tito propagates run completely counter to the fundamental interests of the world's people striving for lasting peace. Tito tries to make people believe that "wise men" are all that are needed to bring about world peace. According to him, "wise men" would not think of war. In Tito's eyes, U.S. imperialist leaders, such as Kennedy, are just such "wise men." Note that it is precisely with such unscientific absurdities that these renegades vainly attempt to negate completely the Marxist-Leninist scientific analysis of imperialism, to deny that imperialism is the source of war in modern times and that U.S. imperialism is the enemy of world peace — and so to lull the vigilance of the people the world over, to give cover to U.S. imperialism's acts of aggression, and to give it an even freer hand in preparing for the unleashing of a new world war.

Economic and Political "Integration"

In the "Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia," the Tito group advertised a so-called supra-

bloc "positive coexistence" with no distinction between the enemy and ourselves. With this signboard, it becomes very active in all parts of the world, especially in the Asian and African regions, in whitewashing and serving U.S. imperialism, in undermining the national-liberation movement and the nationalist countries' policies of genuine independence and neutrality, and in disrupting the friendly relations between the nationalist countries and the socialist countries. Now, in this interview, Tito was even more anxious to have the world believe that the imperialist countries will no longer plunder other countries, that the imperialist powers will no longer launch aggression against colonies, that the imperialist countries will no longer quarrel among themselves over colonial interests, and that the imperialists will no longer resort to war to oppose the socialist system. As Tito sees it, colonies and colonialism have ceased to exist in the world. According to this logic of the Tito group, the nature of imperialism has changed. Regardless of what they are, be they aggressor states or states which are victims of aggression, oppressor nations or oppressed nations, imperialist countries which commit aggression and start wars or countries striving for and safeguarding independence and freedom, imperialist countries or socialist countries, first "economic integration" then "political integration" can be realized among all these states without distinction between them. These are lies of the reactionary bourgeoisie and a copy of the "cosmopolitanism" of the U.S. imperialists. Note that it is by such moves and such preposterous arguments that the renegades vainly attempt to break the struggle of the people all over the world against the policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism, the struggle for liberation of all the oppressed nations and peoples, as well as the revolutionary will of the people of the socialist countries, and to help U.S. imperialism achieve its plan for world hegemony.

Tito's "Mutual Co-operation" and Kennedy's "World Community"

In the eyes of the Tito group, it seems that all the principal existing contradictions in the world—the contradictions between socialism and imperialism, between imperialism and the colonies and semi-colonies, among the imperialist monopoly groups and among the imperialist powers, and the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—no longer exist or are reconcilable; consequently, the world can achieve "political integration" following "economic integration." This was Tito's point of departure when in this interview he spoke about "better mutual co-operation among the peoples." According to this logic of the Tito group, the class struggle in all its forms and in every sphere will henceforth die out and there is no need for revolutions. Here, we see how the renegades use the absurd argument about "mutual co-operation" to suit the neo-colonialist policy of U.S. imperialism, the U.S. imperialist policy of "peaceful evolution" towards the socialist countries (which is actually a policy of infiltration and subversion from within), and the "world community" policy that of late is touted so volubly by the Kennedy Administration. These reactionary policies are obviously aimed, though vainly, to make the peoples of the world resignedly acquiesce in U.S. imperialist aggression, to convert the independent nationalist countries into new colonies, to make the social-

ist countries "peacefully evolve" into revivals of capitalism and to "integrate" the peoples of the world into a body of imperialist slaves.

It must also be noted that the Tito group is fond of talking about "peaceful growth." The capitalist countries, they used to say, can "peacefully grow" into socialism. But these pitiable modern revisionists have to this day failed to produce a single concrete example to prove their point. On the other hand there is a concrete example of a socialist country "peacefully evolving" into capitalism, and that is Yugoslavia.

In this interview Tito went so far as to make a brazen imputation that the socialist countries and the international communist movement are guilty of "infiltration" and "aggression." He was so shameless as to suggest that U.S. imperialism should stamp out the national-liberation movement, uproot the revolutionary movements of the peoples, undermine the socialist camp and destroy the socialist countries in a more concealed, more dangerous, and more cunning way, that is, by so-called "economic and democratic methods." This shows that the Tito group is openly serving as the advance guard of the U.S. imperialists in carrying out their counter-revolutionary policies; it completely exposes the Titoites as a group of out and out renegades to communism and thoroughgoing lackeys of U.S. imperialism.

Throwing Mud at China

In this interview Tito launched vile attacks on China's home and foreign policies. There is nothing strange about Marxist-Leninists being attacked by renegades. On the contrary, it would be strange if they were not attacked.

Tito claimed that "China took various actions fairly independently in international politics and at home" and that the Soviet Union was exerting a "pacifying" influence. What kind of talk is this? Isn't this the same as the imperialist slanders aimed at disrupting Sino-Soviet relations?

China is an independent and sovereign socialist state; it naturally has its own independent home and foreign policies. Relations between socialist countries are fraternal relations based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, they are a new type of international relations characterized by solidarity and friendship, mutual support and help, in which countries treat each other as equals and respect each others' independence and sovereignty. These new-type international relations are completely different from those existing between Yugoslavia and the United States. Everybody knows that under the rule of the Tito group, Yugoslavia has consistently followed the baton of its master, U.S. imperialism, both in internal and external affairs.

Obviously, Tito's allegation that China "took various actions fairly independently," like the one made some time ago by Kardelj that China "has an utterly unique line" in its internal development and its international policy, is meant to vilify the Chinese Communist Party as taking a so-called "unique line" in the international communist movement. But such slanders made by the Titoites are futile. In its socialist revolution and socialist

construction, the Chinese Communist Party has steadfastly adhered to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and has applied them under the specific conditions in China. In the international communist movement, in struggling against imperialism and for world peace and in the just cause of supporting the national-liberation movement, the Chinese Communists, together with all other Marxist-Leninists of the world, have always held high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and have steadfastly persisted in and firmly upheld the common programme of the Communist and Workers' Parties of various nations—the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement.

