

# PEKING REVIEW

22

May 31, 1963

## National Conference of Writers And Artists

For a more militant literature and art (p. 7).

## Against Modern Revisionism

1. Joint statement of Chinese and New Zealand Communist Parties (p. 15).
2. V. G. Wilcox's speech at Higher Party School in Peking (p. 17).
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### Sino-Indian Boundary Question

## Another Major Chinese Effort for A Peaceful Settlement

All captured Indian military personnel released and repatriated (p. 13).

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For Children's Day

# YEH-HSUAN'S FABLES

This is a selection of eight witty fables written by the contemporary writer Ho Yi between 1935 and 1945.

"Grandad Ho's Melons" tells how a landlord seized the melons grown by a peasant, how the last melon turned into a giant, and felled the landlord with a blow from a sickle. "The Story of a Pair of Shoes" describes how working people lived in the old society. "The Sword" describes how a tyrant was slain by a girl of the people. There is wit and wisdom here aplenty.

These fables recall the life of the old China that has gone: the oppression and exploitation of the people by reactionary rulers and the people's staunch resistance and determination to end an unjust social system. An instructive and entertaining book for children.

With many delightful woodcut illustrations.



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## OBSERVATION POST No. 3

A children's picture-story book



An exciting story of how Chinese children did their bit in the War of Resistance against the Japanese invaders. Young Hsiao Ching and his little sister see a guerrilla fighter shot and killed by Japanese soldiers in an enemy-occupied district. Keen-eyed, they notice he has kicked off one of his shoes, in it is hidden an important message. Ingeniously overcoming all kinds of hazards, they evade the Japanese guards and finally succeed in getting the message to the guerrilla command in time for an effective blow to be struck at the enemy.

With 50 pictures in colour. Large size: 25.5 X 20.5 cm.

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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

May 31, 1963 Vol. VI No. 22

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May 31, 1963

## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• Chairman Liu Shao-chi has returned to Peking from his visits to Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia and the Viet Nam Democratic Republic. The success of his tour is still the talk of the nation and was the subject of a report by Vice-Premier Chen Yi at a joint session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council.

• The visit of V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, has been much in the news. Last weekend, he and Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, signed a joint statement of the two Parties declaring full agreement in their stand and views on the important questions facing the international communist movement.

• The Chinese press salutes the 43rd anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party. *Hongqi* published an article, entitled "The Indonesian People's Revolutionary Struggle and the Indonesian Communist Party." It pays tribute to the Indonesian C.P. as a Marxist-Leninist Party with a correct line, a militant and creative Party which is closely linked with the masses, and which stands in the front ranks of the Indonesian people's revolutionary struggle against imperialism headed by the U.S. and the reactionaries at home.

*Renmin Ribao* carried excerpts of the May 23 editorial of *Harian Rakjat*, the Indonesian Party organ, on the 43rd anniversary of the Party, declaring that the Indonesian C.P. resolutely combats revisionism and dogmatism and strives for genuine unity of the world working-class movement.

• The Chinese press also featured extracts of an article in the current issue of the monthly *Zenei*, political and theoretical organ of the Japanese Communist Party, rebuking modern revisionists for negating the dictatorship of the proletariat and refuting their attacks against the Chinese Communist Party.

• Chinese writers and artists held a national conference to discuss the militant tasks of literature and art. The conference calls on Chinese writers and artists to strengthen the front of revolutionary literature and art, and oppose modern revisionism.

• A National Defence Ministry spokesman issued a statement on May 26 announcing the completion of the release and repatriation of all the 3,942 Indian military personnel captured during their attack on the Chinese frontier guards in Tibet and Sinkiang last year. The last group of Indian soldiers, 382 altogether, were released at the northern side of Bang Pass, Tibet, on May 25.

• Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Afghan Ambassador Miskinyar announce that China and Afghanistan will soon begin negotiations on the formal delimitation of the boundary between the two countries.

### New Zealand C.P. Leader in China

Comrade V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, visited China last week at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

When he left Peking for home on May 26 at the end of his week-long

stay, he had contributed much to the further strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist unity between the Chinese and New Zealand Parties and the friendship between the two nations.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, met him on May 22 and gave a banquet in his honour. The two Party leaders had



a cordial, friendly talk. Comrade Wilcox was also guest of honour at a banquet given by Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairmen, and Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary, of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.

On May 25 the two General Secretaries signed a joint statement of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of New Zealand declaring that the two Parties are in full agreement on their stand and views on the important questions now confronting the international communist movement, and stressing that at present revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement (see p. 15).

On the same day Comrade Wilcox attended a meeting held especially by the faculty and students of the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to welcome him. Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.C., extended a warm welcome to the New Zealand Party leader. He said: "The Communist Party of New Zealand is a Party firmly adhering to the Marxist-Leninist line in a capitalist country. Under the leadership of the C.P.N.Z. and its National Committee headed by Comrade Wilcox, the proletariat of New Zealand has made great achievements in the struggle against imperialism and for world peace, in the struggle against monopoly capital and for the people's democratic rights, in the struggle against social democracy and for strengthening the united front led by the working class, and in the struggle against modern revisionism and in defence of Marxism-Leninism. In the international communist movement, the C.P.N.Z. has waged a resolute struggle for steadfast adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and to uphold the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. It has waged a resolute struggle against modern revisionism represented by Yugoslav revisionism. The C.P.N.Z. has made tremendous contributions to safeguarding the unity of the communist movement. For all this, the Chinese Communist Party has the highest admiration."

Comrade Wilcox in his speech dealt with the important issues of the international communist movement

today and the struggle against modern revisionism (see p. 17).

### **Chairman Mao Receives Tanganyika Women's Delegation**

Chairman Mao Tse-tung last week had a friendly talk with the members of the Tanganyika women's delegation led by Bibi Titi Mohamed, Member of the Tanganyika Parliament, Member of the Central Committee of the Tanganyika African National Union and Chairman of the National Union of Tanganyika Women.

### **Indonesian C.P. Delegation**

The Chinese Communist Party is host to another fraternal Party delegation—the delegation of the Indonesian Communist Party, led by Sutardi, member of the standing committee of the Indonesian C.P.'s big area branch of West Java. On May 21, Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China had luncheon with the members of the delegation.

The delegation came to China for the May Day celebrations and is now touring the country.

### **Chinese-Albanian Solidarity**

The fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between the Chinese and Albanian peoples were toasted at the reception given by the Albanian Ambassador to China Reis Malile on May 22 in honour of the visiting delegations of Albanian journalists, youth, trade unionists and cinema workers.

Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, and Tan Chen-lin, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. and Vice-Premier, were among those present.

Resolute determination to wage the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and to uphold Marxism-Leninism, and confidence in the victory of the common cause was expressed in the speeches made at the reception.

"The invincible teachings of Marxism-Leninism have brought our two peoples together as brothers and comrades-in-arms sharing weal and woe. In their common cause of

building socialism and opposing imperialism and modern revisionism they will always remain united as brothers. Guided as they are by Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism they will surely be victorious," said Reis Malile.

"The Chinese Communist Party has waged and is waging a determined struggle against imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. This firm, principled struggle of great historic significance is an inspiration to all who are fighting for freedom, democracy and socialism," declared D. Mamaqui, Member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and head of the Albanian journalists' delegation.

"Our two Parties and our two countries, closely united, are marching shoulder to shoulder under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the common struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. We are convinced that our great cause will win final victory," said Vice-Premier Tan Chen-lin.

The Albanian visitors have toured various parts of China during the past few weeks. On May 23, Vice-Chairman Chou En-lai had a cordial talk with the four Albanian delegations.

### **Growing Sino-Afghan Friendship**

China and Afghanistan will soon hold negotiations on the formal delimitation of the boundary between the two countries and sign a boundary treaty on that basis. This was announced by both Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Afghan Ambassador to China Mohammad Chouaib Miskinyar at a reception the latter gave in celebration of Afghanistan's National Day. This is yet another example of China's good-neighbour policy, which is winning worldwide acclaim, and a convincing proof of her sincerity in settling all boundary questions left over from history.

The Afghan Ambassador's reception was given in Peking on May 27 and was attended by Premier Chou En-lai and other high government officials and members of the diplomatic corps in the capital.

Ambassador Miskinyar spoke of the traditional friendship and good-neighbourly relations between Afghanistan and China. "With a view to safeguarding the continuity and further development of friendly and good-neighbourly relations between our two countries," he said, "our Governments have agreed to conduct negotiations for the purpose of formally delimiting the boundary existing between the two countries and signing a boundary treaty."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, paid tribute to Afghanistan's policy of peace and neutrality in international affairs and its contribution to Asian-African solidarity and peace in Asia. He also congratulated the Afghan people on the great successes they had achieved in national reconstruction under the leadership of His Majesty King Mohammed Zahir Shah. Referring to the traditional and growing friendship between China and Afghanistan, the Vice-Premier said: "Following the conclusion of the treaty of friendship and mutual non-aggression between China and Afghanistan in 1960, our two Governments have decided to hold negotiations on the formal delimitation of the boundary existing between the two countries and to conclude a boundary treaty on that basis. This is a great event in the relations between our two countries." Declaring that these negotiations would soon be held in Kabul, the Vice-Premier expressed the conviction that they would lead to satisfactory results and that the settlement of the Sino-Afghan boundary question would not only usher in a new stage in the friendly relations between the two countries but also promote friendship and solidarity among the Asian and African countries and contribute to the defence of peace in Asia.

**Sino-Indian Boundary Question.** The Vice-Premier reiterated China's unflagging and consistent efforts to promote friendly relations with all neighbouring countries and settle all questions left over from history. "In seeking a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question," he said, "the Chinese Government has taken a series of measures on its own initiative. Recently, the Chinese Government has, once again on its own initiative, released and repatriated all captured Indian military personnel, so as to enable them to return to India

and rejoin their families at an early date. This is another important effort made by the Chinese Government to promote a reconciliation between China and India. The Chinese Government has not only declared in words but also proved by deeds that it has accepted the Colombo proposals in principle. The tremendous efforts made by the Chinese Government have created a favourable atmosphere for direct negotiations between China and India. If the Indian Government really has a sincere desire for settling the Sino-Indian boundary question, it should no longer cling to its rigid position and its preconditions, but should hold negotiations with the Chinese Government at an early date. If the Indian Government still has no intention to negotiate because of the exigencies of its domestic and foreign policies or has no intention of settling any question even if negotiations do start, the Chinese Government is quite ready to wait with patience."

The Vice-Premier thanked the Afghan Government for always showing friendly concern and goodwill with regard to the Sino-Indian boundary question. "We are confident," said the Vice-Premier, "no matter how long the Sino-Indian boundary question may be dragged out, it can only be settled and will certainly be settled peacefully in the end."

**Chairman Liu's Visits.** Vice-Premier Chen Yi also spoke about Chairman Liu Shao-chi's recent visits to four friendly neighbours—Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. These visits, he said, had proved once again that the friendly relations between China and its neighbours in Asia, established on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference, could stand tests and were unbreakable. "No matter how hard the imperialists may try to create disputes and sow discord between China and its neighbours," he said, "no matter how a handful of persons who follow the imperialists may echo the clamour about China being a 'threat' to the whole of Asia, it can be said with certainty that the schemes of the imperialists—and the reactionaries of various countries to undermine our friendly relations with our Asian neighbours will absolutely be of no avail and will certainly end in failure."

Recalling the very warm welcome and cordial hospitality accorded Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his party by the Governments and people of the four countries, Vice-Premier Chen Yi thanked President Sukarno, Chairman Ne Win, Prince Norodom Sihanouk and President Ho Chi Minh for the thoughtful arrangements they had made for the Chinese delegation.

The Vice-Premier expressed confidence that, as with relations between China and its other friendly neighbours, the continuous strengthening and development of the friendly relations between China and Afghanistan would be exemplary.

### Highway of Friendship

The highway China built as a gift for Laos was officially handed over to the Laotian Government of National Union at a ceremony held in Phong Saly on May 25.

This 82-kilometre-long highway, completed last April, runs from the Sino-Laotian border to Phong Saly. It was built by China for Laos under an agreement signed between the two Governments in January 1962. It winds through mountains over 1,000 metres above sea level and crosses 11 rivers. Wide and solidly built, it ensures year-round communications, even in the monsoon season. In honour of the firm friendship between the peoples of the two countries, the Laotian Government of National Union has named it the "Laotian-Chinese Friendship Highway."

Chinese and Laotian officials, headmen from nearby villages and over 1,000 other Laotian people of various nationalities and Chinese nationals in Laos attended the ceremony. Addressing the meeting Chang Ying, representative of the Chinese Government and Chinese Consul in Phong Saly, recalled that as friendly neighbours the people of China and Laos had always supported each other in their fight against imperialist aggression. "The friendship between China and Laos," he said, "is based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. It is the common desire of the Chinese and Laotian peoples to develop this friendship, and this highway marks the increasingly growing friendship between our two countries."



Representative of the Laotian Government and Governor of Phong Saly Province Phiyaphao, in his speech at the ceremony, declared the new highway open to traffic. On behalf of the Laotian Provisional National Union Government and the Laotian people, he thanked the Chinese Government and people for building the highway for Laos. "In the past," he said, "Phong Saly lacked means of transport and communication, and this hindered the development of our economy and culture. Now with the completion of the highway built by the Chinese Government as a form of assistance to us, our transport has improved greatly. For this we express our deep gratitude to the Chinese Government and people."

### Writings of Kenji Miyamoto

A Chinese translation of *The Path of Our Party's Struggle*, a selection of the works of Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, has been published by the People's Publishing House of China and is now on sale throughout the country.

Originally published by the press department of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, the book contains 13 reports and speeches delivered by Kenji Miyamoto between 1956 and 1961, totalling 180,000 words. Most of them appear in Chinese for the first time.

### Success of Journalists' Conference

The Asian-African Journalists' Conference which took place in Djakarta on April 24-30 was a resounding success. On May 25 Peking celebrated that success at a mass meeting sponsored by the All-China Journalists' Association and three other Chinese people's organizations. Journalists of the capital attended in full force, together with members of other trades and professions, members of the delegation the Chinese journalists had sent to Djakarta and their colleagues from several Asian and African countries who, after attending the Djakarta conference, had come to visit China.

Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, in his address to the rally hailed the Djakarta conference which,

he said, was the first at which Asian and African journalists had ever gathered together to discuss their affairs free from the control and intervention of the imperialists and reactionaries. He characterized it as a conference of historic significance marking "the growth of the Asian and African peoples' united struggle against imperialism and a victory for the Bandung spirit." The Djakarta Declaration and the important resolutions adopted at the conference, he continued, "clearly show that the Asian and African peoples harbour no illusions whatsoever towards U.S. imperialism and that they will never be taken in by the sugared words of the imperialists and reactionaries." These documents, he stressed, gave expression to the common, urgent demands and aspirations of the Asian and African peoples and would for ever illumine their path in their onward march from victory to victory. He warmly greeted the setting up of the Asian and African Journalists' Association which would unite the journalists on the two continents in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Mei Yi, head of the Chinese journalists' delegation that went to Indonesia, spoke of the proceedings at the Djakarta conference and the successes it had achieved. The Djakarta Declaration and the resolutions the conference adopted, he said, rejected all the erroneous views aimed at softening and weakening the Asian and African peoples' struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and in clear-cut terms pointed out the primary tasks for Asian and African journalists, the basis for their unity and their road of struggle. These documents, he noted, would give a great impetus to the united struggle of the Asian and African journalists and people as a whole against imperialism.

Mei Yi rebuked the imperialists and their agents for trying to wreck the conference. The Indian delegates, he recalled as an example, time and again tried to stir up controversies, and they even refused to sign the Djakarta Declaration. But, he said, these people could not prevent the conference from achieving success; they only isolated themselves from the other delegates. The Djakarta conference, he concluded, had opened broad vistas for Asian and

African journalists and laid a good foundation for their unity. He pledged the active support of Chinese journalists for the Asian and African Journalists' Association in carrying out its work and making its contribution to the common struggle against imperialism.

Several foreign guests spoke at the rally: Feze Marcel of Kamerun, Ariyawansa Pathiraja of Ceylon, Ibrahim Issa, representative of the Indonesian Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, Kazuo Asami of Japan, Asrar Ahmad of Pakistan, Lionel E. Morrison of South Africa and Miraji Mpatani Ali of Zanzibar. All attached great importance to the Djakarta conference's role in the anti-imperialist struggle in the world today, and stressed in their speeches that the primary task confronting the Asian and African peoples, journalists included, was to unite in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence.

"Our pens," said Kazuo Asami, "have a glorious mission: to expose ruthlessly the deception, plots, threats, weaknesses, rottenness and brutality of imperialism and colonialism and to mobilize the people to rise up to struggle against them. The imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and the old and new colonialists are not only the common enemy of the people of Japan and China, but also of the people of all Asia and Africa."

Miraji Mpatani Ali of Zanzibar was warmly applauded when he said: "Colonialism is our common enemy, and the neo-colonialism that comes from Washington and supports all the old colonialists is the most cunning and most vicious enemy of all." "Some people," he continued, "try to prettify U.S. imperialism, the real murderer of our heroic Lumumba; some advise us to accept the promises of the imperialists, to rely on their aid, to have faith in their 'sober-mindedness,' to believe that they have changed their nature, to believe that lions are really ready to make friends with sheep. But we African people never believe that lions will ever change their carnivorous nature. We must wage a life-and-death struggle against imperialism—the common enemy of the world's people—and in this struggle there is no middle-of-the-road course!"

# National Conference of Writers And Artists

**T**HE Third National Committee of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles recently held its second enlarged conference in Peking. Its deliberations centred on how to strengthen the literary and art front and enable literature and art to play a fully militant role in the current internal and international situation.

Members of the national committee and representatives of the artists and writers of all the provinces and autonomous regions, numbering more than 380, attended the conference. Kuo Mo-jo (poet and playwright), chairman of the federation, presided over the conference sessions which were attended by the vice-chairmen of the federation: Mao Tun (novelist); Chou Yang (literary and art critic); Pa Chin (novelist); Lao Sheh (novelist and playwright); Hsu Kuang-ping (writer and widow of the great writer Lu Hsun); Tien Han (playwright); Hsia Yen (playwright); Tsai Chu-sheng (film director); Ma Ssu-tung (composer and violinist); Fu Chung (critic) and Yang Han-sheng (playwright).

## Premier Chou Speaks

Premier Chou En-lai, besides meeting informally with the conference participants, gave an important address to the conference in session. **In it, he called on the nation's writers and artists to be revolutionary writers and artists and take an active part in the class struggle both at home and abroad. Writers and artists, he said, should take a firm proletarian stand and have high revolutionary ideals. They should steel and remould themselves in the long and complex class struggles which had to be waged; they should strengthen themselves in proletarian ideology and in the proletarian style of work so as to be able to stand all tests of storm and stress which they might be called upon to meet.** He called on them to devote all their efforts to strengthening the revolutionary literary and art front.

The Premier's speech was warmly applauded and supported by the conference participants. They expressed their determination to answer the call of the Communist Party, to play a greater role as literary and art workers and to remain staunch for ever as revolutionary writers and artists.

Kuo Mo-jo, in his opening speech as chairman, introduced the various matters put on the agenda.

Chou Yang, vice-chairman of the federation, delivered an address entitled "Strengthen the Literary and Art Front; Oppose Modern Revisionism!" Conference participants held group discussions. Members of the national committee of the federation Lao Sheh; Chen Huang-mei (film critic); Mao Tun; Chao Shu-li (novelist); Hsieh Ping-hsin (writer); Liu Kai-chu (sculptor); An Po (composer); Hsiao Wen-yen (actress); Ma Ssu-tung; Lu Chi (composer); Tai

Ai-lien (dancer); Yuan Hsueh-fen (actress); Chen Chitung (playwright) and Tien Han spoke at the sessions on various aspects of literature and art.

The conference reviewed the achievements of China's literary and art workers in various fields since the Third (1960) National Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists. It was agreed that guided by the Party's line that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and the cause of socialism, and by the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and "weeding through the old to let the new emerge," China's literature and art had made many fresh gains in the past two years and more. The conference noted that there was greater variety in subject matter, genre, form and style in the literary and art works produced, and that a considerable number of works of a fairly high level both artistically and ideologically had appeared in literature, the theatre, cinema, the representational arts (painting, graphic art and sculpture); music, the dance, *quyi* balladry, photography and other fields. These works, reflecting the history of the revolutionary struggles or of life in the contemporary socialist revolution and socialist construction, portraying pacesetters among the masses today or historical personages, manifested the spirit of the new age, educated and encouraged the broad masses of the people, and were therefore warmly received by them. China's literary and art work as a whole was characterized as lively and healthy.

## For the Revolution

The conference discussed the new situation in the revolutionary struggle both at home and abroad, and all came to understand more clearly what an important militant task rested on the shoulders of literature and art. The conference stressed that the nation's writers and artists **should hold still higher the banners of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking and resolutely oppose imperialism, the reactionaries in all countries and modern revisionism as well as their influence in the realm of literature and art.** The conference discussions made it clear that in the sharp class struggles which were now raging in the international arena, all truly revolutionary writers and artists were faced with the following question: should they take up their position on the anti-imperialist front, safeguard the interests of socialism and support the people of all countries in their revolutionary struggles, or should they fawn upon and capitulate to imperialism, slander socialism and break the people's revolutionary militant will? Should they use works of art and literature to reflect the revolutionary struggles of the masses, eulogize the heroism and collectivism of the masses in their labour and revolutionary struggles and praise the new people and new personalities of the

new age, or should they stand aloof from the mass struggle, separate themselves from the common destiny of the people and immerse themselves in descriptions of the "fate of the individual" and the exalting of so-called "personal happiness" treated in isolation, which in effect means publicizing the individualist world outlook of the bourgeoisie? Should revolutionary socialist art and literature fly their own colours, with new content and new styles in radical contrast to the various schools of bourgeois literature and art, or should they willingly serve as the rump of Western bourgeois literature and art, join them in their cesspool and hail the decadent as wonderful, as "innovation"? **The socialist art and literature of the world are undergoing rigorous tests. Certain former communist writers, noted the conference, had discarded the banner of proletarian revolution and become fanatical preachers and disseminators of revisionist thought as well as popular figures with imperialism and the bourgeoisie.**

This phenomenon of degeneration in the ranks of world socialist literature and art drew the unanimous condemnation of the conference. It pointed out that Chinese writers and artists should pay close attention to the course of the class struggle in the ideological field of world literature and art, and that they should hold high the banners of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking on the literary and art front and wage a resolute struggle against the adverse current of modern revisionism. They should maintain vigilance at all times and resolutely prevent the growth of revisionist and all other forms of bourgeois ideology in Chinese literary and artistic circles, and use their work in literature and art to serve even more effectively the workers, peasants and soldiers, the cause of socialism and the revolutionary struggles of the world's people.

### Assessment of the New Era

The conference agreed that Chinese writers and artists should identify themselves with the new revolutionary era in order to better to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and socialism with their literature and art. There exists a fundamental difference between Chinese writers and artists on the one hand and modern revisionists on the other in regard to their assessment of the present age. Analysing the present age from the point of view of the class struggle of the proletariat, **Chinese writers and artists hold that it is unprecedentedly favourable for the revolution in all countries. In contrast, the modern revisionists have been declaring loudly that the present age is one of "positive coexistence" and "peaceful growth into socialism." Consequently they see no need for literature and art to portray the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the working masses; and declare that the one thing that is needed is to preach supra-class "humanism" and "love for all men." Chinese writers and artists are resolutely opposed to this nonsense of modern revisionism. They are determined to embrace the new revolutionary age wholeheartedly and join the broadest sections of the world's people. Only by so doing can they create works that are needed by the people.** Large numbers of excellent works depicting the Chinese people's revolutionary struggles had been produced by Chinese writers and artists, the conference noted, but they still had a lot to do, to create still more and

better works, particularly those describing the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

### Close Ties With Working Masses

The conference held that literature and art should make further efforts to reflect the fine revolutionary spirit of the Chinese people and the various contradictions and struggles in the present age. It held that writers and artists should see that, within a socialist society and within the ranks of the people, there still existed contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and capitalist road, and all kinds of other open and hidden class struggles, and that these contradictions were often entangled with the contradictions between the progressive and the backward, between the right and the wrong within the ranks of the working people. In their creative work, writers and artists should not dodge or cover up these contradictions and struggles, but should study and present them from a class and class-struggle point of view. Works devoid of conflict were liked by nobody.

The conference emphasized that to portray the new, people's epoch truthfully, the cardinal point was for literary and art workers to identify themselves with the broad masses of the labouring people, with the workers, peasants and soldiers. To go to the factories, to the villages and army units, to participate to a certain extent in labour and public work at the basic levels and take an active part in the struggles of the masses of workers and peasants was an established system which should be persisted in over a long period; it was a fundamental way in which literary and art workers could integrate themselves with the masses. Naturally, writers and artists in different fields of work and of different ages in carrying out this principle should adopt different forms suited to their conditions. **The opinion of the conference was that the question of whether literary and art workers could identify themselves with the workers and peasants was a question that concerned the fundamental direction for the development of literature and art, a question of the correct solution of the relation between popularization in literature and art and elevation of the level of literature and art, a question of making the new literature and art more national and popular, and what was more important, a question of whether we should always remain revolutionaries and revolutionary workers in literature and art.**

### Revolutionary Ideological Content

The conference pointed out that the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and "weeding through the old to let the new emerge" was the Party's set policy towards literary and artistic work, that the prerequisite of this policy was to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and the cause of socialism and that its object was to develop a new, socialist, national literature and art through emulation and struggle. It was unthinkable that in applying this policy there should be all plain sailing and no struggle. This was a process of competition and struggle between various theories of art, with various political orientations, and between works of literature and art in various styles and of various political attitudes, a process in which



Marxist thought fought with non-Marxist and anti-Marxist thought. The conference called on writers and artists to consolidate and extend the supremacy and leading position of the new, revolutionary, socialist literature and art and Marxist thought on the entire literary and artistic front and the ideological front as a whole; since literature and art were activities linking millions upon millions of the masses and were weapons of the class struggle, first place should be given to their educational role; at the same time the people's needs for healthy cultural recreation should not be neglected. The conference called on writers and artists to strive to master the creative method combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism and produce works with a revolutionary and rich ideological content. As for subject matter, genre, form, and style, there should be many and they should be permitted to compete freely.

**In literature and art, said the conference participants, what was of first importance was content, not form. It was always fruitless to discuss form apart from content. Writers and artists were encouraged, in order to give expression to new content, to search for and work out new forms which the broad masses would accept and love.**

### Cultural Heritage

The conference also discussed the proper approach to China's cultural heritage and how to create literary and artistic works which were national and popular in character. The unanimous view was that the splendid legacy of the national culture should be accepted and carried forward critically, for any splendid heritage contains both fine essence and dregs. We must not swallow

anything and everything uncritically, still less take the feudal dregs for the fine democratic essence. As to the outstanding and progressive works of literature and art of foreign countries, we must learn from them but not transplant them indiscriminately. All literary and artistic works must have their own national form and characteristics. Foreign forms should be remoulded in accordance with the reality of China and its national characteristics so as to make them acceptable to the majority of the people and to enrich and enhance the already existing national forms. The wholesale transplanting of what is foreign was a manifestation (said the conference) of the most shiftless dogmatism in the sphere of art. We had always opposed such dogmatism.

Discussions were also held on literary and art criticism, the improvement of literary and art magazines, the training of literary and art workers, and other questions.

Delegates to the conference held that writers and artists should give more of their attention to the rural areas and the provision of socialist education for the broad masses of peasantry, especially the young peasants, in order to help consolidate and develop the collective economy, inspire the peasants with even greater enthusiasm for productive work and meet their daily growing cultural needs.

Among the speakers at the conference were representatives of organizations and individuals who had made outstanding contributions to literature and art and who attended the conference on invitation.

