

PEKING REVIEW

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

CURRENT PAMPHLETS

**JOINT STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN LIU SHAO-CHI
AND PRESIDENT CHOI YONG KUN (June 23, 1963)**

RAISE HIGHER THE REVOLUTIONARY BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM

This pamphlet contains:

**Speech by Li Hyo Soon, Leader of the Korean Workers' Party's Delegation to the
Sixth Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party**

Raise Higher the Revolutionary Banner of Marxism-Leninism

— An editorial published on November 17, 1962, in "Rodong Shinmoon," the organ of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party

**Safeguard the Unity of the Socialist Camp and Strengthen the Solidarity of the
International Communist Movement**

— An editorial published on January 30, 1963, in "Rodong Shinmoon"

**THE COMMUNIQUE ON THE FIFTH PLENUM OF THE FOURTH CENTRAL COM-
MITTEE OF THE KOREAN WORKERS' PARTY (Issued on December 16, 1962)**

SELF-RELIANCE AND INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

An article published on June 12, 1963, by the Editorial Department of
"Rodong Shinmoon"



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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

January 10, 1964 Vol. VII No. 2

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The nation's leading papers carried on their front pages ten poems by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. A collection of these newly published poems together with 27 others printed previously has been brought out in various editions and is on sale throughout the country.

- Continuing their visit to Albania, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi receive a warm welcome from the Albanian people.

It is announced that on resuming his African tour Premier Chou will visit Tanganyika and Sudan. Public opinion all over the world hails the Premier's current friendship visits.

- The 5th anniversary of Cuba's liberation is marked in various parts of the country.

The Chinese press reported an anniversary speech made by Premier Fidel Castro in Havana warning the imperialists that the Cuban people would return blow for blow.

- Spare-time schools in Shanghai, Tientsin and other cities report on their successes in training large numbers of technicians and engineers from among the workers to reinforce the nation's technical cadres.

- Making use of the slack winter season, people's communes across the land are repairing old water conservancy works or building new ones in preparation for the spring ploughing and sowing.

Chairman Mao's New Poems

The leading newspapers in the country gave their front pages on January 4 to a full-page display of ten poems by Chairman Mao Tse-tung together with recent photographs of him, smiling, hale and hearty.

The ten poems, now appearing in print for the first time, have also been brought out in book form with the 27 others printed previously by the People's Literature Publishing House and the Cultural Works Publishing House. In the first four days since these were put on sale on New Year's Day in Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton and other cities, over 80,000 copies were sold. Thousands of people are still queuing up every day in front of bookstores. The two publishing houses have been snowed under by letters and telegrams asking for more copies. To meet the heavy demand the printers are stepping up work to supply another 300,000 copies in addition to the first printing of 500,000.

For the new edition the author has made slight changes in the wording of the 27 poems previously published. (An English version of *Nineteen Poems* by Mao Tse-tung with notes by Chou

Chen-fu and an appreciation by the well-known poet Tsang Keh-chia was published by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking, in 1958.)

The ten new poems are: *The Capture of Nanking by the People's Liberation Army*, *Return to Shaoshan*, *Climbing Mt. Lushan*, *Inscription for the Portrait of a Militia Woman*, *Reply to a Friend*, *On the Photograph of Mt. Lushan's Fairy Cave Taken by Comrade Li Chin*, *Ode to Plum Blossoms*, *Winter Cloud* and two others in reply to two poems by Kuo Mo-jo. Like those previously published, the ten poems are composed in the classical Chinese style, two versified according to the pattern of *tzu* and the rest using two different patterns, known as *lu shih* and *chueh chu*.

The People's Literature Publishing House has brought out the collection of poems in four editions, two bound in traditional and two in modern style. The collection printed by the Cultural Works Publishing House in three different formats is bound in traditional book form and printed in characters of the Sung style, which is considered one of the best in Chinese printing.

Renmin Ribao published on the same day an appreciation of the poem *The Capture of Nanking by the People's*

Liberation Army by the poet Kuo Mo-jo, explaining and giving the sources of the classical allusions in it.

Premier Chou in the Land of Eagles

After two weeks in North Africa visiting the U.A.R., Algeria and Morocco Premier Chou En-lai and his party flew on to Albania. Their arrival there coincided with the annual New Year celebrations, and their Albanian hosts greeted them with all the warmth of traditional Albanian hospitality and of the season's festive spirit. Comrade Hoxha, proposing a toast at the New Year banquet given in their honour by himself, Comrade Shehu and other Albanian Party and state leaders, said: "This is a family dinner. You are spending the New Year's Eve here today as if you were at home."

It was a happy occasion indeed to share the New Year festivities with such staunch comrades-in-arms in their heroic homeland. At that "family get-together" held in Tirana's Partisans' Palace, Premier Chou En-lai said: "I have brought with me here the hearts of 650 million people . . . and they will always be with you."