In the eyes of modern revisionists like Tito, the line followed by the Chinese Communist Party is "unique" precisely because the Chinese Communist Party is following a Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary line, a proletarian internationalist line, and not any other line; precisely because the Chinese Communist Party while also opposing dogmatism and sectarianism, stands firm against modern revisionism, which remains the main danger to the international communist movement. But in the eyes of Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people, of the people who make up over 90 per cent of the world's population, including workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and the revolutionary national bourgeoisie of all lands, and of all oppressed nations and peoples, no such question as "uniqueness" has ever arisen concerning the Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary line followed by the Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people share the destiny and life-breath of all other Marxist-Leninists and of all other peoples of the world, uniting as one and fighting shoulder to shoulder with them against the imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists. These indisputable facts can never be effaced by the humbug of the Titoites.

Who Pays the Piper Calls the Tune

Tito has said all this at a time when the struggle between the socialist camp and all the people of the world on the one hand and U.S. imperialism on the other is becoming more acute and more complicated, when the socialist camp is growing more powerful and the national, democratic revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is steadily surging ahead; at a time when the struggle of the people throughout the world against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and for defending world peace is developing ever more vigorously. This is by no means accidental.

The Kennedy government is now facing tremendous difficulties both at home and abroad. To overcome these difficulties, it is pushing ahead on all fronts with its "grand strategy" of building a "world community" [see *Peking Review*, No. 32, Aug. 10, 1962]. The Titoites are thus exerting every effort in calling for the realization of the "economic integration" and "political integration" of the world. This is certainly no coincidence. On the contrary, it is done precisely to meet the counter-revolutionary needs of U.S. imperialism; it is a manifestation of the sharp international class struggles taking place at the present time and of the collusion between imperialism and its lackeys.

It is most helpful to all Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary masses to read Tito's talk to Pearson because it enables one to recognize the true colours of the modern revisionists more clearly. The Titoites are not Marxist-Leninists at all, but renegades to Marxism-Leninism; they are not revolutionaries at all but faithful lackeys of U.S. imperialism. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia which they control has long ceased to be a Marxist-Leninist party. The series of revisionist policies, both domestic and foreign, adopted in Yugoslavia by the Tito group have reduced to nothing the revolutionary gains won by the Yugoslav people through their heroic struggle, and, consequently, Yugoslavia is no longer a socialist country.

Marxism-Leninism Will Triumph

The 1960 Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties says: "After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the League of Communists of Yugoslavia against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called 'aid' from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries." Tito's talk with Pearson gives added proof of the correctness of this Marxist-Leninist conclusion of the Moscow Statement.

The Moscow Statement also points out: "Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists remain an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist parties." Tito's talk with Pearson further testifies to the major historic significance of this solemn call of the Moscow Statement.

Adhering firmly to the stand and viewpoints of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, the Chinese Communist Party resolutely holds that an uncompromising struggle must be waged against modern revisionism. The resolution adopted in 1958 at the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties says: "It is the sacred duty of our Party towards the international working class to work, together with the fraternal parties, for the complete defeat of modern revisionism politically and theoretically, and for the safeguarding of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology." The Resolution adopted in 1961 at the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties says: "In order to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and creatively apply and develop Marxism-Leninism, it is

necessary to combat resolutely revisionism which mirrors bourgeois ideology and departs from and betrays Marxism-Leninism, and especially to combat Yugoslav revisionism."

We persist in this Marxist-Leninist stand. United always with all Marxist-Leninist parties and with all the

revolutionary people of the world, we hold aloft for ever the bright, all-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism to wage the struggle against modern revisionism to the end. Marxism-Leninism must not be contaminated! Modern revisionism is doomed to utter failure! Marxism-Leninism will certainly triumph throughout the world!

Economic Theory

The Hoax of "People's Capitalism"

by HUANG FAN-CHANG

Following is the second and concluding instalment of a translation of a "Hongqi" article. The first instalment appeared in our last number. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE real situation in the United States completely belies the make-believe "revolutionary" role of the joint stock company and thereby exposes so-called "people's capitalism" for what it is.

The "democratization of capital" theorists publicize the extensive issue of shares as showing a tendency towards the "diffusion" of capital. They claim that the monopoly capitalist enterprises are already "owned" by the people. But this claim flies directly in the face of facts.

In recent decades, U.S. share capital has shown a marked tendency towards centralization. According to Robert Lampman's *The Share of Top Wealth-Holders in National Wealth 1922-56* published earlier this year, the share of corporate stocks held by the top one per cent of the adults rose from 61.5 per cent in 1922 to 65.6 per cent in 1929 and further to 76 per cent in 1953. The figure for today is at least three quarters.* Very few American working people, still less industrial workers, hold stock. According to the figures of C. Wright Mills, the late American sociologist, 98.6 per cent of the workers in manufacturing own no stock. The total value of stock held by all U.S. wage earners (including foremen) amounts to only half the value of the holdings of the Rockefeller family in the single corporation of Standard Oil of New Jersey. Confronted with this reality, even the American bourgeois economist Livingstone holds that talk about the "dispersion" of stock is just "pathetic fallacy."

Even if employees do hold stock, it does not mean that they own the enterprise. In the first place, a few shares in their hands do not make them capitalists; they still have to sell their labour power to the employers who exploit them and can give them the sack at any time. In the second place, although workers receive a small amount of income from their shares, they can never control the enterprise in any way, not to mention the fact that certain corporations (e.g. the Ford Company) only sell to employees shares which carry no right to vote, and others (e.g. Esso Standard Oil) stipulate that stock held by

employees must be controlled by a trust company. Thus, instead of gaining the power to control the enterprise by the purchase of stock, the employees merely turn their meagre savings into capital of the company bosses to be used against themselves.

The sale of a small number of shares to employees not only does not cause ownership to be diffused, but actually strengthens the economic power of the corporation bosses. It puts them in a position to control completely all the assets of the company with a smaller amount of capital than would otherwise be necessary.

To call what is obviously centralization of capital "diffusion" and to describe the intensification of the exploitation of labour by monopoly capitalists as "ownership" by labour of the monopoly capitalist enterprises — this is the logic of robbers!

Role of "Managerial Class"

The reality in the United States also gives the lie to the claim that the so-called "managerial class" has deprived the financial oligarchy of its control over the enterprises.