The conference decided to add one more vice-chairman to the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and elected Liu Chih-ming (drama critic) to the post.

人民日报

RENMIN RIBAO

## The Significance of Chairman Liu Shao-chi's Fruitful Visits

*After making a series of friendly visits to Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia and Viet Nam, Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, returned to Peking on May 22. Following is a translation of the May 22 editorial of "Renmin Ribao," entitled "Welcome to Chairman Liu Shao-chi on His Return From Visits Abroad." Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

**H**AVING concluded his visits to China's four friendly neighbours, Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, together with Vice-Premier Chen Yi and his other companions, has triumphantly returned, bringing with him the profound friendship of the peoples of these countries. With great exhilaration, people in the capital and the rest of the nation warmly greet the brilliant successes of the visits and enthusiastically welcome the return to Pe-

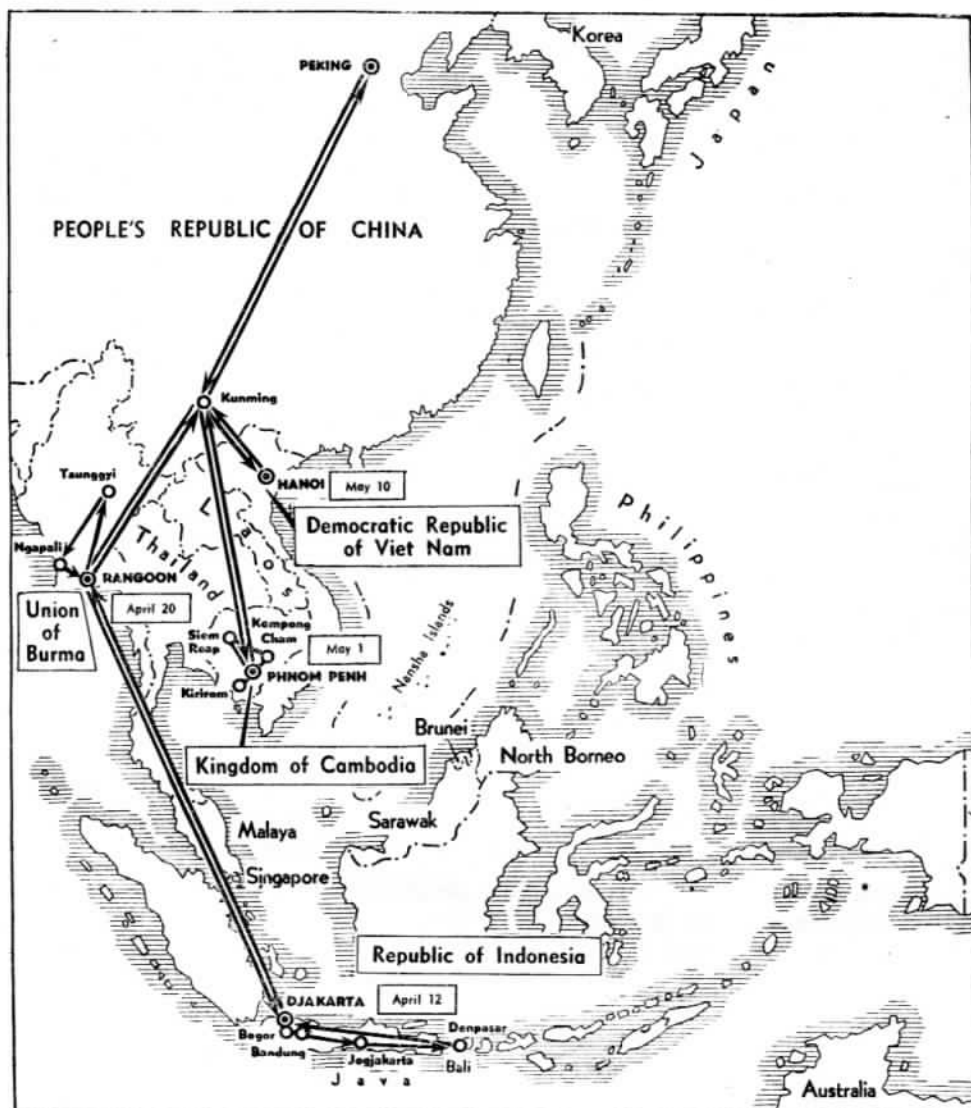
king of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other comrades who have been working assiduously for their country.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visits are a major event in the political life of the Chinese people, a major event which also interests public opinion in Asia and the whole world. They have further enhanced mutual understanding and trust between China and the four neighbouring Asian countries and made an important contribution to consolidating and developing the friendship and solidarity among Asian countries and to the cause of world peace and human progress. This is another splendid victory for China's foreign policy of peace and her good-neighbour policy.

### A New Peak of Friendship

Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visits to the four countries have brought China's friendly relations with them to a

**SKETCH MAP SHOWING CHAIRMAN LIU SHAO-CHI'S ROUTE DURING HIS VISITS TO THE FOUR COUNTRIES**



(Dates shown are the days Chairman Liu arrived in the capitals of the four countries.)

By Chu Yu-lien

of the four countries. They expressed their genuine comradeship-in-arms, exchanged views on current important international issues, reached agreements, and strengthened their common faith. All these have further consolidated and advanced the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and the four countries.

**Vitality of Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence**

The profound friendship binding China and her friendly Asian neighbours testifies to the great vitality of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit. China is one of the initiators of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Chinese Government has always adhered to them in its relations with countries having different social systems. We have always believed that in their relations, the nations of the world, big or small, must truly live up to the principle of respecting each other and not imposing one's will on the other, treating each other as equals and not setting oneself above the other, and benefiting and helping each other and not benefiting oneself at the expense of the other. In the absence of this spirit of mutual respect and equality, it is impossible to build up relations of genuine friendship and co-operation or bring about genuine peaceful coexistence. We have handled our relations

new high level. There has existed an age-old and profound traditional friendship between the Chinese people and the peoples of these neighbouring Asian countries. In the past they all suffered from oppression by imperialism and colonialism against which they have waged protracted and difficult struggles in order to win their own independence and liberation. After their victories in these struggles, they are all in urgent need of a long-term peaceful international environment to build up their own countries. This common experience and aspiration have led to the establishment and development of cordial relations of friendship and co-operation between China and these neighbouring countries since they successively won their independence. Chairman Liu Shao-chi's recent visits have provided another chance for the Chinese people to feel fully the closeness and warmth of this friendship. There were scenes of heart-warming welcome wherever Chairman Liu went in Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia and Viet Nam. Huge crowds, seas of flowers and flags, and joyous greetings coming straight from the heart — all these have left an unforgettable impression. During the visits, Chairman Liu had extensive contacts with state leaders, public figures, and the urban and rural working people

with our Asian neighbours in this spirit and many friendly countries on this continent have done the same in their relations with China. So these relations are extremely friendly. China has concluded successively treaties of friendship or friendship and mutual non-aggression with Indonesia, Burma and Cambodia. China and Burma fairly and reasonably solved their complicated boundary question — the first of several such solutions China has reached with her neighbours. The conclusion of these treaties and the settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question are in the interests not only of the peoples of the countries concerned, but also of the cause of safeguarding world peace. In the respective talks between Chairman Liu Shao-chi and the Heads of State of Indonesia, Burma and Cambodia, both parties noted with deep satisfaction the comprehensive development of their relations of friendship and co-operation in recent years. Both expressed readiness to make continued efforts to consolidate and strengthen these relations. This proves fully that the friendly relations between China and her neighbouring Asian countries, based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit, can stand the

test of time and are unshakable. The slanderous attacks made by imperialism and the reactionaries in all countries against China's foreign policy of peace and her good-neighbour policy are of no avail.

### Foundation of Unity

The foundation of the solid unity between China and her various Asian neighbours lies in the fact that they have always supported and encouraged each other in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism. In Asia, Africa and Latin America today, there are still many countries and territories where the people have yet to attain their independence and are still suffering under the colonial yoke. Many newly emerging countries in Asia and Africa which have won their independence face the serious threat of aggression, subversion and infiltration by imperialism and new and old colonialism. Therefore, the primary task for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America remains one of opposing imperialism and colonialism, especially of opposing the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war.

In their joint statements or communiqués, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and the leaders of the four friendly Asian countries he visited laid great stress on the importance of mutual support in this common struggle. They all reiterated their resolute stand of continuing to support the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for winning and preserving national independence and against imperialism and colonialism. No force on earth can obstruct or undermine the common aspirations of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for

still greater unity and mutual support in their common struggle.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam strengthens further the close solidarity and the unbreakable militant friendship between the two countries, the two Parties and the two peoples on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. The scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of a number of current major international problems made by the two Parties and the two Governments, and the clear-cut position and firm attitude maintained by them have found full expression in the joint statement issued by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Ho Chi Minh. This highly militant revolutionary document helps to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to give full play to the revolutionary spirit of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and to protect the fundamental interests of the international communist movement and of the revolutionary peoples throughout the world.

When they recall Chairman Liu's visits to the four friendly neighbours, the Chinese people wholeheartedly thank the Governments and peoples of the four countries for the grand welcome and reception and kind hospitality they accorded him. We deem this a sincere expression of their profound friendship for the 650 million Chinese people. The Chinese people are willing to strive, together with the peoples of Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, for further development and consolidation of our militant friendship, and to persist till final victory in the struggle for the great cause of unity against imperialism, of defending world peace and promoting human progress.

### African Unity Against Imperialism

## Success of African Summit Conference

*The Summit Conference of Independent African States opened in Addis Ababa on May 22 and successfully concluded its work on May 26. On the eve of its opening, Premier Chou En-lai sent it a message of greetings wishing it success in making new contributions in promoting friendship and co-operation among the African countries, in advancing the African peoples' struggle against colonialism, old and new, and to win and safeguard national independence and in strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace. On May 28, "Renmin Ribao" carried an editorial hailing the success of the conference. Below we print an abridged translation of this editorial. Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

**T**HE Summit Conference of Independent African States has successfully completed its work. The heads of states and governments and representatives from 31 African states gathered to discuss questions of the African national-liberation movement, African unity and solidarity and other matters; they adopted the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and several resolutions including a resolution on African decolonization and one on apartheid and racial discrimination. These successes reflect the determination of the African peoples to fight old and neo-colonialism and strengthen unity. The Chinese people who have always taken a deep interest in the advance of the

African peoples' cause of unity against imperialism warmly hail these successes.

### U.S. Imperialism — Most Dangerous Enemy

An extremely favourable situation exists on the continent of Africa. But no one can fail to note that although they have suffered serious blows in Africa, imperialism and colonialism, unreconciled to defeat, are making strenuous efforts to preserve and restore their colonial positions there. In Africa today, tens of millions of people are still subjected to ruthless oppression and enslavement under the direct rule of old colonialism. Certain newly emerging African states which have won their independence are again faced with grave threats of aggression, subversion and infiltration by U.S. neo-colonialism while the remnant forces of old colonialism have yet to be completely eradicated. The U.S. neo-colonialists, on the one hand, are forcing their way into Africa in the guise of friends of the African peoples; on the other hand, they are doing their utmost with fire and sword to crush the national-liberation struggles of the peoples of the African countries. U.S. imperialism assisted the French colonialists with dollars and arms to massacre the Algerian people. The United States has given the Portuguese colonialists \$300 million in military aid to suppress the just struggles of the peoples of Angola, Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique. In pressing



ahead all out with their criminal scheme to swallow up the Congo, the U.S. neo-colonialists, using the flag of the United Nations, subverted the legal government of the Congo and murdered Lumumba, the Congolese national leader. All these facts show that U.S. imperialism is the most dangerous and ferocious enemy of the peoples of the African countries.

This situation could not but find expression at the Summit Conference of Independent African States. In their speeches during the general discussions, the heads of states and governments from these states condemned imperialism for continuing to infiltrate into Africa, denounced old and neo-colonialism for suppressing the national-independence struggles of the peoples of the various African countries. They expressed their resolute support for the continent's anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggles. This clearly demonstrates that the struggle against colonialism and imperialism remains at present the most important and urgent task of the peoples of the African countries.

The Charter of the Organization of African Unity adopted at the conference will facilitate the strengthening of the unity and co-operation of the African countries on the basis of opposing old and neo-colonialism. The charter declares that the heads of African states and governments are "determined to safeguard and consolidate the hard-won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our states and fight neo-colonialism in all its forms." The purposes as defined in the charter are: "to promote unity and solidarity of the African states; to coordinate and intensify their co-operation and efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa; to defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence; and to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa." It is clear that these purposes of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity reflect the firm determination of the African peoples to win and defend their national independence and their common aspirations for unity and co-operation. There is no doubt that the strengthening of unity and co-operation of the African states on the basis of these purposes will be beneficial to the consolidation of their independence and to the development of the struggles of the African peoples against old and neo-colonialism.

### **Concern for Africa's Dependent Peoples**

The Summit Conference of Independent African States expressed the greatest concern for the national-independence struggle being waged by the peoples of those African countries which have not yet achieved independence. The joint memorandum submitted to the conference by representatives of the 21 nationalist parties of those countries attracted the earnest attention of all the conference representatives. The resolution on decolonization adopted by the conference reaffirmed that "it is the duty of all independent African states to support dependent people in Africa in their struggle for freedom and independence." The resolution also decided to establish a special fund for providing necessary and practical financial aid to various African national-liberation movements. It demanded, moreover, that a deadline be fixed for the achievement of independence by all African territories. The struggle for independence and liberation waged by the African peoples who are still groaning

under brutal colonialist rule has dealt a succession of blows at the forces of imperialism and colonialism that remain in Africa. These African peoples are waging a most heroic and most difficult struggle. To support this just struggle is not only the duty of the peoples in the various African countries but the joint responsibility of progressive mankind throughout the world. Assumption of this responsibility by the independent African states is a great inspiration to the peoples who are still striving for independence.