Before the dinner, Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and the other Chinese guests together with Enver Hoxha, Mehmet Shehu, Hysni Kapo, Beqir Balluku, Ramiz Alija and other leaders of the Albanian Party and Government visited the Club of the Stalin Textile Combine, the House of Soldiers and the Club of Albanian Writers and Artists where they enjoyed part of the New Year's Eve celebrations with Albanian workers, officers and writers. Cheers of "Enver-Mao Tse-tung!" greeted them wherever they went. Premier Chou En-lai's hearty wishes to all were "Good health and a happy New Year!"

In the first few days of the new year, Premier Chou En-lai and his party saw the sights of Tirana, attended a concert, saw a ballet performance and visited the Museum of the National-Liberation Struggle. They toured the Stalin Textile Combine, largest factory in Albania. Wherever they went, they were given a rousing, fraternal welcome. In a solemn pilgrimage to the cemetery of Albanian revolutionary martyrs, they paid homage to those who laid down their lives for their motherland.

On January 4 Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi left Tirana on visits to Shkoder and Korca. In Shkoder, an important historical city in northern Albania, Premier Chou was accompanied by Mehmet Shehu, Chairman, and Beqir Balluku, First Vice-Chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers. Rita Marko, Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, went with Vice-Premier Chen Yi to visit Korca, a political and economic centre in southern Albania which was also the cradle of the Albanian people's struggle for national liberation.

The Albanian people gave their Chinese guests an enthusiastic welcome all along the route. Shkoder staged a mass welcome for Premier Chou and the city was a sea of flags. Korca's people in their holiday best gave their guest a welcome that made a freezing day warm.

At a mass meeting in Shkoder held in Stalin Square, Beqir Balluku recalled the important successes achieved by the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania in following a Marxist-Leninist policy in international affairs. He declared that

despite the desperate attempt to disparage and isolate the People's Republic of China and the fabrications, provocations and military pressure resorted to by the U.S. imperialists, reactionaries in various countries and the modern revisionists, China's international prestige and powerful influence were growing from day to day. This was fully borne out by the cordial reception and warm tributes received by Comrades Chou En-lai and Chen Yi during their African tour, he said. It was not the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party that had been isolated but the U.S. imperialists, reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists of various descriptions who had become more and more isolated and discredited among the people of the world. The speaker expressed the full support of the people and Party of Labour of Albania for the Chinese Communist Party's international line and the Chinese Government's foreign policy of peace.

In his speech in reply, Premier Chou En-lai, in the name of the Chinese people, extended his most cordial greetings and most sincere regards to the people of Shkoder. He praised their glorious fighting traditions in resistance to foreign aggression and their revolutionary vigilance and high morale in defending their northern frontiers and smashing the provocations and intrigues of the renegade Titoites, the special detach-



At the New Year's Eve party at the Tirana Partisans' Palace

ment of U.S. imperialism. Praising the great successes achieved by the Albanian people in building socialism, he said: "There is a handful of imperialists and their followers who think that Albania is isolated and can be bullied at will. They have completely miscalculated. If they should dare to attack Albania they would end up by breaking their own necks."

Continuing their tour of the country, after their Shkoder and Korca visits, Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen went to Vlora and Berat respectively via Tirana.

Cuban Anniversary Reception

Cuban Ambassador to China Oscar Pino Santos gave a reception on January 2 to celebrate the fifth anniversary of Cuba's liberation. Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and Government attended.

Both Cuban Ambassador Pino Santos and Acting Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, who spoke at the reception, hailed the Cuban people's triumphant advance along the revolutionary road and the militant friendship and great unity between the Chinese and Cuban peoples.

Ambassador Pino Santos spoke also of the significance of the Cuban revolution and the achievements of the Cuban people in socialist revolution and socialist construction over the past five years. Declaring that the Cuban people would never retreat in the face of U.S. aggression and that U.S. imperialism would never be able to hold back the clock of American history, he quoted a statement by Premier Castro, saying: "Our line is one of anti-imperialism, and principally of anti-Yankee imperialism."

Acting Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, in his speech, paid tribute to the Cuban people for establishing the first socialist state in Latin America. He condemned U.S. imperialism for its nefarious attempts to overthrow the revolutionary government in Cuba. "But the heroic Cuban people," he said, "closely rallying round Comrade Castro, have waged a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism, persisted in their five just demands and steadfastly carried forward their socialist construction and socialist revolution. Great, revolutionary, fighting Cuba stands firm in the Caribbean, strengthening the fighting will and confidence

of revolutionary people all over the world."