The directors and managers extolled by the "managerial system" theorists are no "new class" at all. Just as the American economist Victor Perlo pointed out, they are either members of the families of financial magnates or drawn for the most part from the upper ranks. Delegated by the financial magnates who hold the controlling shares, they do their best to act as loyal servants and naturally never think of "depriving" their bosses of the right to control.

The General Electric Corporation has been boosted as an example of "managerial control" which is no longer "under the review of banking and investment opinion." But in 1954, 7 of its 16 directors were on the board of directors of the Morgan banks, four others were closely connected with the House of Morgan; the chief executives of General Electric were chosen jointly by the Morgan group and its ally the Boston group; even its lawsuits before the Supreme Court (October 1954 term) were handled by the Morgan law firm of White and Case. In fact, the corporation was entirely under the control of its biggest stockholder — the House of Morgan.

The task of executives is to fulfil the function of monopoly capital — to make maximum profits. Even

*See *Economic Notes*, February 1962, p.9.

Fortune magazine, the mouthpiece of Wall Street, in an article in its February 1951 issue extolling the "managerial revolution," holds that the view that executives are not interested in making profits is "naive to say the least." At the same time, the managerial staff themselves are big stockholders and receive huge monopoly profits under such heads as "salary" and "bonuses." After World War II, the widespread practice of the financial magnates rewarding business executives by selling stocks to them at a discount was designed to "provide extra incentive for the small number of people who really contribute to the company," i.e., to encourage them to work even more energetically at making profits. As the American sociologist C. Wright Mills pointed out, managers are the agents of the big owners and not the small owners. "Now the corporate seats of the rich contain all the powers and privileges inherent in the institutions of private property."

Truth About "Employees' Stock"

The reality in the United States also explodes the absurd argument that the income employees receive from shares steadily lessens capitalist exploitation. Statistics show that on an average an employee who holds shares receives a dividend of about 40 dollars per year whereas a worker of the Ford Company, according to figures compiled by a right-wing union, creates at least 6,000 dollars a year in profits for the Ford group. The small dividend does not mean much to the employee financially; it is just a dose of narcotic administered by the Ford family to make its employees forget about the ruthless way in which they are being exploited.

This is not all. The system of so-called "employees' stock" is an out and out swindle. Let us follow up the example of the Ford Company. The company announced that employees with a weekly income of more than 100 dollars could join in a "program" of underwriting securities (half of which are bonds and the other half company stocks) and stipulated that it would sell the stocks to such employees at half price, but that they must be bought up within five years by 10 per cent deductions from the employees' wages every week. How many among the employees, however, can be sure that they will be employed throughout the five-year period and be in a position to pay for the stocks? Once a crisis sets in, the company will lay men off, stock prices and other securities will lose value, and the employees will be lucky if they don't lose everything. Even right-wing labour leaders conceded that this "program" brings no "real benefit" at all to the mass of employees. In fact, this is just another "civilized" robbery of its employees perpetrated by the Ford family.

It can be seen from the foregoing that the joint stock company cannot "revolutionize" and has not "revolutionized" U.S. capitalism or turned it into "people's capitalism"; it only intensifies the monopoly groups' exploitation and domination of the people. "People" and "capitalism" are two irreconcilable concepts. It is only by carrying out the socialist revolution and putting an end to the capitalist system that the people can really become owners of the means of production.

There is nothing new about the line of goods which the advocates of "people's capitalism" are trying to sell.

The theories of the "democratization of capital" and of the "managerial system," for example, appeared in the United States as early as the 20s and 40s respectively, and the theory of the "income revolution" is merely a variation of the theory of "the conciliation of class interests" which has long been current in the United States. It is by no means accidental that under the signboard of "people's capitalism" these "theories" are being boosted abroad even more vociferously after World War II. This is because following World War II, and especially with the emergence of the situation in which the East wind prevails over the West wind, there is a dire need for the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups to deck out "capitalism" as "a society with a future and not a moribund society," so as to counteract the great power of attraction of the socialist system; there is a dire need to cover up the domination exercised by rotten monopoly capital, in order to deceive the people and strangle the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. The idea of "people's capitalism" is typical of the kind of reactionary stuff which the monopoly groups and their apologists offer in answer to this need, utilizing the superficial impressions given by the joint stock company and the most threadbare and vulgar kind of bourgeois economic theories.

The monopoly bourgeoisie and its spokesmen raise a hue and cry about "people's capitalism" in order to serve their own political and economic ends.

To Counteract Influence of Socialism

The monopoly bourgeoisie regards this propaganda about "people's capitalism" as a means of counteracting the profound influence of the socialist economic system and of whitewashing modern capitalism. As a result of the emergence of People's China and other socialist countries after World War II, the socialist camp now accounts for one quarter of the land area and more than one-third of the population of the world. The growing prosperity of the socialist economy offers a sharp contrast to the crisis-ridden capitalist economy and holds a powerful attraction for the broad masses of the working people in the capitalist countries. It is under these circumstances that the monopoly bourgeoisie boasts about "people's capitalism" in order to prettify the regime of monopoly capital and deceive the working people of the capitalist world in the hope that they will give up their revolutionary ideals and cease their struggles. Some of the sponsors of the "people's capitalism" line also slander socialist ownership by the whole people by calling it "state capitalism," they boast about "people's capitalism" as being a system superior to socialism. In their *Capitalist Manifesto* published in 1958, L. Kelso and M. Adler, spokesmen for the U.S. bourgeoisie, propose to replace the *Communist Manifesto* by their *Capitalist Manifesto* and by means of their "capitalist revolution" prevent the socialist revolution. They propose to establish a "just capitalism," a capitalism under which "everyone takes part in production as a capitalist" and "enjoys economic equality."