### **Condemnation of Racial Discrimination**

The resolution adopted by the conference on apartheid and racial discrimination condemned the white settlers' government in South Africa for its policy of racial persecution, appealed to the various countries to break off diplomatic and economic relations with the South African Government and decided to provide effective aid to the African brothers in South Africa who are launching the anti-apartheid movement. The resolution also expressed the "deepest concern" over the persecution of Negroes in the United States. Everybody knows that at the very time when the Summit Conference of Independent African States was proceeding, the Kennedy Administration in the United States was conniving at the local authorities in Birmingham brutally suppressing the Negroes demanding freedom and equality. The conference's just condemnation of South Africa and the United States, the two biggest centres of racial discrimination in the world, was absolutely necessary. This will certainly win the sympathy and support of all the people of the world who uphold justice.

At the conference, Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie said that "we stand united with our Asian friends and brothers," and that "the Bandung declaration and principles enunciated at that conference [Afro-Asian conference] remain today valid for all of us." The fact is that the Asian and African peoples share the same destiny of suffering from oppression and exploitation by imperialism and colonialism, and today face a common struggle against old colonialism and neo-colonialism. That is why the solidarity and mutual support of the Asian and African peoples on the basis of the Bandung spirit is bound to weaken still further the aggressive forces of imperialism and make useful contributions to the defence of peace in Asia and Africa and the rest of the world.

### **China's Support**

The Chinese people have always supported the peoples of the various African countries in their just struggles to win and safeguard national independence. We are glad to see that the African peoples are surmounting the obstacles in their path and are advancing triumphantly. Although the old and neo-colonialists may still concoct all kinds of schemes in an attempt to undermine the African peoples' cause of unity against imperialism, we are convinced that the strong determination of the increasingly awakened and united African peoples to achieve complete liberation cannot be destroyed by imperialism or hamstrung by anybody. The day is sure to come when the African peoples will drive all the old and neo-colonialist forces out of the African continent and plant the banners of independence and freedom in every corner of Africa.

## Another Chinese Effort for a Peaceful Settlement

*The last group of captured Indian military personnel numbering 382 men was released on May 25 by the Chinese frontier guards in the Tibet region on the northern side of Bang Pass. This completes the release and repatriation of all the Indian military personnel captured while attacking the Chinese frontier guards late last year, and this was announced on May 26, by a spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence. The total number released was 3,942. In addition, the bodies or ashes of 26 captured Indian military personnel who died were also handed over to the Indian side. "Renmin Ribao" of May 27 carried an editorial dealing with this matter, entitled "Another Major Effort by the Chinese Government to Promote Reconciliation Between China and India." Following is a translation of this editorial. Subheads are ours. —Ed.*

**A** SPOKESMAN of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence, in a statement on May 26, announced that the Chinese Government had released and repatriated all captured Indian military personnel. With this important measure for reconciliation, the Chinese Government has created a favourable atmosphere for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. Whether direct negotiations between China and India can be held quickly or not, and whether the Sino-Indian boundary question is to be settled peacefully soon or not — all now depends on the attitude of the Indian Government.

### **A Magnanimous Act**

Following its initiative in the ceasefire and withdrawal, the vacation of areas concerning which there are disputes in the ceasefire arrangements, the repatriation of sick and wounded captured Indian military personnel and the return of India's military supplies, the Chinese Government took a fresh initiative in releasing and repatriating all captured Indian military personnel.

Wide sections of public opinion in Asia and Africa regard this as another concrete expression of the Chinese Government's sincerity in seeking a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. These Indian military personnel had attacked the Chinese frontier guards on the orders of the Indian Government. But, acting in the spirit of revolutionary humanitarianism, pursuing its consistent policy of leniency to captives and faithful to its stand of friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples, the Chinese side treated the Indian military personnel with great magnanimity after they were captured, and gave them every possible facility and attention regarding living conditions; the Chinese frontier guards in particular did their utmost to provide adequate treatment and attention for the sick and wounded. In order to help the captured Indians rejoin their families in India as soon as possible, the Chinese side, during the

process of release and repatriation, overcame a host of difficulties presented by weather and road conditions, and made suitable arrangements to enable them to reach places where they could be released safe and sound. The Chinese side dealt properly with matters relating to the remains and ashes and the belongings of the captured Indian military personnel who died and with the parcels and letters addressed to those already repatriated. The lenient treatment they received from the Chinese frontier guards has won wide praise from the released Indian military personnel. In receiving the captured Indian military personnel, representatives of the Indian Red Cross Society again and again expressed thanks for the good health of the men captured and for the responsible attitude shown by the Chinese side.

### **New Delhi's "Propaganda Position"**

However, the kind and friendly actions of the Chinese side towards the captured Indian military personnel have been maliciously distorted and vilified by the Indian side. Certain people in India have tried energetically to disparage as a "propaganda move" the Chinese Government's decision to release and repatriate all the captured Indian military personnel. In fact, it is not China but India which has engaged in propaganda by using the question of the captured Indian soldiers. Speaking in Lok Sabha on April 3, about the release of the captured Indians by the Chinese Government, Nehru said that "it is up to us to improve our own position" regarding propaganda. Sure enough, in line with this instruction, Indian officials and the press right away started spreading rumours and slanders against China by disseminating complete fabrications about the captured Indian military personnel. For instance, Indian Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri clamoured on April 22 that treatment given to captured Indian military personnel in China was "far from satisfactory." But he received a slap in the face from Indian Defence Minister Y.B. Chavan who acknowledged on May 7 that "the physical conditions of the repatriated men were fair." However, the same Y.B. Chavan contradicted himself by slandering China as having given them "better food only a few weeks before their release." He failed to explain how only a few weeks of better food could possibly keep all the captured Indians in fair physical condition. Y.B. Chavan also smeared China as having "paraded Indian prisoners of war in the streets of China." This is an absolute fabrication. The Chinese Government never made the captured Indian military personnel parade in any street. Similarly, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Chairman of the Citizens Central Council, said over the All-India Radio on April 27 that in releasing the first group of captured Indians, the Chinese side made "a last minute demand" that Indian Red Cross drivers sent to take over the Indians be clothed in white. This is another

complete fabrication. In fact, the Indian side did not send any cars at that time to take over captured Indian military personnel. Therefore, it was impossible for the Chinese side to have demanded that Indian Red Cross drivers be clothed in white. Recently, in utter disregard of the fact that the Chinese side had already handed over to the Indian side the lists of all released and repatriated Indian military personnel, the *Indian Express* spread the rumour that the Chinese side was still holding captured Gurkha troops. There is obviously an ulterior motive in spreading this rumour.

### Lies Exposed

All these rumours and slanders by the Indian Government cannot obscure the hard fact that the Chinese Government has given lenient treatment to the captured Indian military personnel. Precisely because of this, according to the British *Sunday Telegraph*, the Indian Government, ignoring the desire of the captured Indian soldiers for an early reunion with their families, held most of them in large camps near Simla and Ranchi after they returned to India. The *Indian Express* has reported that "owing to normal requirements of security," there was a "process of screening" them. The Indian Defence Minister Y.B. Chavan also proclaimed that the released and repatriated Indian officers "would be interrogated" and "if any of them were found indoctrinated 'counter efforts' would be made." This shows that the Indian Government has vilified the Chinese side by glibly alleging that it "indoctrinated" the captured Indian military personnel, while in fact it is the Indian Government itself which has "indoctrinated" them. By doing so, the Indian Government is trying to prevent the captured Indian military personnel from telling the truth to the Indian people and by hurling slanders and calumnies at China is attempting to improve its "propaganda position."

In answer to the Chinese Government's kind and friendly action in treating leniently and releasing all captured Indian military personnel, the Indian authorities adopts the policy of returning evil for good, with the aim of obstructing a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question by continuing to poison the atmosphere. After the Chinese Government's announcement of its intention to release and repatriate all captured Indian military personnel, the bourgeois press of India, while admitting that that announcement was "generally welcomed" in India, said that the Chinese Government's decision was "to embarrass, confuse and bewilder the Indian Government." *Le Monde* of France pointed out on April 3 that the reason why the Indian Government "felt itself in a dilemma" in the face of the Chinese Government's decision was that the decision had shattered the many lies about the massing of Chinese forces on the border, which the Indian Government had spread in order to generate a war atmosphere.

### Another Ulterior Motive

Furthermore, by this evil practice, the Indian Government is trying to divert world attention from its cruel persecution of Chinese nationals in India. The Indian Government has deliberately fanned chauvinist anti-Chinese feelings in its country, and connived at raids by hooligans on Chinese nationals and their shops and

threats to their lives and property. After the Chinese Government had announced the ceasefire and withdrawal on its own initiative, the Indian Government even intensified its massive arrests of peaceable, law-abiding Chinese residents, the majority of whom are old and infirm, women and children. It threw them into concentration camps and has subjected them to the most brutal ill-treatment. No proper attention was given to the living conditions and medical treatment of the Chinese victims in these concentration camps, so that many healthy people died miserably. Victimized Chinese who demanded better treatment have been beaten, persecuted and even prevented from returning to their motherland. The Indian authorities have also plundered and confiscated the property accumulated by Chinese nationals after long years of effort, and deliberately broken up their families, separating husbands from wives and parents from children. Still more serious is the fact that to press forward their anti-Chinese propaganda campaign, the Indian authorities, openly making use of elements and special agents of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, have atrociously beaten up and assailed their Chinese victims in an attempt to retain by force a number of Chinese nationals who demanded repatriation to their motherland. In collaboration with the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the Indian Government has planned to abduct a group of Chinese nationals to Taiwan.

While the overseas Chinese in India and the captured Indian military personnel constitute two essentially different questions, it must be noted that the Chinese Government has treated with the utmost sincerity and magnanimity the Indian military personnel who invaded China's territory and were captured during their massive attack on China, while the Indian Government has cruelly persecuted defenceless, peaceable and law-abiding Chinese nationals. From this contrast, anyone can understand who is deliberately disregarding international law and the accepted standards of international practice, and who is violating the most elementary principles of humanity. The tricks of the Indian Government to hide its criminal persecution of Chinese nationals by slandering China are useless.

### Great Part of Colombo Proposals Realized

By releasing and repatriating all the captured Indian military personnel, the Chinese Government has once more confirmed its reluctance to cross swords with the Indian Government and reaffirmed its hope that the Indian Government will agree to a peaceful settlement of the boundary question rather than stubbornly attempt to impose its views on China by force of arms. This is another important step taken by the Chinese Government to facilitate Sino-Indian reconciliation in positive response to the appeal of the Colombo proposals.

As a result of the series of efforts made by the Chinese Government, most of the Colombo proposals have now been put into effect. This is a fact that even official Indian quarters have had to admit. B. Patnaik, the Chief Minister of Orissa, said in New Delhi on April 8, "China has given effect to the Colombo proposals one after the other." This has created the necessary conditions and a favourable atmosphere for China and India to begin direct negotiations, on the basis of the principles of the Colombo proposals, to discuss a stable ceasefire, disengagement and peaceful settlement of the boundary question.



However, ignoring the repeated efforts of the Chinese Government, the aspirations of the mass of the Indian people and the mediation of Afro-Asian countries, the Indian Government has adamantly refused direct negotiations. It has increased its military collaboration with the United States and openly offered to serve U.S. global strategy in Southeast Asia, so as to obtain U.S. military aid for a large-scale increase in armaments and war preparation. On the other hand, it has unreasonably demanded complete acceptance by the Chinese Government of the Colombo proposals and the so-called New Delhi "clarifications," invented by the Indian Government as preconditions for direct negotiations, in an attempt to compel the Chinese Government to agree to the unreasonable Indian demand for restoration of the so-called September 8 positions on the border. Recent repeated intrusions by Indian troops along the Sino-Indian border show that the Indian side, ignoring the repeated warnings of the Chinese Government and the appeal of the Colombo conference, is using every means to create new tension. This cannot but arouse grave concern among all peace-loving countries and peoples.

### **China's Patient Attitude**

The Chinese Government firmly abides by its stand on the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary

question. If the Indian Government, out of internal or external considerations, is not yet ready to negotiate, the Chinese Government can wait patiently.

As a result of the measures taken by the Chinese Government on its own initiative, the situation along the Sino-Indian border has eased. It will not become tense again if the Indian side refrains from making further provocations. However, should the Indian Government, instigated and supported by the U.S., repose blind faith in arms and again intrude into areas on the Chinese side of the November 7, 1959 line of actual control, from which the Chinese frontier guards have withdrawn — including the areas in which there are disputes about the ceasefire arrangements — and provoke new border clashes, the Indian Government will again be exposed rather than gain any advantage.

We hope that the Indian Government will take an attitude of self-restraint and self-respect, and not again pick up a stone to drop on its own feet. We believe that the profound, centuries-old friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples is indestructible and that the Sino-Indian boundary question will eventually be settled in a peaceful way. The important, conciliatory measures taken by the Chinese Government will without doubt play a positive role in promoting a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

## **International Communist Movement**

# **Joint Statement of the Communist Party of China And the Communist Party of New Zealand**

*The joint statement was signed on May 25 in Peking.  
Bold-face ours. — Ed.*

**C**OMRADE V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, visited China from May 19 to May 25 on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

During the visit, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met Comrade Wilcox, and they had warm and friendly discussions.

Comrade Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, held talks. Those taking part for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China also included Comrade Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Comrade Liu Ning-I, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

**The results of the talks show that the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of New Zealand**

**completely agree in their stand and views on the important questions now confronting the international communist movement.**

**The Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of New Zealand reaffirm their loyalty to the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 and hold that these two documents, unanimously agreed upon by the Communist Parties of various countries, are the common programme of the international communist movement.**

Both Parties emphasize that in the present situation it is most important and urgent to uphold and strengthen the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of the Declaration and the Statement.