Referring to the surging national-democratic movement in Latin America, the Acting Premier declared: "We are sure that a second, a third and even more Cubas will emerge on the continent of Latin America. This is a historical trend which no force on earth can resist." He spoke of the great friendship and unity between the Chinese and Cuban peoples. "Both our countries," he said, "face common militant tasks. We have to safeguard our sovereignty and territorial integrity and oppose U.S. imperialist aggression and provocation. We have to carry through our socialist revolution and socialist construction to the end. We have to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. These are arduous tasks. The Chinese people will stand unswervingly by the people of Cuba and other countries of the socialist camp, by all the peoples persevering in revolution and all peace-loving peoples in the world and carry on the struggle against imperialism and for the great victories of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism."

Burma's National Day

Burmese Ambassador Kyaw Winn celebrated his country's Independence Day with a reception in Peking on January 4. Acting Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Vice-Premier Ho Lung were among his guests.

In his toast to Sino-Burmese friendship, the Ambassador characterized 1963 as another year of *paukphaw* (kinsman-like) relations between Burma and China which, he said, had continued to grow on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and which had been further enhanced by Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit to Burma last year. He expressed confidence that this edifice of Sino-Burmese friendship would be strengthened from year to year.

Vice-Premier Ho Lung, speaking at the reception, heartily congratulated the Burmese people. He referred to the tremendous successes scored by the Revolutionary Government of the Union of Burma under Chairman Ne Win in eliminating the remnant forces of colonialism and developing the national economy. "Adhering firmly to a policy of safeguarding the nation's

sovereignty and independence and of peace and neutrality," he said, "the Revolutionary Government of Burma has made important contributions to promoting Asian-African solidarity and upholding Asian and world peace."

The Vice-Premier described the development of friendly relations between China and Burma as a good example of amicable coexistence and friendly co-operation between Asian-African countries. The boundary of peace and friendship established between the two countries and the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression, he stressed, were lively examples of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in action and the crystallization of the great friendship between the two peoples. He reaffirmed that the Chinese Government and people would continue to make joint efforts with the Burmese Government and people to develop relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries and safeguard Asian-African solidarity and world peace.

Sino-Rumanian Trade Agreement

China and Rumania signed in Peking on December 27 a goods exchange and payments agreement for 1964.

Under the agreement, the value of trade between the two countries will, on the basis of the 1963 agreement, continue to increase in 1964. China will supply Rumania with minerals, rolled steel, hard alloys, chemicals, textiles and other commodities. Rumania will export to China petroleum, chemicals, drilling equipment, tractors, machine parts, steel tubes and other goods.

Sino-Japanese Friendly Contacts

Sino-Japanese friendly contacts made tangible progress in the past year. A protocol for broadening such contacts this year was signed in Peking on December 25 by Chou Erh-fu, Vice-President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, and Toshizo Hasegawa, Secretary-General of the Japan-China Friendship Association.

The Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Council of the Japan-China Cultural Exchange Association also signed in Peking a joint statement on cultural exchange between the two peoples. Both associations reviewed past achievements and discussed plans for the future.

"Walking on Two Legs" In Education

by WU WEI

NEW China's educational system is expanding and developing according to the policy of "walking on two legs." That means, shortly, making use of all effective available means to push education forward in the spirit of the General Line—to get greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. The application of this policy is one of the most valuable experiences gained by the Communist Party and the People's Government in socialist educational construction.

"Walking on two legs" means that in addition to the educational efforts (the development of the regular educational system of schools and colleges, etc.) made by the state in the light of the needs and possibilities of national economic development, the initiative of the various regions, factories, mines, enterprises, people's communes and the broad masses of the people in general must be encouraged and mobilized on a large scale to set up local educational facilities, factory and farm schools, etc. To do this—in terms of the "shorthand" phrases which educational workers currently use to describe their work—it is necessary to observe the principles of "combining unity with variety," "popularization with a raising of quality," and "overall planning with administration at different levels."

"Combination of unity and variety" means that the unified or common objective of all schools is to train cultured, socialist-minded workers, while the forms of schools are varied. To ensure a great diversity in form, emphasis is laid on the simultaneous development of the general and vocational (technical) education, state-run and enterprise- or commune-run schools, adult and child education, full-time and part-work and part-study or spare-time schools, school and self-study education (including correspondence and radio broadcast and TV schools), and free education and paid tuition.

"Combining popularization with a raising of quality" means that attention must be paid to both quantity and quality. This is closely related to "combining unity with variety." The unified objective of training cultured, socialist-minded workers serves to ensure a required standard of education, whereas variety is aimed to meet the needs of both popularization and the raising of quality. The correct handling of the first principle facilitates the thorough implementation of the second.