The propaganda about "people's capitalism" is also used by the U.S. monopoly groups to oppose the struggle of the working class at home. After World War II, as a result of the daily expanding influence of socialism, the U.S. monopoly groups have become increasingly aware

of the fact that, in order to smother the working-class struggle within the country, apart from repressive measures, it no longer suffices to buy over a handful of labour aristocrats, and they now stress the need to tie the labouring people with the golden chain of "shares" and "dividends" so as to subject them in perpetuity to the rule of monopoly capital. They are now stressing the need to take advantage of small stock issues to achieve this. "The majority must feel that they share in the profits of the profit system. Otherwise they may decide that they want another system."* They emphasize the need to give every citizen "something—some real estate, some government bonds, some stocks, something that makes us all capitalists, with a stake in our capitalist system."** They broadcast the idea that the greater the diffusion of capital ownership among "all the people," the greater will be the possibility of "stopping the drift toward" socialism. They call all these measures "people's capitalism." But actually, these are just a new method used by the monopoly capitalists to rob and enslave the workers. By selling shares to their employees, the capitalists not only turn a part of their wages into capital to be used for exploiting labour, they also lay down all kinds of harsh rules to rob the workers. Not a few monopoly capitalist concerns (e.g. the United States Steel Corporation) stipulate that in case a worker "stops" work of his own accord or is fired because of an "offense," his shares will be nullified or dividend payment will be discontinued. This makes it easier for the capitalists to strangle the workers' resistance and force them to remain submissive.

Apologists for Militarization and Inflation

Those who advertise "people's capitalism" are also apologists for the policies of militarization of the national economy and of inflation adopted by the financial oligarchy and which are designed to rob the labouring people by means of the state apparatus. Drawing on Keynesian doctrine, some of them claim that inflation is a result of "artificial stimuli given to purchasing power" such as huge defence expenditures, and that these expenditures are necessary to guarantee "full employment." They also distort the facts by describing the militarization of the national economy as arising from the "need" of the working people, claiming that it is a means of solving the problem of unemployment before the majority of workers come to own private capital. They attempt to put the cloak of the "people" over the present reactionary policy of the U.S. Government.

Kelso and Adler have also formulated a whole series of policies which they publicize as policies for "people's capitalism." In addition to spreading the lie that the bourgeois state "prevents" the "excessive" centralization of capital ownership, they assert that the entire population have become capitalists. They strongly advocate that government legislation be adopted stipulating that all corporate net income should be distributed among the stockholders. They call for the abolition of corporate income tax and a readjustment of personal income tax.

They demand the abolition of wage hikes and unemployment "relief." It is obvious that these policies can only help to intensify the exploitation of the working people and strengthen monopoly capital's rule.

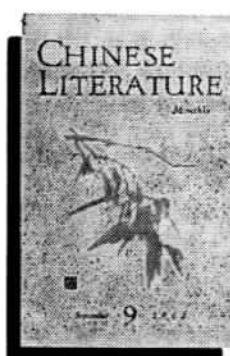
To Deceive Workers in Enterprises Overseas

The U.S. monopoly organizations are also carrying out a "program" for what they call the "democratization of capital" in their overseas colonial enterprises. According to a report printed in the U.S. journal *Forbes* of July 15, 1957, two U.S. copper mining companies in Africa declared that 500 African workers receiving higher wages could take part in the "plan of stock purchases." They admitted that the purpose of the plan was for the local working people to "learn at first hand the benefits of private ownership," and "gain a direct stake in the ownership" of these U.S. colonial enterprises. This shows that in a vain attempt to stamp out the national-liberation struggle, the U.S. monopoly organizations are plotting to use the propaganda and policies of "people's capitalism" to poison the class and national consciousness of the proletariat in the colonies and semi-colonies.

From the foregoing it is clear that the vociferous propaganda about "people's capitalism" and the concrete measures to foster it taken by the monopoly bourgeoisie and its agents will be no more help to them in their decline than a straw is to a drowning man. "People's capitalism" cannot save U.S. monopoly capitalism from its fate. The future of the United States does not belong to the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie; it belongs to the U.S. working class and working people.

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* Johnston, "New Capitalism," *Readers' Digest*, August 1946.

** *Newsweek*, July 30, 1956, p.61.

South Shansi Scenes

by KAI YEN

THE early autumn is one of the loveliest periods of the year in the Fen River valley. The millet fields close-packed, rich-eared, and looking like a yellow-green Peking rug, the tall maize with its spiky corn cobs, and cotton plants with fat, unopened bolls tell of good things to come. Flocks of sheep graze on the hill slopes. From afar they look like drifting white clouds around the mountains' waists. Such were the scenes that we saw when we toured the southern part of Shansi Province recently.

We visited the South Shansi Special Administrative Region. On west and south this region is bordered by the mighty Yellow River itself as it makes a sharp easterly turn around the southwest corner of Shansi. The Fen flows southwest through it to join the Yellow River. Most of the region is a big basin surrounded by mountains. It embraces more than a score of counties, covers an area of 36,000 square kilometres and is larger than Belgium. Known as the "grain and cotton bin" of the province, it has long been famous throughout the country for its fertile soil, warm climate and abundant farm produce.

Many legends of ancient China are associated with south Shansi. Both the legendary emperors Yao and Shun are said to have founded their capitals in this part of the country. It was here, some people say, that our ancient ancestors first learnt how to plant crops and breed silkworms and from here that they spread their knowledge to other parts of the country. It was here, according to folklore, that the emperor Yu built one of the first big engineering works to harness the Yellow River 4,000 years ago. It is generally believed that south Shansi was one of the earliest centres of civilization in China.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), Communist-led guerrilla forces set up many base areas in the mountain districts here and fought heroically against the Japanese invaders. The region was completely liberated in 1948. Since then its 4 million people have taken the socialist road and guided by the Communist Party made great contributions to building socialism in China.

County Carved by Gullies

Pinglu (Flat Land) County is anything but flat. Its land slopes downward from north to south till it reaches the northern bank of the Yellow River. Twenty streams rising in the Chungtiao Mountains flow through the county to join the Yellow River. In the course of centuries these streams and their tributaries have cut many gullies deep into the loess soil. If all the gullies and their branches are counted, they add up to nearly 3,000. Hence the saying: "Pinglu isn't flat, it has 3,000 gullies."

Much or most of the time these gullies are dry; when water flows down them in the summer it is well below the top of the plain where the farmlands were constantly subject to drought. Many farmsteads here had to fetch even their drinking water from kilometres away. In the rainy season flood waters would rush down the gullies into the rivers carrying away ever more loess with them, deepening the gullies and further worsening the position.