**Both Parties maintain that at the present time revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement. In the last few years many events have further confirmed the conclusion of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 in this respect.**

The modern revisionists emasculate the revolutionary soul of Marxism-Leninism, cast away the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement, paralyse

the revolutionary will of the working class and working people and serve the needs of imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries. They do not want revolution themselves, and they do not allow others to make it; they do not support revolution themselves nor do they allow others to support it. The sharp struggle now being waged against the modern revisionists has a vital bearing on the future of the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat and working people and the fate of mankind. **The task of all Marxist-Leninists is to unite more closely and defeat the onslaught of modern revisionism.**

The Yugoslav revisionists are renegades from Marxism-Leninism and are representative of modern revisionism. They have been facilitating the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia and are providing imperialism with means to carry out its policy of "peaceful evolution" which aims at restoring capitalism in the socialist countries. They serve as a special detachment of the U.S. imperialists, undermine the socialist camp, disrupt the international communist movement, wreck the revolutionary cause of the oppressed nations and peoples, and sabotage the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism. The Yugoslav revisionists cling to their revisionist programme which they counterpose to the common programme of the Communist Parties of all countries, and they are going further and further down the road of revisionism and have not in any way modified either their theory or their practice. **It is the sacred duty of Communists in all countries to continue to wage an uncompromising struggle against Yugoslav revisionism in accordance with the 1960 Statement. To side with the Yugoslav revisionists is nothing but betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.**

**While fighting against revisionism, we must also combat dogmatism.** Dogmatists have no understanding of how to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in their own countries. They are divorced from reality, alienate themselves from the masses, disregard all facts and turn round and round to follow those who attack the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism as "dogmatism" while claiming to be completely correct themselves. This can only bring harm to the revolutionary cause.

Both Parties hold that the present international balance of class forces is most favourable to the revolutionary cause of the people in all countries and most unfavourable to imperialism and reaction. The parties of the proletariat must correctly understand and make use of this favourable situation and vigorously promote the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries. It is absolutely wrong to consider that because of the change in the international balance of class forces the nature of imperialism has changed, that the basic contradiction in the contemporary world can be reconciled or has disappeared and that Marxist-Leninist theories on class struggle, the national-liberation movement and the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are already "outmoded."

Events in recent years have further proved that **U.S. imperialism is the main bulwark of modern colonialism, the centre of world reaction, the main force of aggression and war and the common enemy of the people of the**

**whole world.** It is of the greatest importance to establish and expand the broadest united front against imperialism, headed by the United States, and its lackeys. The destiny of mankind and the hope of world peace cannot be left to the "wisdom" of U.S. imperialism or to the illusion of co-operation with U.S. imperialism.

**It is possible to safeguard world peace and prevent a new world war and nuclear war by relying on the joint struggle of the people of all countries and by resolutely opposing the policies of aggression and war pursued by imperialism headed by the United States.**

Confronted with the U.S. imperialists' policy of nuclear blackmail, we must organize the people to wage resolute struggles. On this matter, any act of adventurism or of capitulationism is extremely wrong and harmful.

Both Parties are concerned about peace and security in the Asian and Pacific region and resolutely oppose the efforts of U.S. imperialism to revive the forces of Japanese militarism and its use of the SEATO and ANZUS groupings to carry out activities of aggression and war.

Both Parties hold that the national-liberation movements are an important and organic part of the present-day world revolution and are an immense force for the defence of world peace. **Both Parties warmly support the national democratic revolutionary struggles of the peoples of all the Asian, African and Latin American countries, their struggles against imperialism and old and new colonialism, and especially their struggles against the new colonialism of the United States.**

Both Parties rejoice at the constant growth and development of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries of Western Europe, North America, Oceania and elsewhere. Both Parties maintain that in the working-class movement, the political parties of the proletariat should give active leadership to the struggle against monopoly capital, the struggle to defend democratic rights and the various other kinds of day-to-day political and economic struggles, and link these struggles with the general goal of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

**In the struggle to realize this general goal, the party of the working class invariably wishes to achieve the transition to socialism peacefully, but it must at all times devote major attention to the arduous work of gathering revolutionary strength and must fully prepare itself for non-peaceful transition.** Thus it will be able to hit back hard at the ruling classes if they refuse to accept the will of the people and resort to armed suppression of the revolution. If a political party of the proletariat pins all its hopes on a peaceful transition having the complete and willing approval of the reactionary ruling classes, this will inevitably dampen the revolutionary will of the people and bury the cause of the proletarian revolution. **The illusory view that the reactionary ruling classes may hand over power voluntarily is, in fact, a modern version of social democracy.**

Social democracy is a bourgeois ideological trend and an important pillar upholding the reactionary rule of imperialism and monopoly capital. Lenin pointed out long ago that social democratic parties are a variant of bour-

geois political parties. In the day-to-day struggle of the working-class movement as well as in the struggle to safeguard world peace, Communists must in every possible way carry out extensive joint activities with the social democrats and the masses of the workers under the influence of the social democratic parties. At the same time, the Marxist-Leninist Parties must draw a strict and clear ideological line of demarcation between themselves and the social democratic parties and make efforts to win over the honest working-class elements in social democratic parties so as to enable these elements to free themselves from the ideological influence of social democracy, to understand Marxism-Leninism and to change to the stand of waging consistent class struggle against capitalism and for the victory of socialism.

The Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of New Zealand hold that **the internationalist unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries should be built on the principles of independence, equality and the attainment of unanimity through consultation.** In order to resolve the present ideological differences in the international communist movement, it is necessary to convene a meeting of representatives of all the Communist and Workers' Parties in the world. The Communist Party of New Zealand was an initiator of such a meeting. For more than a year now, the Communist Party of China has actively supported this proposal. Both Parties emphasize that the common desire of all Marxist-Leninists and all progressive people is to safeguard unity and oppose a split, have a genuine unity based on principle and oppose a sham unity which discards Marxism-Leninism and the Declaration and the Statement.

Both Parties hope that the forthcoming talks between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will contribute to the convening of a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries.

Both Parties also hope that the proposed talks between the Communist Party of New Zealand and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be helpful to the convening of a meeting of the fraternal Parties.

Both Parties point out with satisfaction that Comrade Wilcox's visit and the talks between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of New Zealand have strengthened the Marxist-Leninist unity of the two Parties and the friendship of the two peoples.

The Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of New Zealand firmly believe that Marxism-Leninism is invincible and that the international communist movement and the people's revolutionary cause throughout the world will ultimately overcome all obstacles along the road ahead and win complete victory.

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

(Signed)

**TENG HSIAO-PING**

General Secretary  
Central Committee  
Communist Party of China

(Signed)

**V.G. WILCOX**

General Secretary  
Communist Party of  
New Zealand

Peking, May 25, 1963

## Comrade Wilcox on Combating Modern Revisionism

*Following are excerpts from the speech made by Comrade V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, on May 25 at the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Subheads and emphases ours. — Ed.*

**W**E in New Zealand and in our Party have a great admiration for the mighty and glorious Chinese Communist Party. We know your record in the past. We know your record now in the building of socialism. We know the great role you are playing in the upholding of the banner of Marxism-Leninism in our world movement.

### The Struggle Against Right Opportunism

In New Zealand, a big ideological struggle took place in the years from 1949 to 1956 against Right opportunism, against the concept that our Communist Party of New Zealand was basically a Left-wing of social democracy, a force to struggle for a more progressive policy within the

social democratic party, but not the party whose objective was the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism—the achievement of a socialist New Zealand. So for us in New Zealand, we emerged vigilant—watchful against such harmful trends as would turn a Communist Party into a social democratic party again arising in the future. This recent experience also made us vigilant against such developments on a world scale in our Marxist-Leninist world movement.

### Opposing Modern Revisionism

The modern revisionists are in practice, by their actions and influence, aiding the class enemy—imperialism—on a world scale.

Today, there exists the socialist camp and the balance of class forces on a world scale today greatly favours the international revolutionary movement and favours our Marxist-Leninist Parties. But imperialism, in its dying era, retains its basic content. It acts in practice in the same way as in the past. It uses all means both inside



the socialist camp and in the capitalist world to disrupt our Parties and turn them away from the revolution, away from the path of October 1917. The nature of imperialism has not changed.

The modern revisionists hide their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by accusing others of dogmatism; in fact they have developed theories saying that imperialism will peacefully die. They say that it will capitulate before socialist strength. In practice they act on this theory. But the imperialists do not recognize that they should peacefully fade away.

### The Revolution in the Capitalist Countries

The imperialists do not worry too much who is in their bourgeois parliaments, because the real power rests not with parliament but with the state apparatus which in practice the dominant capitalist class controls.

The serious thing is that today some people believe in the alleged peaceful intentions of imperialism, believe that because of the existence of the socialist world camp and its undoubted strength, everywhere there can be a peaceful path to socialism. It is true that under special circumstances it may occur in some places, but even on this the first historical example has yet to come. To think that it can be done on a world scale is but to adopt the same position in our "new era," as the modern revisionists are so fond of referring to it, as the revisionists of the earlier period — the Kautskys, the Bernsteins and the Plekhanovs — the people that Comrade Lenin had to combat so vigorously. You see, if this attitude is adopted, our Marxist-Leninist Parties would become in fact social democratic parties — bulwarks of imperialism.

### The Question of Peaceful Coexistence

The modern revisionists have overstressed the possibilities of peaceful transition to socialism. They have made Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems in practice a policy that asks for the holding back of the revolutionary forces in the colonial and capitalist world because these forces would disturb the "calm" period of relations with imperialism that they so desire. They capitulate to imperialist threats in order to maintain that "calm" period.

These people prattle about world peace. But is it not a fact that world peace is preserved not by talks between leaders but by the masses in opposition to imperialism? This opposition may take many forms according to the local conditions — the struggle for national liberation and the battle against monopoly inside the capitalist countries are all part of that fight for world peace. The modern revisionists do not accept this. As with the earlier revisionists, they have no faith in the masses. They say, leave it to us, don't disturb things and we will reach agreement with imperialism. At that point, they are saying that the class struggle is outdated as a basic factor in society.

They speak as though the concept of peaceful coexistence is a new one, a great thought of theirs. In fact, it is Lenin who developed the concept of peaceful coexistence between states, but Lenin did not say that this

would make it necessary to hold back the revolutionary movement in all non-socialist countries. It is true that it cannot be held back, but the acceptance of that kind of anti-Marxist-Leninist lead by the world's Communist Parties could act as a brake for a time. This is serious and is why they must be challenged.

### The Question of War and Peace

The modern revisionists speak of peace, of the necessity of preserving peace. Of course we stand to preserve world peace in spite of the fact they say we stand for war. But they reach the conclusion that to preserve peace we must in fact drop revolutionary struggle. They are now approaching a position where they say that today there can be no such thing as a just war because modern weapons, the nuclear bombs in the hands of the imperialists, make the concept that war is a continuation of politics by other means outdated and anyone who upholds such a view is now a dogmatist. They say that war will mean the total destruction of humanity.

Nuclear war would be highly destructive, but it does not alter the nature of war — just and unjust from a Marxist-Leninist approach. They say that if we act, if we move, the imperialists will throw the bomb. We can only capitulate to the imperialist blackmail on this issue if we follow the line of the modern revisionists. How quickly if one starts on a revisionist road does degeneration set in! The imperialists know this. They will threaten to use the bomb on all occasions, if we follow the revisionist line. Therefore, if we agree with the revisionists, we must give up all revolutionary struggle.

### The Class Struggle in the Socialist Countries

It is necessary to preserve and strengthen in the socialist countries the dictatorship of the proletariat and be vigilant against the regrowth of capitalist trends in a socialist society. A classic example of what happens when this approach is not made is Yugoslavia where we see the gains of the revolution lost and capitalism basically restored.

Marxism-Leninism will not be killed by the modern revisionists. The struggle against modern revisionism in our movement on a world scale will strengthen the ideological outlook of all Marxist-Leninists. Comrades, read the struggle against revisionism in the past in our world movement, restudy it, consider it from the angle of our present struggle to preserve the ideological correctness of Marxism-Leninism and yes, too, read what the modern revisionists say. Read, too, about how the imperialist propagandists praise and help the lies of the modern revisionists. Study all possible known facts and work the problem out in a dialectical, Marxist-Leninist way.

The battle for a correct Marxist-Leninist approach as set out in the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 will be victorious not only in words but in practice. But, comrades, this will be so only if we fight fearlessly now against modern revisionism and for a correct Marxist-Leninist approach to all problems.

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

# The Fallacies of Modern Revisionism

In a recent issue the monthly "Zenei" (*The Vanguard*), political and theoretical magazine of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, published an article entitled "The Theories of Modern Revisionism Discard Completely the Class Viewpoint," in refutation of "The Theories of Modern Reform," a book written by the Japanese revisionist, Seirin Ishido.

Following are excerpts from this article. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

WITH a view to branding the views held by the Communist Party of China (C.P.C.) as "dogmatism," Ishido tries to misrepresent these views, alleging that the C.P.C. belittles the struggle in defence of peace and the struggles waged by the proletariat in the capitalist countries, and regards the national-liberation struggle in the so-called underdeveloped countries alone as the prime mover in bringing about changes in the present-day world. He further accused the C.P.C. of following an adventurist policy on the basis of a theory for export of revolution.

What ground does Ishido have for producing such a conclusion? One can find such allegations in the statements of the U.S. Department of State and in the articles by its hack columnists. But one can never find such views in the documents published by the C.P.C. or in the policies it actually follows. What is Ishido up to in trumping up such charges?

## Abandoning Proletarian Standpoint

The anti-Party revisionists such as Masao Sugita hold that the national-liberation struggle, once it becomes acute, runs the risk of entailing imperialist intervention and developing into a world war. For this reason, they assert, it is necessary to exercise care in carrying on the struggle and refrain from provoking imperialism. It is precisely for the purpose of covering up this kind of opportunism which abandons completely the proletarian standpoint that Ishido spreads the lie about China taking note of the national-liberation struggle alone.

The anti-Party revisionists have all along publicized their view that for the sake of peace, it is not advisable to regard U.S. imperialism as the enemy. In doing so, they reject not only the struggle for independence, but in fact the struggle for peace as well. Ishido says: "At present some people are inclined to take the struggle for peace directly as a struggle against U.S. imperialism, on the ground that the struggle for peace embraces the struggle against U.S. imperialism. In places which are exposed to the sustained danger of a military attack by the U.S. armed forces such as China, the anti-U.S. struggle is now being interpreted as conducive to the cause of peace."