Closely related with these two principles is the principle of "combining overall planning and administration

at different levels." Careful and comprehensive planning and unified leadership are indispensable for a big country such as China. Unified leadership by the central authorities means that all schools must carry out without exception the principles and policies worked out by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council, observe the main rules and regulations laid down by the central authorities and work according to the unified programmes and plans. But alongside such unified leadership, in order to bring all positive factors into full play, it is also necessary to put into operation the system of administration at different levels to accord with the nature and characteristics of the various levels of education. For instance, the main, overall leadership of higher educational institutions is provided by the central authorities in a unified way, while the concrete, day-to-day, administrative work is carried out either by the central or provincial and municipal authorities. A number of the institutions of higher learning which have a longer history and more solid foundations are under the direct control of the Ministry of Education and other departments of the Central Government concerned, while the rest are administered by the provincial or municipal educational departments and other departments concerned. The principle of "combining overall planning and administration at different levels" both gives great encouragement to the authorities in various areas and local departments to set up schools of their own so as to satisfy their own local needs and helps ensure that the education given is of a good standard.

Background to "Walking on Two Legs"

To understand how and why the policy of "walking on two legs" was introduced and the achievements resulting from it, it is necessary to consider what the state of education was in China before liberation and how and with what success the People's Government tackled the educational problem in the early post-liberation years.

In semi-feudal, semi-colonial old China under the triple yoke of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and misruled by the Kuomintang reactionaries, more than 80 per cent of the population were illiterate; less than 30 per cent of school-age children attended school. What is more, few workers and peasants or their children could get an education. This was the educational problem that New China tackled immediately it was established.

The first step taken by the People's Government after liberation was to take under its care and control the schools and other educational institutions left over from old China. The fascist administrative system and fascist education as well as the rule of the Kuomintang special agents and spies in schools were liquidated; with national sovereignty in education established, the imperialists were excluded from control of educational facilities. Meanwhile, Marxist-Leninist courses were opened and ideological self-remoulding was carried out among the teachers and students. During the period of the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57), the tasks of education were integrated into the state plans, readjustments and reorganizations were carried out in colleges and faculties; pedagogical methods in the higher educational institutions were reformed and preliminary steps were taken to reform secondary and primary education. Step by step, a new socialist educational system was founded in our country. Alongside these great educational reforms, great progress was made in the spread of education. Between 1949 and 1957 total enrolment increased from 117,000 to 440,000 at full-time institutions of higher learning, and in full-time middle schools from 1.27 million to 7.08 million (exclusive of students of spare-time schools for workers and peasants).

Despite such rapid growth, education still fell short of the needs of the people engaged in socialist construction. This poses an important and complex problem: in a country of 650 million people, what revolutionary measures can be taken to develop education with greater, faster, better and more economical results? This is where the policy of "walking on two legs" came in. It provides a reasonable chance to solve this problem.

Three Types of Schools

The mass spread and growth of education in China demands the establishment of various types of schools so that more people can receive an education. China, in fact, so far as organizational forms are concerned, has three types of schools; namely, full-time schools as one "leg," part-work and part-study and spare-time schools as the other "leg." By walking on these two legs, using one or the other as the situation demands, in a vigorous development of education the needs of urban and rural groups of people of different ages and cultural levels can be met.

The full-time school is the main means of providing education, especially primary education, for the younger generation. The broad masses of adult workers and peasants mainly depend on spare-time schools and to a certain extent on part-work and part-study schools to raise their cultural and political levels and improve their technical qualifications. Even in the most advanced countries of the world, it is not feasible to rely solely on full-time schools to popularize education for the whole people. For a big country like China, such an idea is even more unrealistic. This is not only because the nation's financial and other resources are limited, but also because in allocating students, teachers and staff for the schools, the need of manpower in economic production and construction have to be considered and given high priority. This is especially so in the countryside. Violation of this objec-

tive law is bound to affect agricultural and industrial production adversely. For this reason the people's state, while vigorously developing full-time schools, pays great attention to the development of part-work and part-study and spare-time schools.

At the present time, agricultural middle-schools make up the bulk of the nation's part-work and part-study schools. There has been a marked improvement in the peasants' livelihood following the great development of agriculture resulting from land reform, the co-operative movement and creation of the people's communes. As a result rural education has made great progress and there is an increasing number of primary school graduates. This has resulted in two outstanding contradictions: the contradiction between the demand of the young people in the country to continue their studies and the number of pupils full-time middle schools can accommodate; and the contradiction between the need and demand for more specialized study and the amount of manpower that has to be deployed in urgent agricultural production. The establishment of agricultural middle schools in the spring of 1958 provided a most effective way of reconciling these two sets of contradiction.

Agricultural middle schools are run on a part-work and part-study basis by the rural people's communes; they are run on the principle of "work in the busy farming season and study in the slack season." This adds up to about six months devoted to study every year. Their curriculum includes politics, the Chinese language and literature, mathematics and agricultural know-how. The peasants like this type of school. They are usually small and sited near to their farms to suit the convenience of students, so that they can study and at the same time take part when needed in farming. Kiangsu Province was the pace-setter in establishing this type of school. During the past five years its agricultural middle schools have trained over 320,000 students, 120,000 of whom completed their full course. They are all working in the rural people's communes of the province.