What the Pinglu farmers wanted most of all was some means of getting a steady flow of water to their farmlands. But such a project was utterly beyond the means of peasants working on their own or even in small groups, so it had to wait for realization until the Pinglu peasants had advanced in the ways of co-operative effort and formed people's communes. In 1958, they set out with enormous enthusiasm to carry out this project.

Within a year or so they had dug 11 large channels totalling 150 kilometres in length. It was an intricate task to plot their course through this gully riven land. Some sections had to be linked by tunnels. Smaller ditches distributed the water from the main channels to the fields and villages. Now a good supply of drinking water is assured, and 22,000 *mu* of farmland are served by an irrigation network.

This success was a spur to the peasants' determination to get bigger crops. Last spring they concentrated another big effort on contouring land and damming small gullies so that they would silt up and form new plots. Thanks to these measures, the area under crops was increased by another 6,000 *mu*.

Green Land

Going north from Pinglu, we crossed the Chungtiao Mountains and descended to a low plain. Poplars line the roads here and the whole area is well wooded. This land clothed in green is Hsiahsien. Legend has it that the emperor Yu made his capital here and the county gets its name Hsiahsien (the County of Hsia) in honour of the founder of the Hsia Dynasty. Visitors are always taken to see the supposed site of the ancient capital.

The county encompasses the green plain but also includes hill districts. Favoured with a mild climate and adequate rainfall, it is ideal for wheat and cotton. Before the War of Resistance Against Japan, trees grew thick both on the plain and the mountain slopes but nearly all of them were destroyed by the Japanese invaders. This led to heavy losses of water and soil from the mountains and to serious floods on the plain in the rainy season. The farms often suffered heavy damage.

Soon after the land reform was completed, the county people's government worked out concrete plans to reforest Hsiahsien on an extensive scale. The results are impressive. All the roads and irrigation channels are bordered by trees and fine groves surround the hamlets. Orchards have been planted on the foothills. Hsiahsien produces a great variety of fruits — peaches, pears, apricots, dates, apples, grapes, walnuts and persimmons. Timber stands are maturing too and are beginning to provide timber for various purposes. All this has been achieved in just a little over ten years.

Hsiahsien has done a fine job in afforestation. But it faced a big task and there is still much to do on the mountains in its eastern section. Here there are still only a few forest stands. This is understandable. Compared with the plains, it's a much harder job to reforest the mountain sides. With the plain areas mostly taken care of, the county government is now paying special attention to afforesting the mountain areas. After seeing what has already been done no one can doubt that the whole of Hsiahsien will soon be clothed in green.

"Flower on the Kuai"

One early morning our car sped north through stretches of open fields. It had rained the day before, and the sky was clear and the air cool and fresh. Our destination was near Houma, a city on the railway line. Situated in the central part of the South Shansi Basin, it is an important communications centre. We passed through it and went on quite a way to the east, till we came to a reservoir in the hills. This was the Kuai River Reservoir or as the local people call it the "Flower on the Kuai."

A tributary of the Fen, the Kuai was once a troublesome stream. It did little to help irrigation in the winter and spring, but frequently inundated the fields on its banks in the flood seasons. It was the building of the reservoir on its middle reaches that reformed the Kuai. This reservoir and its connected irrigation work were built in two years starting from the autumn of 1957. In addition to detaining and storing the Kuai's flood waters, it irrigates 160,000 *mu* of farmland. The reservoir has more than proved its worth in the past three years. Its water was drawn up heavily during the drought of last spring and this greatly reduced losses to the wheat crops in the surrounding districts.

There were some hardly contested discussions regarding the schedule of work in building this reservoir. Some wanted to stick to the traditional method: first build the dam, then the irrigation channels and finally do the land contouring. Others held different views. Arguing from past experience, they recalled that when things were tackled in that order both the land contouring and the cutting of channels lagged behind the progress of the dams. Then the water sometimes lay stored in the new reservoirs



Farms on the Loess Land

Woodcut in colour by Mo Tse

for months before it actually flowed out to the fields. So they proposed that work go ahead on the channels first and then build the dam, or that the work of damming, land contouring and building channels go ahead all at the same time.

It was finally decided to begin with digging the channels. In December 1957, a 40-km.-long trunk channel was finished. Meanwhile the other work was also going ahead. That is why in the spring of 1958 the reservoir was already irrigating more than 30,000 *mu* and another 60,000 *mu* in late 1959.

Small Reservoirs

Continuing our trip to the north by rail, we stopped at Linfen, once the capital of the emperor Yao. We climbed up to the top of the city wall and there saw a panorama typical of the South Shansi Basin. A vast fertile plain rolled to the horizon where it was cut by distant mountains.

The Fen River is fed by numerous streams rising in these mountains, but most of their valuable water ran to waste in the past. To harness them, the peasants have built a multitude of small reservoirs on their upper and middle reaches and one sees them glistening like mirrors under the sun. They are generally formed by damming the mouths of the natural valleys down which the streams flow.

Judging by the events of the past few years, these have been exceedingly useful in ensuring the villages a steady supply of drinking water, extending the irrigated area, holding floods back and beating the threat of drought. The peasants welcome this type of engineering work; it does not call for large investments or much manpower to build; the sites don't take up too much precious land and they quickly give substantial benefits. The Kuai River Reservoir mentioned above provides a convincing example of all this.

Sketches of the Long March

The 25,000-li Long March of the Chinese Red Army is an endless source of popular interest. Poems, songs, plays, operas and films have been dedicated to it. Memoirs and reminiscences of it are eagerly read. Now the People's Art Publishing House of Peking has put on sale an album of 25 sketches of the March actually done on the way by a participant.

They are not the work of a professional artist. Some are crude and fumbling in form, but they are vivid records of moments of that epic march. They set exactly the location of incidents on the route and a host of details of uniforms, equipment and so on that are not usually caught in written memoirs. But most of all, they make visible the buoyant, tough spirit of the marchers that carried them through to victory.

These sketches were first published in 1938 in the International Settlement of Shanghai in the form of an album under the rather cryptic title of *Album of the Westward Journey*. That was at a time when Shanghai was under Japanese occupation but the enclave of the International Settlement was still controlled by the British, U.S. and other imperialist powers. When Chinese progressives there got hold of a set of photographic reproductions of these sketches, they lost no time in bringing them out in an album. This was fine revolutionary propaganda and it gave them a better chance of surviving the exigencies of war. Life for progressives in the Shanghai International Settlement then was very precarious; this was why the album was camouflaged under an ambiguous title.