We would like to ask Ishido: Is there any struggle for peace which does not embrace the struggle against U.S. imperialism? Is the Moscow Statement wrong in stating that "U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war?"

The socialist camp is encircled by the military alliances and overseas bases of U.S. imperialism. U.S. bombers carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs are constantly patrolling; U-2 espionage planes have intruded into the air over the socialist countries; and U.S. nuclear submarines even cruise in the North Arctic Ocean. Cuba, south Viet Nam and other nations which are fighting for their national liberation are subjected to the constant danger of U.S. imperialist intervention. The "allies" which are supposed to be protected by the United States are doomed to be used by it for war provocations when some emergency happens and to suffer themselves from U.S. attacks.

In short, the present situation in the world has proved the correctness of the proposition in the Moscow Statement that U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war.

Confronted with the danger of U.S. imperialism unleashing a war, the people of the world are waging struggles against it in defence of peace. The Moscow Statement has pointed out the definite direction for preventing a new war. This is to form the broadest possible united front of the forces of peace—the socialist camp, the peace-loving countries, the international working class, and the Communist Parties of various countries, the national-liberation movement, the world peace movement and the various neutral countries—against the imperialist policies of aggression and war encouraged by U.S. imperialism and to take active actions to prevent the outbreak of a new war.

The universal defence of peace and the fight against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism, are two sides of the same thing. As the Moscow Statement has pointed out, "the abolition of colonialism will also be of great importance to easing international tension and consolidating universal peace." The struggle for peace and the struggle for national independence support and complement each other.

## Refusing to Fight U.S. Imperialism

Ishido says that to expose the enemy is a question only for those countries which are subjected to the direct rule and threat of U.S. imperialism. Proceeding from this standpoint, he attempts on the one hand to cover up the nature of U.S. imperialism as "the main force of aggression and war" and on the other to divorce the struggle for peace from the struggle for independence and break up the anti-imperialist international united front. Ishido not only opposes naming the enemy of peace but on the question of national independence, also opposes waging a struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Ishido deliberately confuses the question of the historical mission of the working class—"the working class achieves the liberation of the whole society through liberating itself"—with the present-day question of supporting the fundamental demand of all the people to struggle against imperialism. In doing so, he attempts to limit the task of the working class to the question of peace.

He is wrong in two respects. Firstly, Ishido negates the law of social development by placing on the same footing the fundamental communist question of the historical mission of the working class and the present-day question. Secondly, he ignores independence, democracy and other present-day fundamental interests of the people because he lays sole emphasis on the question of peace. The working class shoulders the historical mission of building up a communist society. In order to achieve this historical mission, the working class is carrying on the struggle to overthrow imperialist rule with U.S. imperialism as its centre and to realize independence, democracy, peace and social progress.

The people of the world share a common fundamental interest in abolishing imperialist rule. The root causes of the sufferings of the world's people are the policies of war, neo-colonialism, and political reaction of the U.S. imperialists and their role as international exploiters and the international gendarmes.

The working class which stands in the forefront of the struggle against such imperialism therefore represents the immediate interests of all the people and all the oppressed nations.

In his book, Ishido labels the Chinese Communist Party and the Japanese Communist Party as "dogmatists," thus trying to set himself up as a "creative Marxist-Leninist."

But the first qualification for a creative Marxist-Leninist is to be loyal to the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. The second qualification is a full understanding of the specific historic conditions in one's own country. What is called revisionism is negation of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and the common laws of revolution. The modern revisionists are named as such in the sense that they repudiate the universal truths expounded in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

What is meant by dogmatism is that it does not apply creatively the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement in the light of the specific conditions in a given country, but applies them dogmatically.

When we call Ishido and some other revisionists "a strange combination of revisionism and dogmatism," we mean that they attempt to cover up their revisionist theories by copying from other countries.

### **Distortion of Proletarian Dictatorship**

The programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia severs proletarian dictatorship from the political leadership of the proletariat, maintaining that bureaucracy is the inevitable outcome of proletarian dictatorship and advocating the latter's abolition. Now Ishido advocates precisely abolishing proletarian dictatorship by changing it into political leadership.

The essence of proletarian dictatorship as pointed out by Lenin lies in the integration of suppression of the antagonistic classes by means of violence with education and the remoulding of the non-proletarian strata under conditions of true democracy as required by the people.

Experience tells us that the socialist revolution and socialist construction will proceed successfully if this

principle of Lenin's is adhered to and that they will suffer many reverses if this principle is violated.

Where the antagonistic classes (the counter-revolutionary forces) are not completely suppressed, counter-revolutionary activities will develop into immense dangers. Furthermore, failure to carry out thorough democracy among the people will make it very difficult to distinguish between the enemy and our own people and loopholes in the dictatorship against the enemy will appear. If people's democracy is developed and the people's forces are brought into play to fight against counter-revolution, then the counter-revolutionaries can be thoroughly exposed and suppressed. If the expansion of people's democracy is ingeniously combined with the strengthening of socialist political and ideological education, then socialist transformation will rapidly win successes.

### **Absurdity of "Structural Reform"**

In simple and plain words, Ishido's theory runs as follows: If it is said that organs of violence are something supplementary to proletarian dictatorship, then so they are to the dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie also. If the proletariat builds up moral and ideological authority in the society, then it can carry out "structural reform" of the various state organs; and consequently those who control the machinery of violence will waver and become unable to use it. Everything will proceed peacefully and smoothly.

In order to make people feel that this opportunist theory of prettifying imperialism is correct, on the one hand, Ishido paints the modern capitalist society as a democratic civilized society, while on the other he describes revolutionary violence as something savage and anti-humanitarian.

Ishido states: "It goes against the spirit of Marxism to regard state power as violence and to take meeting violence with violence as a slogan." This amounts to saying that the ruling class has never used violence against us while we revolutionaries are unnecessarily using violence.

Has there ever been a regime in any human society which did or does not use violence as the main instrument and have the imperialists ever for a moment renounced violence as a prop to maintain their rule?

Spurning Ishido's preachings, the people study every hour and every minute the meaning of state power. When millions of people have grasped the meaning of state power and are stirred with burning revolutionary resolve to overthrow the regime, they will smash the enemy no matter which of the two forms of transition it tries to impose on them.

### **Whose Democracy?**

We hold that bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy are two things of different natures. We must expose the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy, overthrow the rule of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, and struggle for people's democracy and develop it into proletarian democracy.

Essentially, U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital are reactionary political forces, whose "democracy" is nothing but a fraud.

The idea behind our Party programme is that the peasantry and urban labouring people want the people's



democracy which fights against imperialism and monopoly, and that the middle and small capitalists, in one respect, also desire such a democracy. The proletariat should support and lead them in struggling for this end, and through this struggle open up the road to socialism.

Ishido, however, confuses bourgeois democracy which is a form of rule by imperialism and monopoly capital with the democracy which the people should realize.

Japan's Diet is a mere weapon of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital to enforce their anti-democratic rule. We make use of the parliament of the bourgeoisie for the purpose of overthrowing the rule of the enemy and establishing a people's democracy. This is essentially different from the reformist line of realizing "revolution" through the reform of the bourgeois parliament.

### Imperialist Trade War

## Fruitless Geneva GATT Meeting

by CHUNG HO-MIN

"WE now have an eggshell, but we are not yet certain what we will fill it with." These are the words used by a European political observer to describe the outcome of the Geneva Conference of the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The "eggshell" takes the form of a "compromise agreement" which merely records the antagonistic views of the chief contestants at the conference—the United States on the one hand and the Common Market countries on the other—and leaves their basic differences where they were, to be quarrelled about at the Kennedy round of tariff-cut negotiations in 1964.

### At Each Other's Throats

Attended by representatives of 50 member nations and observers from 20 countries, the Geneva GATT meeting (May 16-21) actually became an arena for the major capitalist powers to get at each other's throats in their fight for better and stronger trade positions. Bitter struggle and hard bargaining dominated the negotiations inside and outside the conference room. The United States wanted to shift its own difficulties on to its "allies" in Western Europe and pressed hard for the acceptance of its own proposals designed to break down the tariff barriers of the Common Market and open its doors wide to U.S. goods. When the conference deadlocked, Christian Herter, U.S. President Kennedy's trade negotiator, went so far as to present to the representatives of the Common Market Six a "final offer" in the form of an ultimatum, and Washington officials threatened to take "all necessary measures" against the Common Market. In spite of these bullying U.S. tactics, the Common Market countries, backed by their economic strength, time and again turned down the U.S. proposals, including its "final offer." With each side sticking to its guns, neither side could get what it wanted, and hence the "compromise"—a face-saving formula to avert an open rift between the United States and the Six.

If one wants to negate the Marxist-Leninist class viewpoint, it is necessary to concentrate attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat, which may be regarded as the soul of Marxism-Leninism. So the modern revisionists, like their revisionist ancestor Bernstein, try to distort Lenin and the viewpoints within the ranks of the international communist movement in order to negate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A characteristic of the methods of modern revisionism—and one which is only mimicry by half-learned apes at that—is its "strange combination with dogmatism." The modern revisionists distort viewpoints in classical works at will and are not themselves ashamed of behaviour which is against even the morals of the bourgeoisie. Alienating themselves from practice, they respect only book knowledge and make use of it to realize their personal ambitions. This is a hopeless road which will lead them nowhere.

The GATT conference took place at a time when a downward trend has appeared in the economies of the major capitalist countries. The U.S. economy has been in a state of stagnation since the second half of 1962. In Britain, the actual value of national production in 1962 was lower than that of the previous year. The growth rate of the economy of some Common Market countries is slowing down. The crisis of "over-production" in Japan is growing. That is why everyone wanted to take advantage of the conference to better its own trade position at the expense of others.

Even before the opening of the conference, the major capitalist countries were busy marshalling their forces for the coming tussle. Since the autumn of 1962, the United States has sent Kennedy's special representative Herter, Under Secretary of State George Ball, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Michael Blumenthal to Western Europe to peddle the Trade Expansion Act—a U.S. weapon for forcing other countries to reduce tariffs on U.S. goods.

The Common Market countries headed by France and Germany decided, after a heated debate, on a common policy towards the United States. The member nations of the European Free Trade Association also agreed to accelerate their internal tariff reductions to strengthen their bargaining position.

At the conference there were clashes of interests between the United States and the Common Market countries on all three agenda subjects, namely: arrangements for the reduction or elimination of tariffs and other barriers to trade; measures for access to markets for agricultural products and materials; and measures for expanding the trade of "underdeveloped" countries.

### Selfish U.S. Policy

The issue that aroused the sharpest quarrel was the reduction of tariffs on industrial products. In an effort to pull down the tariff barriers of the Common Market which

has acquired an ever greater importance for U.S. monopoly capitalists, Washington proposed that countries on both sides of the Atlantic make a 50 per cent tariff cut on industrial products in accordance with the provisions of the Trade Expansion Act. Herter insisted at the conference that the ministers should reach agreement that "the maximum liberalization of trade can best be achieved by a negotiation which begins with across-the-board equal percentage linear cuts, with limited and narrowly defined exceptions." And he castigated as "inadequate" any plan which did not exploit to the maximum the powers of the Trade Expansion Act.

The selfish purpose of this U.S. plan is quite obvious. The tariff cuts it proposed cover all those U.S. industrial products the exports of which exceed imports and which have strong competitive capacity. Moreover, its tariffs on oil, chemicals and textiles are as high as 80 to 100 per cent, three or four times as great as the duties imposed on the same products by the Common Market.

This U.S. proposal was opposed by the Common Market countries, particularly by France. The tariffs of the Common Market countries generally stand between 15 and 20 per cent. If a 50 per cent cut is made by each side on the existing tariffs, then the Common Market will have to dismantle its tariff barriers while the United States still keeps its own high tariff wall. France, whose trade with the United States is smaller than West Germany's and Britain's, looked askance at the U.S. proposal, for if U.S. goods are allowed to flood the French market following mutual tariff reductions, French monopoly interests will be threatened and the advantages derived from the Common Market thrown overboard. The French worry is well expressed by a French spokesman, who remarked that if France yielded to the U.S. demands, it would look like opening "the window to let in some fresh air and, before you know it, there is a wind blowing through."

To counter the U.S. proposal, the Six proposed that the U.S., whose tariffs are higher, make bigger reductions

while the Common Market whose tariffs are lower make smaller reductions. This counter-proposal was rejected by Washington. Then the Common Market representatives presented to the United States a "compromise proposal" worked out by West German Vice-Chancellor Ludwig Erhard. According to this proposal, the principle of "equal percentage linear cuts" would be applied to products where there were no significant disparities in the tariff structures while specific rules would be applied to products where disparities did exist. This proposal was also turned down by the United States. It was in these circumstances that Kennedy instructed Herter to present to the Six a "final offer" in the form of an ultimatum. This "final offer," in turn, was rejected by the Common Market representatives.

The "compromise agreement" finally reached provided no solution whatever to this hotly debated issue. The antagonistic views of the United States and the Common Market countries were recorded side by side. It was decided that the "Kennedy round" of tariff negotiations would be opened on May 4, 1964, and a committee set up to "elaborate" a plan of negotiations before August 1, 1963.

### Quarrel About Farm Products Question

The United States stuck to its position that tariff reductions should cover not only industrial but also agricultural products. Herter threatened that the United States would not conclude the negotiations until equitable tariff and trade arrangements had been developed for farm products. He demanded that during the period of negotiations interim arrangements must be made to prevent the creation of any new obstacles to markets for farm products in the Western world.

The aim of the United States in demanding tariff cuts on farm products is crystal clear — to sell its surplus farm products in the Common Market. About one-quarter of the exports of U.S. farm products go to the Common Market and in recent years the value of these exports to the Six has increased to \$1,100 million annually. These sales have become particularly important to the United States in helping to ease its international payments crisis. But the introduction of a policy of agricultural integration by the Six is unfavourable to the United States. The sale of U.S. frozen chicken in the Common Market is restricted. Potatoes and canned meat are not allowed to enter the French market. From August to December last year, U.S. exports of poultry, eggs, wheat, and flour to the Common Market dropped. That's why the United States has tried hard to remove the Common Market's barriers against farm products and prevent the implementation of its policy of agricultural integration.