There was a time when it was usual for the educated young men to leave the countryside as soon as possible for "better jobs" and "opportunities" in the towns. This situation has changed drastically since the people's communes were established and agricultural middle schools were set up in 1958. For instance, between 1949 and 1958, only seven middle school graduates stayed on in the Shuanglou Township, Haiian County, Kiangsu Province; all the rest went to neighbouring towns and cities. In the five years since the establishment of agricultural middle schools in the township, all its 289 graduates have remained in its villages to do productive or other work at the grass-root level. Shuanglou is far from being the only example. Many of the graduates from the agricultural middle schools in various parts of the country have become excellent production brigade leaders, book-keepers, technicians, workpoint recorders, weather men and warehouse keepers all closely linked with agricultural production. As young progressive forces on the agricultural front, they have played a most valuable role in consolidating the collective economy of the villages and developing agriculture. In addition to agricultural middle schools, various other types of part-work and part-study

schools have been established in the cities, villages and industrial and mining areas and have gained popular approval.

The Party and the People's Government have always paid great attention to the development of mass spare-time education. It is regarded as a most important task, and considerable successes have been achieved in this field. In the 14 years since the founding of New China, no less than 100 million youths and adults more or less have become literate by way of spare-time studies. Now able to read and write, hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants have gone on to attend spare-time elementary and middle schools for further study. At the same time there has been a considerable development of spare-time higher education (including correspondence schools and radio broadcast and TV "universities"). More than 80,000 students graduated from these schools between 1953 and 1962. In 1962 alone, the total enrolment of spare-time higher educational institutions showed a fivefold increase over 1957. The total number of students studying in this way was equal to nearly half the number of students in full-time institutions of higher learning.

Hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants who were formerly illiterate or poorly educated have become engineers and specialists through spare-time training. Typical of them is Kou Wen-pin, deputy director and engineer of the Chungking Enamelware Factory. He began with only a primary school education, but since liberation, by assiduous spare-time study, he has got an education and training equivalent to that of a university or college graduate. He can now read technical books and magazines in Russian and German and has a number of useful innovations and inventions to his credit.

Developing Both General and Vocational Education

One of the main aims of the policy of "walking on two legs" is to develop general education and vocational training at the same time. Secondary (middle-school) vocational education has in fact made rapid headway ever since the birth of New China. By 1962, i.e., in 13 years, such schools had trained nine times as many graduates as in the 16 years from 1931 to 1946. But in order to implement this principle more satisfactorily and enable education to meet still better the needs of the general policy of developing the national economy with "agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor," facilities for vocational education will be increased and improved in the cities and countryside so as to enable primary and middle school graduates to get the necessary technical training before taking up productive jobs.

The main effort in vocational education is now being made with the countryside in mind, with the stress on the development of agricultural vocational schools. These are designed to train tractor drivers, mechanics to service drainage and irrigation equipment and technicians specialized in the use of chemical fertilizers, insecticides and the cultivation of fruits and vegetables, junior bookkeepers and accounting personnel. In addition, of course, industrial, commercial and medical vocational schools are also being developed according to need. With courses of from one to four years, these schools integrate

political, technical and cultural studies. These vocational schools, it is stressed, should differ in form, again, according to need; some provide long-term and others short-term courses; some are full-time, and others part-work and part-study vocational schools. In other cases short-term training courses are provided. As vocational schools are now run on a trial basis, those in charge are urged to sum up the experience gained so that such educational undertakings can still better meet the urgent demands of agricultural and industrial construction.

Giving Full Play to Mass Enthusiasm

To speed up the tempo of development, government departments are exhorted to establish new schools as fast as possible with the economic resources available, while fostering to the full the initiative of the masses in setting up schools. This finds expression in the policy of the "simultaneous establishment of schools by the state and by factories, mines, other enterprises and people's communes." Before liberation, a great number of schools were established by the people themselves in the revolutionary bases and rich experience was amassed in this field. Since liberation we have carried forward this fine tradition and mobilized the masses to pool their efforts to set up schools. (It should be pointed out that schools established by the masses are different in nature from the profit-making, privately run schools previously set up by the bourgeoisie. At the time of liberation, all such schools were turned into state-run ones, thus transforming them into schools of a socialist nature.) The full-time schools run by the state are, of course, the backbone of primary and middle school education, but at the same time other full-time or half-day schools, "simplified" primary schools and literacy classes have been set up in the countryside, in towns and county centres according to the needs of the peasants and people and on the basis of voluntary participation; in the cities, factories, mines, other enterprises, government offices, people's organizations and other departments concerned have set up secondary, primary, technical or preparatory schools according to the same principles. In the past three or four years, there has been a new upsurge in the establishment of such schools by the people. In many areas, one-fifth or more of the total number of primary schools have been so established. These schools follow the unified educational policy of the state just like the normal state-run schools do. The Government regularly sets aside a part of its educational fund to subsidize schools of this type, particularly those set up in mountainous areas, areas inhabited by minority peoples or in places hard hit by natural calamities. This has been of great assistance in consolidating and developing the schools run by the people.