Learning indirectly that the sketches had been brought from Yenan, then the centre of the Chinese revolution, by Hsiao Hua (now a general of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), the editors believed that he had drawn them and in the first edition of their

album attributed them to him as the author.

It was twenty years later, in 1958, that a reader came across a copy of the album in the Peking Library. Immensely impressed, he immediately suggested to the People's Art Publishing House that it be reprinted as an important historical document of the Long March and as pictures produced during the Long March that have survived.

The suggestion was accepted. The editors asked General Hsiao Hua to write a preface to "his" sketches. He wrote the preface but disclaimed their authorship.

An edition of 3,000 was printed though the authorship remained a mystery. The answer was found not long ago when the album came to the attention of Huang Cheng, now a Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, who recalled how he had made these sketches on odd scraps of paper as the Red Army in 1934-35 fought its way west and north out of the Kuomintang encirclement of the Red revolutionary bases in the south.

The first publisher of the album, writing an article for the present *de luxe* edition now renamed *Album of the Long March*, said: "So after 25 years, we have found the author. What a joyous thing to see that he is just as optimistic and cheerful as the person whose spirit is so well embodied in these sketches."

SONGS & DANCES

National Ensemble's 10th Anniversary

The Central Nationalities Song and Dance Ensemble has been celebrating its tenth anniversary with a stunning

display of old and new works specially composed for the occasion. It gave a two weeks' festival run at the Nationalities Cultural Palace Theatre and has since been making the rounds of several of the other popular theatres and clubs in the capital.

The new items are typical of the ensemble's best work. The new solo *Akuo Wants to Live* was composed after visits to the Liangshan Mountains in Szechuan where the Yi people live. This will later form an interlude in a dance-drama depicting the joyous advance of the Yis from serfdom to socialism. Another new solo, *The Fish Dance*, was composed on the basis of dance movements in the famous fish dances of the Tais. Other new dances include the lyrical Uighur *Maid in a Garden*, the vigorous Mongolian *Horse-Tamer*, and two Korean dances. One is called simply *Joy* and is just that; the other, the comic *Hat Dance*, shows a group of young-in-heart oldsters skylarking. Both of these were learnt from the famous art ensemble of the Yenpien Korean Autonomous Chou.

There were also many new songs performed in Peking for the first time. The golden-voiced Uighur singer Ayimunisa brought us *Oh, My Dear* from her recent visit to her native city of Kashgar in Sinkiang. The Tahir singer Schin has only recently returned from a visit to four banners in Inner Mongolia where he collected folk airs of the Mongolians, Owenkes and Tahurs. He sang *Boriat, My Home Town* from these additions to his repertoire. Among the new items Peking audiences were particularly impressed by the Tibetan *A Million Serfs Stand Up*. There is no doubt that some of the new folk songs from the Nasis, Pais, Miaos and Huis will



Marching Across the Grasslands

Sketch by Huang Cheng

win a permanent place on this talented ensemble's repertoire.

The festival programmes showed the cream of the ensemble's old items. There is plenty to choose from. Since it was founded in September 1952, the group has dedicated itself to gathering and fostering the best in China's multi-national art in singing and dancing, and the search and its creative results have been fruitful.

The art of the majority Hans is, of course, represented, but the main concentration has naturally been on the art of the national minorities. Over 200 members of the ensemble representing more than 20 nationalities have spent as much as four months a year in various minority areas performing for the local people and learning from them and gathering new material for their art. In the past ten years this collaboration has yielded ten thousand folk songs, items of instrumental music, poems and legends. Contacts and deep friendships have been established with the peoples of 40 nationalities and performances have been given to audiences totalling 5 million people not counting those in the 18 foreign countries where members of the ensemble have performed. Supplementary to all this has been the publication of collections of songs and poems, the writing of textbooks for training dancers in various national dances and the exchanging of programmes and items with 31 local national minority ensembles.

On its tours the troupe has left behind a shining trail of art and goodwill. It has trained dancers, singers and musicians for ensembles and orchestras in all the autonomous regions in China and recruited promising young talent from local groups. A place in this outstanding ensemble gives unrivalled opportunities for training. It has opened the gates to the talents of many an art-loving youngster. Not a few of its members have unusual stories to tell of their path to the stage. Ten years ago the Tibetan Gonpo Gyaltsan was a wandering entertainer, dancing and singing in the open air, often having to beg for a living. When he joined the troupe in 1953 he could neither read nor write. Today he has grown into a fine dancer and choreographer. He is the composer of the ensemble's *Ralpas of the Grassland* about the Tibetan *ralpas* or street dancers who accompany themselves on a drum. The Miao dancer Chin Ou who composed

with others in 1960 one of its gayest numbers of the ensemble, the vigorous *Dance of Miao Youth*, was formerly a cowherd in the south China highlands.

THEATRE

We Perform in Helsinki

Some 15,000 people saw the 38 performances which we of the art troupe in the Chinese delegation to the recent World Youth Festival gave in Helsinki. We got a heart-warming reception. On August 2, we performed our songs, dances and music at the Helsinki Opera House for the first time. The show was to start at 8 p.m. but already at 7 there was a huge crowd at the main entrance. All tickets had been sold out including every inch of standing room. The Workers' Night School Auditorium, where we gave our second show, was just as crowded. Here again all tickets had been sold out well in advance but before the show began there were still crowds queuing up in hopes of getting tickets.

Audiences were most appreciative. Their cheers, laughter and applause spurred us on. On one occasion, several Cuban friends, rushing backstage as soon as a performance was over, showered our performers with handshakes and embraces. One, with youthful enthusiasm, told us ours was "the finest performance he had ever seen in his life," and that he hoped "it would never end." A friend from the United States greeted us equally enthusiastically. He held my hand in both of his hands. "Your performance was excellent! It was filled with warm feeling. If the American people had a chance to see it, it would convince them of the lying nature of the propaganda against you," he cried.