### Clashes With France

On the subject of farm products, the United States again clashes with France, which has also had to tackle the problem of selling its own surplus agricultural products. France exports 51 per cent of its farm products to the other five member nations of the Common Market. It is the most enthusiastic champion of an integrated agricultural policy among the Six. The imposition of restrictions and high tariffs by the Common Market against outsiders will help France dominate West Europe's



Kennedy's "Open Society"

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

markets for farm products to the exclusion of the United States.

In spite of the differences between West Germany and France on the question of an integrated agricultural policy, which the United States tried to exploit to the maximum so as to isolate France, the Common Market Six decided on a common attitude towards the United States. This attitude was defined by Sicco Mansholt, a deputy chairman of the Common Market Commission. He said he could see no need for making the sort of interim arrangements the United States urged, and he told the U.S. representative that discussion of the U.S. plan could not start before the Common Market countries themselves completed the formulation of their joint agricultural policy.

The "compromise agreement" left unsolved the contradictions between the United States and the Common Market. Next year's tariff-cut negotiations will cover both industrial and agricultural products. At the same time, the fact that the Common Market has not yet fully implemented its own joint agricultural policy will also be taken into consideration.

Interwoven with the contradictions between the United States and the Common Market countries are the contradictions between the "underdeveloped" countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America on the one hand and the Western industrialized countries on the other. At the GATT conference, the economically "underdeveloped" countries expressed strong dissatisfaction with the Western industrialized countries for restricting their exports by tariff and other measures, thus causing them grave economic and trade difficulties. They demanded that the Western countries lower or abolish tariff and trade barriers to meet their needs for trade expansion. To this end 21 "underdeveloped" countries submitted a seven-point programme to the conference.

### Herter Exposed

U.S. representative Herter professed support for the demands of the "underdeveloped" countries. No task was

more important, he said, than that of finding ways to "improve the export opportunities of less-developed countries." Herter played the tactic of diverting the dissatisfaction of the "underdeveloped" countries to the Common Market. But this tactic was quickly exposed by the Common Market representatives. Speaking for the Six, Eugene Schaus, Luxemburg's Foreign Minister, pointed out that from 1958 to 1962, the total value of the Common Market's imports from the "underdeveloped" countries increased 20 per cent and that the imports from the Latin American countries during the same period increased 36 per cent. On the other hand, reports say that U.S. imports from the "underdeveloped" countries during the same period dropped 10 per cent.

The hypocritical attitude of the Western powers including the United States on this question is shown by the action programme adopted by the conference. The programme "recognized" the importance of a maximum expansion of the export opportunities of the underdeveloped countries. But, apart from establishing committees to continue the study of their export problems, the conference gave no indication of what practical steps would be taken to satisfy their aspirations for trade expansion.

The whole proceedings of the GATT conference are simply a mirror of the insurmountable contradictions within the imperialist camp. The imperialist wrangle at Geneva is both economic and political. It is part of the struggle between the United States, trying to lord it over Western Europe, and the Common Market countries, particularly France, which are determined to resist Washington's intrusion. The GATT meeting provides another example of how far the capitalist powers can go in getting at each other's throats to defend their own interests. With the shrinking of the capitalist world market, their struggle for markets and for the redivision of spheres of influence is growing sharper. There is no doubt that the trade war between the United States and the West European countries will be fought even more fiercely at next year's tariff negotiations.

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## NEWS IN BRIEF

Vice-Premier Ho Lung on May 5 received and had a friendly talk with Leon Hamus, Honorary Commissioner-General of Sports and President of the Luxemburg Municipal Cultural Palace.

A four-member Chinese Buddhist goodwill delegation led by Chao Pu-chu, Vice-President of the Chinese Buddhist Association, has attended the commemoration of the 1,200th anniversary of the death of the Chinese monk, the Venerable Chien Chen in Japan.

A co-operation plan for 1963 between the friendship associations of China and

the Soviet Union was agreed upon and the agreement signed in Peking on May 8, by Chang Chih-hsiang, acting secretary-general of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, and S.V. Chervonenko, member of the Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association and Soviet Ambassador to China.

The 1963 executive plan in fulfilment of the Sino-Czechoslovak cultural co-operation agreement was signed in Prague on May 15.

On May 17, between 12:28 hours and 12:50 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air over the area of Yunghsing, Shih, Pei, Shu and Tung Islands of the Hsisha Islands of Kwangtung Province.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued the 244th serious warning against such U.S. provocation.

The Pakistan delegation of industrialists and businessmen led by A. Ahad, President of the Federation of the Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry, left China for home on May 22. During their stay in Peking, they were received by Premier Chou En-lai and were guests of honour at a reception given by the China-Pakistan Friendship Association.

Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Lu Hsu-chang returned to Peking on May 23 following visits to Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland.



# ROUND THE WORLD

## INDIA

### New Delhi's Latest Hullabaloo

Rumour-mongers don't bother about the facts. They simply invent them. This is the case with the latest anti-China campaign which New Delhi is trying to whip up by making a big noise about Chinese "intrusions" and "military build-up" along the Sino-Indian boundary.

The *Free Press Journal*, for example, frontpaged on May 6 "Chinese intrusions into the Leh-Spanggur area." But this "area" is a geographical illusion. Leh is in Ladakh; Lake Spanggur is within Chinese territory; and the two are more than 130 kilometres apart. As to the slander spread by the official Indian Information Service (May 15) that there had been "considerable massing of [Chinese] forces" in areas "bordering Siang frontier division of the Northeast Frontier Agency," the only troop movement there was that of captured Indian soldiers being repatriated. The Indian Red Cross had already been notified of arrangements for their return.

New Delhi's present propaganda campaign follows the now familiar pattern. First the newspapers holler the "news," then the IIS comments on it, and then the External Affairs Ministry "confirms" it. And as on previous occasions, the timing is well chosen. The charges were produced just when Indian Minister of Defence and Economic Co-ordination T.T. Krishnamachari arrived in Washington to beg for more U.S. "aid." The last time New Delhi made a similar "discovery" of Chinese military movements was in March this year when Nehru's special envoy Patnaik was visiting the United States for the same purpose.

Nehru, who is proud of his political subtleties, has landed himself in an unenviable position. To solve his internal political and economic problems, to divert public criticism at home and to earn his dollars from Washington, Nehru has deliberately provoked and aggravated the Sino-Indian boundary clashes. Now to push his anti-China campaign still harder, he needs still more U.S. weapons and dollars for arms expansion. And to get his

dollars, he has to keep up the anti-China hysteria. First tiptoeing and now running around this vicious circle, Nehru is throwing himself into the arms of the U.S. imperialists.

## INDONESIA

### Spelling Out U.S. Displeasure

The U.S. press has spelt out quite clearly how Washington feels about Indonesia's anti-imperialist policies and what it would like to do to change them. Therefore, when President Sukarno declared on May 19 that the imperialists were displeased with the Indonesian Government and wanted to throw him out personally, there can be little doubt to whom he was referring (see "Round the World," *Peking Review*, No. 21).

President Sukarno said that the imperialists did not like his NASAKOM idea (combination of nationalist, religious and communist forces), his policy of friendship towards China and his opposition to Malaysia. Here is what the U.S. press has recently said and reported on these questions.

**Friendship With China:** Round about the time of Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit to Indonesia, Washington let loose a flood of public abuse and calumnies against the Indonesian President. For example, Congressman Bolton attacked President Sukarno for declaring Indonesia and China were comrades-in-arms. Hays and other U.S. congressmen proposed writing a ban against Indonesia into Kennedy's foreign aid bill. The U.S. journal *New Republic* (May 18) attacked President Sukarno for publicizing in the Sukarno-Liu Shao-chi joint communique their common views on south Viet Nam, Korea, the Sino-Indian boundary and other questions. It slandered President Sukarno as "a tool of communist purposes in the area" because he called for unity of the new emerging forces.

**Malaysia:** *Newsweek* attacked Indonesia's opposition to this neo-colonialist ruse as Sukarno's "dream of empire."

Making a veiled threat, the journal wrote that if President Sukarno abandoned his fight against Malaysia, "he will find much direct help and sympathy awaiting him in the U.S. and other Western nations."

**NASAKOM:** A May 18 AP dispatch from Kuala Lumpur charged President Sukarno with "flirtation" with the socialist countries, and expressed vexation at his NASAKOM policy. It wrote: "Over the announcement [of proposed readjustments in the cabinet] like a giant shadow hangs a question mark: will Sukarno bring the communists into his inner circle of advisers?"

Meddling in Indonesia's internal and foreign policies and applying crude pressure on President Sukarno, official Washington has not neglected to state the reasons. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs Hilsman said: "Indonesia geographically occupies a crucial area where two continents and two oceans meet. In every sense a key strategic area . . . Indonesia can affect the balance of power in the entire free world." And Under Secretary of State Harriman said: "The United States has a vital interest in Indonesia."

## JAPAN

### United Action

Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Hiroshima . . . rallies in which tens of thousands of people took part have again swept the land, reminiscent of the eventful May demonstrations three years ago



Yanks, Get Out!

Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

which forced the resignation of the pro-American Kishi government.

The Japanese people, victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, are now threatened again by U.S. nuclear weapons. Washington is making an all-out effort to introduce its nuclear submarines into Japanese ports. It has already stationed its nuclear-capable F105D fighter-bombers in Japan. These moves are an important part of Washington's worldwide nuclear strategy and its current military build-up in the Far East.

The present campaign against U.S. nuclear submarines is broadly based. Taking part are the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, trade unions, peace organizations, women's and student organizations, journalists, men of letters, religious circles and even magistrates of some prefectures. Statements issued by 154 nuclear physicists (later signed by more than 1,000 fellow scientists) and by the Science Council of Japan, the country's top science research institute, opposing the introduction of U.S. nuclear submarines show that scientists are also in the fight. In fact, so popular is the movement that organizers of a campaign to collect 10 million signatures against the nuclear submarines have upped the target to 30 million.

When he assumed office, Kennedy, learning from Eisenhower's failures in Japan in 1960, adopted what is described as the Reischauer line of smiling diplomacy (named after the U.S. ambassador to Japan). This policy tries to win over the intellectuals with sweet words and to undermine popular struggle by disrupting the unity of the Japanese people. It has enjoyed the support of Japanese militarists, Right-wing social democrats, revisionists and other reactionaries. However, as the current struggle of the Japanese people shows, this fancy diplomacy has fared no better since it is just as aggressive as all previous U.S. policies towards Japan and is equally inimical to the interests of the Japanese people.

## SOUTH VIET NAM

### **Fighting and Building**

The world knows of the heroic exploits of the south Viet Nam guerrillas and admires their courage and military skill. Engagements take place daily; they are necessary to

free the homeland from the talons of the hated U.S.-Diem troops. But the liberated areas which these patriotic forces have set up and which now embrace most of the countryside are also building a new life. This important aspect of the liberation struggle, not so widely known abroad, is spotlighted in a recent dispatch of the South Viet Nam Liberation Press Agency.

Whenever there is a lull in the fighting, a full-scale production drive goes on. Peasants, encouraged by the land policies of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front, the reduction in rent and the distribution of 650,000 hectares of land formerly seized by members of the U.S.-Diem clique, are working enthusiastically for bigger and better rice crops. Irrigation, much neglected under Diem's rule, is being developed. Pottery, paper-making, sugar-pressing, weaving and other home industries and handicrafts have also made quick recoveries.

Achievements on the cultural front are equally spectacular. With more than 1,500 schools set up in the liberated areas, almost all the school-age children are studying. A campaign against illiteracy is developing successfully. Publications include some 40 newspapers, 40 news releases, 17 periodicals and a still larger number of other journals published from time to time. They publicize the policies of the Liberation Front and give wide coverage to the struggles against the Diem clique and its foreign master, U.S. imperialism.

The south Vietnamese people are not only fighting to free their ravished land. They are also reconstructing it.

## IN THE CARIBBEAN

### **The Haitian Scuffle**

The Caribbean is again the scene of much muscle-flexing and arms-twisting. As usual, U.S. imperialism plays the bully; its target this time, however, is not socialist Cuba, but the Duvalier government of Haiti.

Fearing that the Duvalier brand of despotism might touch off a people's revolution, Washington plotted to replace him with a more dependable figurehead. When the Haitian dictator refused to quit and squashed the U.S.-inspired army conspiracies, he incurred the full venom of his former U.S. masters. To speed up his down-

fall, Yankee imperialism resorted to the big-stick tactics well known in this part of the world.

President Bosch of the neighbouring Dominican Republic, a current favourite of the State Department, was used as the U.S. frontman. Flamboyantly posing thousands of troops on the Haitian frontier for an invasion, he raised a complaint against Duvalier in the U.S.-controlled Organization of American States and asked for a hemisphere-wide break in diplomatic relations with Haiti and the imposition of economic sanctions. An O.A.S. committee was ordered to Haiti on the pretence of investigating violations of human rights.

The U.S. itself resorted directly to gunboat diplomacy, sending a task force of numerous warships and 3,000 marines to cruise ostentatiously near Haitian waters. Landing operations were simulated, and U.S. citizens were withdrawn from Port-au-Prince with a great fanfare. To cap the pyramid of military threats and political trickery, a provisional Haitian "government in exile" was proclaimed in Puerto Rico.

Duvalier, however, proved to be a hard nut to crack. Denouncing the open intervention in his country and ridiculing the U.S.-spread rumour of his planned exile as an "Aesopian fable," he complained to the U.N. Security Council, refused entry to the O.A.S. investigation committee and sent the U.S. naval and air force missions packing.

Duvalier is still sitting tight in his presidential palace, having started another term of office in defiance of the United States. Bosch who was breathing fire and brimstone has taken no further action, finding himself handicapped at home by labour unrest and demonstrations. Hitches seem to have appeared in the O.A.S. too since the majority of the Latin American countries are unwilling to go along with Washington's interventionist schemes.