The way the masses have mobilized their resources to set up schools has been a remarkable display of the determined spirit of the people to emancipate themselves culturally. It has been of great economic significance in saving state funds. Also the education so provided has been of great significance in adjusting schools to meet the needs of the masses more satisfactorily. In some villages, for example, with a keen awareness of the needs of the farms and of village life, the peasants suggested that pupils should be given more instruction in studies that concerned agriculture and, in arithmetic, learn to use

the abacus. To their great satisfaction the primary schools which they themselves had set up promptly improved courses in the Chinese language and literature and mathematics as they had proposed. As a consequence, these schools have struck deep roots among the broad masses of the peasantry.

Popularization and Raising Standards

In the drive to expand education as rapidly as possible, we have mobilized all available means and set up a variety of schools, both regular and otherwise. Therefore, too strict a demand for observance of rules and regulations and excessive demands for quality are not realistic. We know from our own experience that in such a big country as ours which is economically poor and culturally backward, the popularization of cultural education itself signifies to a certain extent the raising of quality. Nevertheless, while solving the problem of quantity, we have always set great store by the raising of quality. "The Directive on Educational Work" issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council states clearly that a special effort should be made to raise the quality of the education given in some of our schools. "Such schools must perfect their curricula, pay attention to raising the quality of their pedagogical and scientific research work and raise the standards of the various subjects taught." In the light of this directive, therefore, before raising the quality of education as a whole, we have specially selected a number of schools of different types and levels which has a relatively better foundation and by concentrating the necessary manpower, materials and funds, turned them into model schools and vigorously developed them and raised their education standard.

These schools are expected to help the others. For instance, among the higher educational institutions, those directly under the Ministry of Education and other departments of the Central Government concerned help their counter-parts under the provincial or municipal educational departments.

Part of the help given is in teaching staff. The latter institutions send their teachers to work for a period to get advanced experience in the formers' faculties, specialties and pedagogical research groups. Colleges and universities with higher standards under the central authorities also give their brother institutions a great deal of concrete help by making available teaching materials, the results of their scientific research and, in general, by exchanging experience with them. In addition, of course, institutions which are relatively better off with regards to staff and other educational facilities and equipment regularly help the newer colleges or institutes with staff, equipment and other material.

At the primary and middle school level, especially among rural schools, the better-off and more firmly established schools, which form the nuclei of the rural school system, are given the responsibility of guiding other schools within the given commune. They help them improve their teaching methods and otherwise raise their educational standards by organizing "pedagogical appraisal meetings" or "coaching tours" — sending their

best teachers to pass on their methods and having teachers sit in on lessons and otherwise exchange experience.

Implementation of the "walking on two legs" policy has given a great impetus to the advance of education in China. Up to 1962, total enrolment in institutions of higher learning and ordinary middle schools increased more than sevenfold as compared with 1949, while the number of primary school pupils nearly tripled. The number of teachers in universities, middle and primary schools grew to more than 3 million, an increase of 3.3 times compared to 1949. A comprehensive educational network has thus taken shape in most parts of the country with every rural production brigade having its own elementary (four-year) primary schools, every commune its advanced (six-year) primary schools, every county its middle schools, every special administrative region its secondary vocational schools, and every province, municipality and autonomous region its higher educational institutions.

More Rational Distribution of Schools

The geographical distribution of schools has become more rational too. The growth of education in certain remote and minority areas is much faster than elsewhere. Before its democratic reform began in 1959, the Tibet Autonomous Region did not have a single modern primary school. But today, only four years after the reform, it boasts of more than 1,400 primary schools with over 53,000 pupils, and a number of middle schools. All the children of the emancipated serfs are given the opportunity to get an education.

In the big cities educational facilities are relatively highly developed; here attention is being paid to get a better distribution of schools to meet the needs of the people. Over the past few years in Shanghai, for instance, there has been a relatively rapid development of education in the industrial areas and working-class residential districts. Puto District, an industrial area in northwest Shanghai, had 15 middle schools in 1958, but now, it has 27 with about 30,000 students and 1,800 teachers and staff. At the time of liberation, this district had only one government-run and two privately run middle schools with only 1,092 students. Yangpu District, another industrial area there, now has 45 middle schools, 60 industrial middle schools and 164 primary schools as against ten middle schools (including nine private ones) and 106 primary schools (including 100 private ones) at the time of liberation. Ningkuo Road in this district, is a compact community of working people; before liberation it had only one private primary school run in a dilapidated hut. Now it has 16 middle and primary schools and a school for the deaf and dumb.