We also gave several separate special programmes for our friends from other Asian countries, from Africa and from Latin America. These always included items from the countries of our guests: songs, dances or instrumental pieces. And invariably these received standing ovations. When our orchestra played the Guinean melody *The Elephant*, or Ghanaian tune *Happy Life*, and our



Chinese actors and actresses in Helsinki — working to a tight schedule, they often had to make-up en route on the bus

Photo by Shu Yeh

chorus sang the Cuban song *Cuba Si, Yanquis No!* the whole audience joined in, singing and humming. Those on and off stage merged into one. We did our Guinean dance so well that some of our guests refused to believe that it was danced by Chinese. They were only convinced when they saw the make-up on the dancers.

The Finnish *People's News* and other papers were kind enough to give us most enthusiastic reviews. We were delighted by commendations from artists from other countries. Members of our troupe were among the contestants in the festival song, dance, and other competitions and they were awarded several gold medals.

Speaking of gold medals, I would like to mention the Chinese delegation's sports team. Our table tennis players won seven of the eight events they took part in while our swimmers won three first places in the four events they swam in. At the end of the festival the team of eight had collected a total of 13 gold medals.

It was a memorable festival not least for the deep, friendly feelings that were built up between the people of Helsinki and our Chinese delegation. When our train arrived at Helsinki station, we saw through its carriage windows an ocean of flowers and innumerable hands of friendship reaching out to welcome us. Every inch of platform space was filled. When we left, we were even firmer friends; we had got to know each other better.

— Y.P.S.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

Taylor in South Viet Nam

U.S. General Taylor saw everything that could be seen in south Viet Nam as he went from the H.Q. of the U.S. command in Saigon to the battlefields, from military bases to "strategic hamlets" and from the central highlands to the coast. But one thing that he wanted to see eluded him, that is, U.S. victory in its "special warfare" in south Viet Nam, says an article in *Renmin Ribao* (September 14).

This, adds the article, is certainly a disappointment to Taylor. Less than a year ago, as Kennedy's special adviser and advocate of "special warfare," he rushed to south Viet Nam and formulated a plan for stepped-up U.S. aggression there. At that time, he was almost regarded as the "saviour" of the bankrupt U.S. policy of aggression in south Viet Nam and the rest of Southeast Asia.

In the past 11 months, the Taylor plan has been put into effect in all its details: 10,000 U.S. forces are there to direct more than 300,000 Ngo Dinh Diem troops in carrying out "mopping-up operations"; more than 100 U.S. helicopters are taking part in the fighting; large numbers of peasants are imprisoned in the "strategic hamlets," which are simply concentration camps, and U.S. weapons and equipment are to be found everywhere.

But all this has brought no victory for the U.S. aggressors in south Viet Nam. The early exaltation has evaporated. U.S. "military advisers" in Saigon are hopelessly conning the ABC of "guerrilla warfare" while the people's fighters are hitting hard at the aggressors everywhere in the countryside and in the jungles. The barbed wire entanglements of the "strategic hamlets" are useless; nothing can crush the people's determination to gain their independence. The people's patriotic armed forces are growing stronger and stronger in the fight.

It is clear that Taylor's visit to south Viet Nam on the eve of his assumption of office as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is aimed at stepping up U.S. aggression and intervention there and smashing the south Vietnamese people's patriotic anti-U.S. struggle. But events in the past year have shown that the south Vietnamese people can decide not only their own

destiny; the destiny of Taylor and his like will also be decided by them — and it will be ignominious defeat.

Paris-Bonn Axis

De Gaulle and Adenauer have mounted a joint diplomatic offensive. It aims to set up a political union of the six Common Market countries based on the economic integration already established and thus squeeze out U.S. and British influences from Western Europe, says a *Renmin Ribao* article (September 16) commenting on de Gaulle's recent visit to Bonn.

French-West German "reconciliation" was the keynote of de Gaulle's visit as it was of Adenauer's visit to Paris two months ago. The de Gaulle-Adenauer talks took place at a time when France and West Germany are putting up a stiffer resistance to U.S. "leadership." Paris and Bonn are now planning to form a "third force" alliance in order to shake off U.S. control and compete for big-power status with the U.S. and Britain. The recent exchange of visits between de Gaulle and Adenauer is indicative of the closer collaboration between the two countries.

Political union of the "Six" was first proposed by de Gaulle in 1961. His aim was to form a continental West European front under his leadership. This, of course, does not appeal to Adenauer. West Germany wants to set up a supra-national "European federation" in which it will hold a predominant position on account of its economic superiority. But because of its differences with the U.S. and Britain on the West Berlin question and the question of nuclear weapons control it has an urgent need to strengthen its alliance with France. So the Bonn government has changed its attitude, and now agrees to shelve its own project in favour of de Gaulle's "political union."

During their meeting in July, Adenauer and de Gaulle decided to speed up the "political unity" of the "Six" and put off the date of Britain's entry into the Common Market until the projected political union had been formed. This has not only put a new obstacle in the way of Britain's entry

but dealt a counter-blow to the U.S. and British attempts to sabotage the Paris-Bonn axis.

West Germany is not afraid of Britain's entry into the Common Market but has grave misgivings about its participation in the West European political union. This is not only because Britain has the biggest nuclear force in Western Europe but also because Britain can use the West Berlin question to restrain West Germany. For Adenauer the best thing to do is economically to admit Britain to the Common Market but politically to keep it out of Western Europe. To this end he feels it imperative to lay the foundation stone for the political union before Britain's entry into the Common Market. That is why he has openly indicated that Britain is not welcome in the projected political union and why he has exerted pressure on Belgium and the Netherlands to get them to change their views that a treaty on West European political union should not be signed before Britain is admitted to the Common Market.

The aim of the recent talks between de Gaulle and Adenauer is precisely to set up the framework for West European political union in the quickest possible way. As a short-cut, de Gaulle has even proposed that Paris and Bonn should first organize a "bilateral alliance" as the "nucleus" of the projected political union.