The scuffle between Washington and Duvalier is far from ended. But already it has shattered the myth of the "Cuban threat" which Washington has taken so much trouble to build up. The Caribbean peace is threatened by Yankee imperialism which, looking upon all Latin America as its own backyard, is ready to subvert any government which refuses to kowtow to its dictates.



# MUSIC

## China's Youngest Orchestra

Western orchestral music is a young art in China and the orchestra of the middle school attached to the Central Conservatory of Music is China's youngest orchestra. It is also popularly called the "Red Scarf Orchestra" because most of its 70-odd players are teenagers and many still wear Young Pioneers' red scarves. When the boys in neat white shirts with red neckerchiefs and girls with ribbons in their hair troop on to the stage and begin tuning up, they usually create a stir in the audience. Their youth and charming deportment predispose concert-goers in their favour but it is their music that completes their conquest of their audience's affections.

Their repertoire naturally consists chiefly of smaller works in a lighter vein such as Mozart's *Overture to "The Marriage of Figaro,"* Tchaikovsky's *Nutcracker Suite*, Grieg's *Norwegian Dance*, *Mongolian Dance* by the well-known Chinese composer Ma Ssu-tung and selections from the ballet *Maid of the Sea* by the Chinese composers Wu Tsu-chiang and Tu Ming-hsin. Aably conducted by their teacher Hsu Hsin, they play these with a captivatingly youthful gaiety and enthusiasm.

They have also handled bigger works with success. As early as 1961, they ably supported the Experimental Ballet Troupe of the Peking School of Dancing in a full-length performance of *Giselle*, and they are currently rehearsing Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* and Chopin's *First Piano Concerto* with Pao Hui-chiao, prize-

winner at the Second International George Enescu Competition, as soloist.

For so young a group of players they achieve amazingly fine orchestral colour and tonal balance. Playing *tutti*, each section accurately holds its place in the ensemble and spins out clear, brilliant passages of sound. A fine harmony is also achieved within each section of the band, as in the flute trio in *Dance of the Flutes* and the horn quartet in *Waltz of the Flowers*, both from the *Nutcracker Suite*.

This orchestra grew out of the youngsters' own initiative. In the autumn of 1958, when all of China was in the midst of the big leap forward, some Young Pioneers of the middle school attached to the Central Conservatory of Music got together and started practising orchestral pieces. They made their debut during the conservatory's New Year celebrations in 1959.

At that time some of the players of wind instruments and of the cello and double bass had studied music for only some 3 or 4 years and still lacked the basic discipline required of orchestral players. Handicapped by their small hands, they had to make do with a third section of violins in place of violas. Yet the fact that they launched such a venture attracted the attention of the conservatory administration. It found that training this group offered a good opportunity to integrate classroom work with concert practice and individual training with ensemble playing. So it helped reorganize the group, rounded it out, assigned it a teacher-conductor and began training it properly.

The young players practised and rehearsed assiduously. Within a few

months, they were already playing in workers' clubs, school auditoriums and children's palaces. Beginning with Haydn's *Military Symphony*, they steadily extended their repertoire and improved in skill. By 1961 the orchestra could already venture to give complete concerts with its own soloists (Hsieh Ta-chun, a 15-year-old girl pianist, and Yin Chi-shan, a boy bassoon player of 18) appearing in concertos for piano and bassoon. During the summer vacation of last year, it went on a tour with its conductor Hsu Hsin and played to enthusiastic audiences in Wuhan, Canton and Shanghai.

These young musicians take a special pride in the fact that their playing contributes to cementing friendly ties with foreign lands. They have played for such distinguished visitors to China as Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia and Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Dias Bandaranaike of Ceylon. They were overjoyed to be able to play under the baton of visiting Cuban conductor Gonzalez Mantiaci in compositions by Chinese musicians. It was a deeply enriching musical experience for them. At a recent concert in support of the African people's struggle for national liberation, they played folk tunes from Algeria and Malgache orchestrated by the Chinese composer Wu Tsu-chiang.

The orchestra owes no small part of its success from the very beginning to the encouragement of the public and the helping hand of many musicians of note, Li Teh-lun, conductor of the Symphony Orchestra of the Central Philharmonic Society—China's leading orchestra, has helped it shape its performances, indicating the finer details in phrasing and nuance. Other composers and music critics often come to rehearsals and hold discussions with their young colleagues, offering useful advice.

This young orchestra still has a long way to go to achieve artistic maturity and the purity of tone, the subtlety of nuance and the delicacy and precision of touch in details that make a symphony orchestra great. But they are under excellent direction and are on the right track in persistently trying to realize the artistic purpose of the music they play. One can confidently expect great achievements from this fine group of young musicians.



The "Red Scarf Orchestra"



# PHOTOGRAPHY

## 33 Outstanding Photos of New China

Thirty-three outstanding photographs taken by Chinese photographers during the past three years were awarded prizes in a competition sponsored by the magazine *Chinese Photography*. Chosen by readers' votes from among 648 pictures published in newspapers and periodicals from 1960 to 1962, they show a high level of technical skill and artistry in presenting themes that express the spirit of New China: its achievements in socialist construction, its revolutionary struggles, its life and people.

First prizes went to *We Love Chairman Mao* by Hou Po, a woman photographer; *Marching on Mt. Jolmo Lungma* by Liu Ta-yi, a member of the expedition which conquered the world's highest peak in 1960; *The Chinese People's Volunteers Return Home* by Lu Hou-min; *The East Is Red*, a coloured photo of sunrise over Peking's Tien An Men by Yuan Yi-ping; and *Opening Up Virgin Land* by Pi Pin-fu.

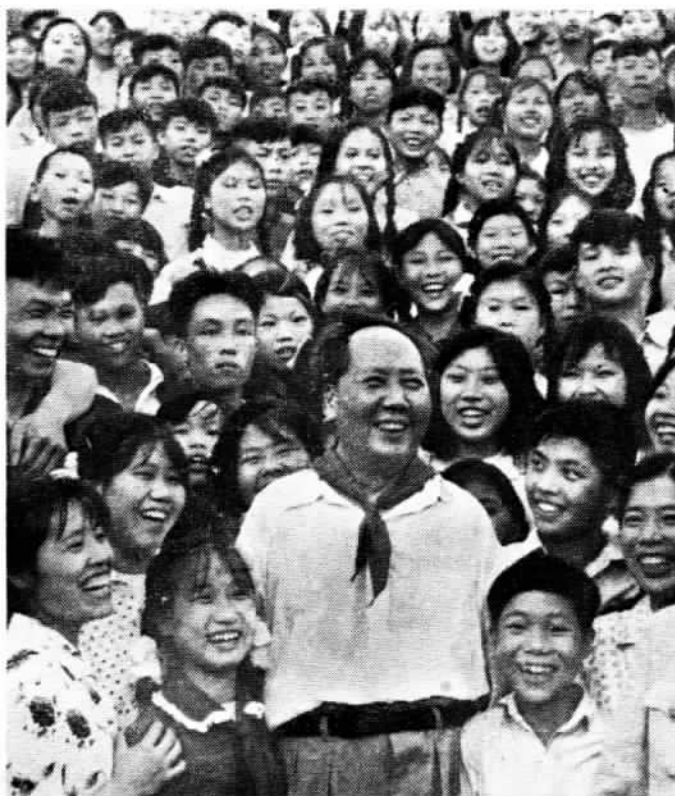
A picture of a Party secretary returning with a commune member from work in the fields at day's end, portraits of a labour hero in a steel mill, a P.L.A. armyman, a waitress in a restaurant, rural scenes and happy children in a nursery were among those which received 10 second prizes and 18 third prizes.

Chinese camera artists, as this competition shows, are working in the thick of life and using their art more widely and with ever greater effect to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers; to advance the cause of socialism in New China and to satisfy the increasing artistic needs of the people.

## EXHIBITION

### Four Seasons' Flowers Bloom Together

Peking loves flowers; each season's flowers have their devotees and flower shows are held every season. So it was not surprising that record crowds turned out to attend the recent flower show in Peking's Beihai Park. Throughout the May Day holidays and each Sunday this



"We Love Chairman Mao"

Photo by Hou Po

past month, ten thousand visitors have streamed through the front gates of the park, across the white marble bridge and into the crimson-walled temple on the other side. Here in a cypress-shaded court, flowers of all the four seasons of the year are blooming together in a riot of colours and intoxicating scents.

Flaming flowering plum and pale gold yellow jasmine of spring; luxuriant peonies and roses of early summer blossom side by side with the cool water lilies, delicate gladioli and lovely orleanders of late summer. The "Sword-Blade Lotus" (*epiphyllum ackermannii*)—the rare cactus flower from the Mexican deserts—stands in strange juxtaposition with wild clusters or solitary grand blossoms of choice chrysanthemums of autumn and the fragrant narcissi and bright euphorbia of winter. Here every flower-lover finds his favourite to delight him.

Of all flowers, in Peking the chrysanthemum is one of the first favourites, and the chrysanthemum is synonymous with autumn. It is normally November-flowering. But in 1953, Tang Chung-hao, a young woman horticulturist working at Beihai Park, got the idea of coaxing the chrysanthemum to flower in October, so that the people celebrating the National Day holidays could enjoy the

sight of their favourite bloom. She enlisted the help of the veteran gardeners of the park, and their steady efforts brought success: they got chrysanthemums blooming in full beauty a month ahead of normal and in time for the holiday crowds. This encouraged them to further experiments. The chrysanthemum was soon blossoming in September, in July, and now in May. . . . They have subsequently brought a dozen other flowers under their command. The current flower show is a convincing review of their achievements.

## SHORT NOTES

**Table Tennis.** The Chinese table tennis players who won three cups at the Prague World Championships returned to Peking on May 22 after a successful tour of Europe. One group visited England, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Belgium and West Germany. The other toured Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Albania and Rumania. They were warmly welcomed by the people of these countries.

**Football.** During its visit to Indonesia, the Chinese football team won 2 and drew 2 of its matches against teams of Medan, Bandung, Makassar and East Java. It won its match against the Indonesian national eleven, 2:1.

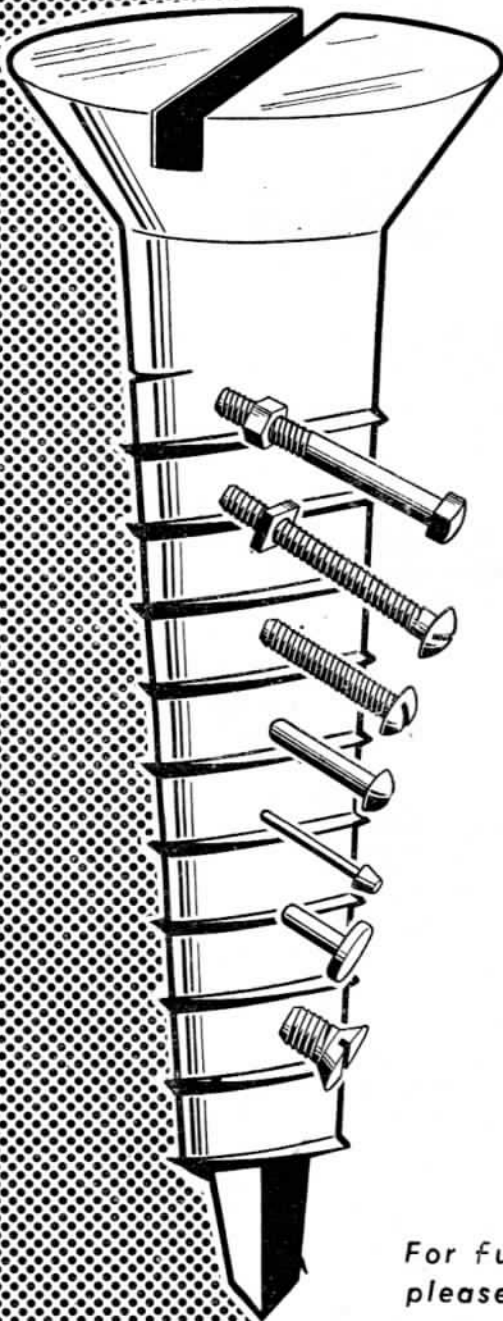
While in Indonesia, the Chinese team also took part in the international football tournament which was held in honour of the Asian-African Journalists' Conference.

**Basketball.** The Chinese P.L.A. August First men's and women's basketball teams are visiting the Korean Democratic People's Republic.

Recently the Soviet national women's basketball team, current world's champion, paid a two-week visit to China and won the six matches it played in Shanghai, Tientsin and Peking.

# HARDWARE

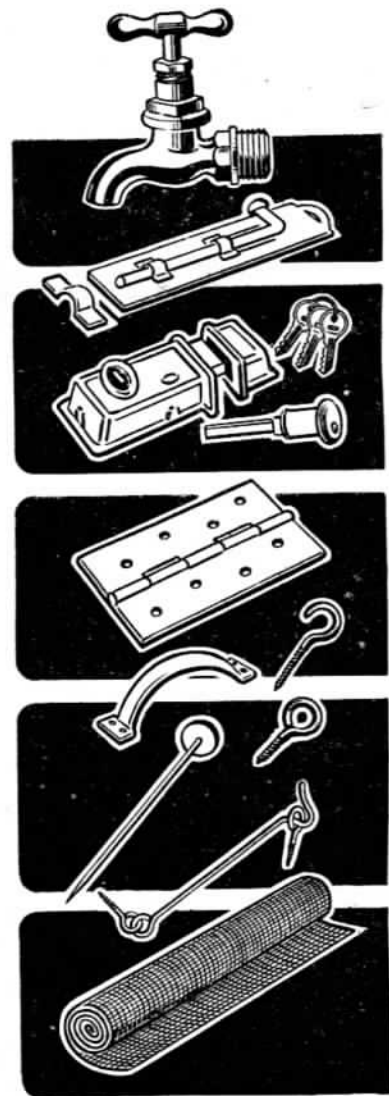
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