Practice has shown that the policy of "walking on two legs" is a good one that enables the nation to get greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing education. It is an integral part of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thinking on education and an essential part of the revolution in education that is taking place in our country. By following this policy, China's educational system will certainly get more rapid results and achieve a sound development, thus making a bigger contribution to the great cause of building China into a powerful socialist state with a modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology.

Old and New Colonialists Scramble For the Congo

by YUAN WEN

Following is a slightly abridged translation of an article published in the December 12 issue (No. 23) of "Hongqi," entitled "The Truth About the Old and New Colonialists' Scramble for the Congo." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

IN *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* written in 1916, Lenin pointed out: "The principal feature of the latest stage of capitalism is the domination of monopolist combines of the big capitalists. These monopolies are most firmly established when all the sources of raw materials are captured by one group. . . . The more capitalism is developed, the more strongly the shortage of raw materials is felt, the more intense the competition and the hunt for sources of raw materials throughout the whole world, the more desperate is the struggle for the acquisition of colonies." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 2, pp.517-18.) With capitalism developed to the stage of monopoly, a life-and-death struggle among the world's monopoly capitalists for sources of raw materials is bound to take place among the imperialist powers.

Since the end of World War II, the victorious socialist revolution in a number of countries and the vigorous development of national-liberation movements have greatly diminished the domain of imperialist rule. As a result, the imperialists, as never before, have intensified their battle for colonies and spheres of influence as each seeks to defeat his competitors and bolster his own position. The sharp struggle over the Congo in recent years is one such example.

Old Colonialists' Domination of the Congo

Long known as "the world's store-house of raw materials" and the "gem of Central Africa," the Congo is one of the most richly endowed countries in Africa, ranking high in strategic resources such as rare and non-ferrous metals. For instance, it leads the capitalist world in output of industrial diamonds, germanium (an important raw material for semi-conductors), cobalt and tantalum which are indispensable for manufacturing missiles and jet planes. It holds fourth place in the capitalist world's output of tin and is fifth in copper and manganese. The Congo also is an important producer of uranium used by the imperialists. In addition, it has rich deposits of lithium, niobium, cadmium, beryllium and thorium—as well as needed for making thermonuclear weapons—as well as gold, silver, tungsten, zinc and other metals. Finally, it is rich in agricultural products, such as palm products, rubber, cotton, coffee, cocoa, large quantities of which are annually exported.

Occupying an important strategic position in the heart of Africa, the Congo has invariably been the scene of competition between imperialist countries in their attempt to extend their influence on that continent. At the Berlin conference of 1884-85, because none of the powers were willing to see the Congo swallowed up by any one contestant, it was decided that all participating countries enjoyed freedom of navigation and trade there; at the same time, its administration was left to a small country, Belgium.

For the past 80 years, Belgium has regarded the Congo as an inexhaustible source of profit. It uses the large quantities of low-priced raw materials plundered from that country not only to meet the needs of its home markets, but also to make up for its shortage of foreign exchange. Almost 10 per cent of the total value of Belgian exports comes from the resale of Congolese raw materials. Statistics show that in 1955 over 30 per cent of the Belgian corporations' profits after taxes were made in the Congo. The four big Belgian financial monopoly groups—Societe Generale de Belgique, Brufina, Empain and de la Cominiere—have large investments in the Congo, controlling or influencing 85 per cent of the companies. Of the four, the biggest is the Societe Generale de Belgique. It is estimated that its investments in the Congo more than quadruple the combined total of the other three.

Britain, too, has enormous economic influence in the Congo. British monopoly capital almost exclusively controls the insurance companies. The Unilever group monopolizes the Congo's palm production and controls the biggest share in rubber and cocoa production. Palm products alone constitute 11 per cent of the total value of the Congo's exports. This group controls about 20 per cent of Congolese imports. British monopoly capital has also made huge investments in the main economic segment of the Congo, the mining industry, and, by dint of political and economic influence in Central, East and Southern Africa, has become a virtual controller of the industry. The Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga, of which Britain is the second largest shareholder, for instance, completely monopolizes the mining and initial processing of copper, cobalt, zinc, cadmium, uranium and other rare metals in the Congo. It accounts for about 50 per cent of the total value of Congolese mineral exports. Half of this company's exports are carried by the transport system run by British capital. In addition, the British Oppenheimer group in South Africa enjoys exclusive rights to sell the entire Congolese diamond output.

U.S. monopoly capital has long coveted the Congo's rich resources. In 1906 when the Union Miniere du

Haut-Katanga was founded, the U.S. copper trust, seeking to monopolize world copper production, tried to squeeze into the company, but was rejected by British and Belgian capitalists. Some time afterwards, through the efforts of Belgian King Leopold II the American Guggenheim group obtained 50 and 25 per cent of the shares of the American Congo Company and the Societe Internationale Forestiere et Miniere du Congo respectively. In spite of this, U.S. interests in the Congo were long restrained by their British and Belgian counterparts who dominated the Congolese economy.