The Paris-Bonn tie-up is naturally not to the liking of Washington. In the meantime, things are not going as smoothly as expected within the Paris-Bonn axis itself. The French plan to get rid of U.S. domination and form a "third force" independent of NATO comes into conflict with the West German policy of relying on the U.S. and NATO. Moreover, in West German ruling circles there are those who are not happy about the way Adenauer tries to win over France and estranges himself from the U.S. and Britain; they want a flexible policy to further Bonn's own interests although they have no objection to using collaboration with France to strengthen its bargaining position vis-a-vis the U.S. and Britain. It is this rift in Bonn that has prevented Adenauer from going his own way in his talks with de Gaulle. Many obstacles still stand in the way of "unity" and "co-operation" between de Gaulle and Adenauer.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

The following programme scheduled for the coming week is subject to change.

PEKING OPERA

▲ **MISTAKES AT THE FLOWER SHOW** Liu Yu-yen, charming daughter of a rich man, is given permission to choose her own husband at a flower show. But, instead of the handsome young man she falls in love with, the servant brings home one of the ugliest men alive. With the help of Lu Chih-shen, a famous gallant, the real bridegroom is found; all ends happily. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **THE WILD HORSE WITH THE RED MANE** A famous opera, also known as *Lady Precious Stream*. Wang Pao-chuan, daughter of a prime minister, goes against the wishes of her father to choose love rather than riches. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **THE RIVERSIDE PAVILION** A play by the great Yuan Dynasty playwright Kuan Han-ching, about a beautiful woman who outwits the powerful Lord Yang in his scheme to dispose of her husband and possess her. Hsun Hui-sheng Peking Opera Troupe.

▲ **THE YEN YANG TOWER** Kao Teng, son of an evil prime minister of the Sung Dynasty, takes advantage of his father's position to kidnap Hsu Fei-chu, daughter of a brave general treacherously killed by his father. Fei-chu's brother, with the help of his friends, rescues his sister and avenges his family. The Experimental Peking Opera Troupe.

KUNQU OPERA

▲ **PRINCESS HUNDRED FLOWERS BESTOWS A SWORD** A political rival gets a young warrior drunk and puts him into Princess Hundred Flowers' chamber expecting that the princess will kill him. But the princess falls in love with him and gives him a sword as a token of her affection. North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

▲ **THE JADE HAIRPIN** It tells how a serious misunderstanding between a young couple, brought about by a scheming cousin who wants the bride for himself, is cleared up. North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

MODERN DRAMA

▲ **MAGIC BOXING** A new historical play by Lao Sheh about the patriotic anti-imperialist Yi Ho Tuan Uprising in 1900. China Youth Art Theatre.

▲ **TSAI WEN-CHI** A five-act historical play by Kuo Mo-jo. Tsai Wen-chi, a woman scholar of the Han Dynasty, is captured by and marries a noble Hun invader. The play tells how twelve years later, with peace restored, she is asked to return to her homeland to continue her scholar-father's work. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **KOU CHIEN REBUILDS THE STATE** A historical play. The State of Yueh in the Warring States Period is defeated by the State of Wu. After three years' captivity, Kou Chien, King of Yueh, returns home. Mindful of the humiliations and suffering he and his people have endured, he encourages them to work hard to strengthen their country. Many years later, he turns the tables on Wu. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **THE WRATH OF THE HUOYEN MOUNTAIN** A play by Burhan Shahidi, a Uighur writer, based on a heroic Uighur peasant uprising in 1913. Though the uprising is defeated the unbreakable friendship formed during the struggle between the Hans and Uighurs will last for ever. The Central Experimental Modern Drama Theatre.

▲ **SCHOOL FOR WOMEN** (*L'Ecole des Femmes*) One of Molière's famous comedies staged in Chinese by graduates of the Central Drama Institute.

▲ **THE WEDDING MARCH** A satirical comedy by the playwright Chen Pal-chen. Set in Chungking during the War of Resistance Against Japan, it exposes how under the Kuomintang regime even a wedding which should be a happy event for a young couple, causes no end of trouble. The Central Experimental Modern Drama Theatre.

FILMS

▲ **YENAN GUERRILLAS** In 1947 in face of the frenzied attack of large Kuomintang forces, the People's Liberation Army made a tactical withdrawal from Yen-an. The local people organized guerrilla units to help their army. This is a story of how they resisted and harried the enemy till the P.L.A. returned in a counter-offensive and Yen-an was liberated. Sian Studio.

▲ **THE HEROIC TANKMEN** A fast-moving story of the heroic tankmen of the Chinese People's Volunteers in the Korean war. A tense story of blockade and breakthrough. "August 1" Studio.

▲ **GUNFIRE BEHIND THE FRONT** A Vietnamese feature film. A platoon com-

mander of the Vietnamese People's Army is appointed to work at a depot behind the front while a fierce battle is raging at the front. He is chagrined to be "out of it" but gradually learns that the job of backing up the front line is no less important than being at the fighting front.

▲ **VIRGIN SPRING** A Soviet colour film. With songs and dances by the well-known Soviet Birozhka (Little White Birch) Ensemble, a love story full of fun and laughter. In Russian, with Chinese subtitles.

▲ **A NIGHT TO REMEMBER** A British feature film based on the disaster when the White Star liner *Titanic* collided with an iceberg on the night of April 14, 1912 with the loss of 1,500 lives.

▲ **LIFE** A Burmese film in two parts. The life-story of an ill-fated woman student.

▲ **TAMANGO** A French feature film adapted from P. Mérimée's short story of the same title. An enthralling story of the Negroes' heroic struggle against the slave-traders.

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **PEKING HANDICRAFTS EXHIBITION** Daily, 8:30 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till Oct. 10. At the Round City, Beihai Park.

▲ **EXHIBITION OF THE SWORD OF LI HSIU-CHENG, ONE OF THE TAIPING LEADERS** Daily, 8:30 a.m.-4:00 p.m. At the Museum of the Chinese Revolution.

▲ **EXHIBITION OF HISTORICAL RELICS** 479 gifts donated to the state by people of Peking. Daily (except Mon.), 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. At Tianwang Hall in Beihai Park.

FLOWER SHOW

In full bloom. Over two score examples of rare orchids from Fukien, Kwangtung and Szechuan are on display in Zhongshan Park. Orchid lovers mustn't miss this!

SPORTS

— 1962 National Football Championships —

China's top football teams are contending for the national championship title. Don't miss the second round matches at Peking Stadium, Peking Workers' Stadium and Peking Gymnasium. Beginning Sept. 23 till Oct. 21.

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