In order to grab the capitalist world's biggest source of raw materials found in the Congo for its atomic industry, U.S. imperialism during World War II took advantage of its favourable position and forced Britain and Belgium to sign an agreement. As a result both recognized the right of the United States to run the Congo's uranium industry and to get three-fourths of the output, leaving the remainder to Britain. After the agreement, however, the British were forced to hand over their share to the Americans. Yet, until World War II ended the Congolese economic lifeline on the whole was in the hands of British and Belgian monopoly capital. In 1943, according to statistics, U.S. investments (including those in Ruanda and Burundi) only amounted to \$6.5 million, far less than British and Belgian.

U.S. Imperialism Steps In to Take Over

Following World War II, U.S. monopoly groups, taking advantage of the general weakening of West European countries, pushed their efforts to elbow the old colonialists out. This applies even more to the Congo than elsewhere because of its rich resources and important strategic position, and especially because the United States urgently needs large imports of the Congo's rare metals for manufacturing atomic weapons and developing the military technique of jet propulsion. Former U.S. President Eisenhower made no bones about this when he said that if the Congo, the Middle East and the Suez Canal were gone, "where would we get the materials needed for our existence? For making steel, for making atomic bombs?" In a 1959 research report, the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee also frankly admitted: "Because of the contribution the mineral resources of the Congo make to the industrial and military requirements of the United States, it is essential that our future relations with it be such that the continuation of these supplies be assured."

Bent on seizing the rich mineral resources of the Congo, U.S. monopoly capital has tried every means to force its way into the important mining companies there, especially the Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga controlled by British and Belgian monopoly capital. In 1950 when the Bank of England sold the shares of Tanganyika Concessions Ltd. — turned over by France to pay off its war debts to Britain — American monopoly groups attempted to purchase all of them. Their aim was indirect control of the Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga through the holding company, Tanganyika Concessions Ltd. However, ever alert, the British and Belgian monopoly capitalists got the bulk of the shares, with their U.S. rivals obtaining only 8 per cent, far inadequate to control the company. Moreover, the British Government stipulated that the shares of the Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga held by Tangan-

yika Concessions Ltd. could not be sold or turned over for ten years without its permission and that if sold it had the priority to buy them. This has made it more difficult for the Americans to realize their design.

Lenin pointed out that "finance capital is interested not only in the already discovered sources of raw materials but also in potential sources. . . ." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 2, p.519.) While stepping up its seizure of the mineral resources already developed in the Congo, U.S. imperialism has tried its utmost to control those which have yet to be opened up. But this, too, has been hindered by its British and Belgian rivals.

Underground resources remain unexplored in vast areas of the central and western parts of the Congo, especially in the Bas Congo on the lower reaches of the Congo River. Like Katanga, the Bas Congo has rich deposits of copper, uranium, manganese, tin and iron. In addition, it has deposits of bauxite estimated at about 500 million tons, which has not been discovered in Katanga, and a hydro-electric potential which accounts for 20-25 per cent of the total world potential. As early as the 1920s, Belgium, following a survey of the resources of this region, advanced the "Inga Falls project." If this project were completed the Bas Congo would become an African Ruhr; it would help the development of huge metallurgical, electric, chemical and atomic industries. The Congo itself would attain a decisive position south of the Sahara because of its overwhelming economic strength. Thus, from the outset, U.S. imperialism with an eye to swallowing up all Africa has shown great interest in the project. American monopoly capital's gluttony is further whetted by the fact that only the United States has the financial ability to foot the estimated total investment bill of \$3,000-4,000 million for the project.

In February 1954 the U.S. Foreign Operations Administration sent a delegation, headed by W.M. Rand, ex-president of Monsanto Chemicals, for an on-the-spot investigation in Inga and began preparations for organizing a company to build the hydro-power project. This move alerted the British and Belgian monopoly capitalists. They feared that if the Inga project was completed and the mining industry established, the Bas Congo, with its low-priced power and convenient sea transport facilities, would overwhelm the Katangan mining industry. They, therefore, preferred to leave the water and mineral resources of the Bas Congo unexploited or develop them gradually rather than let the United States get involved. In the words of the American magazine *Collier's*, they "plan to save both Inga and the Bas Congo minerals for their grandchildren."

The British and Belgian old colonialists have long taken great precaution against U.S. imperialism undermining their interests by means of its powerful financial strength. They have made public their complaints and objections. Britain's Overseas Radio Broadcast Service grumbled: "If America is allowed to invest too much capital, the mineral wealth of Africa will become American before it is dug from the soil. . . . Do not let us think for one moment that Africa, watered by a stream of American gold, will flower as an English rose." In 1955, the Belgian Government, with British support, issued a statement on restricting foreign investments. It stipulated that Belgium would hold no less than 51 per cent of the

capital of any newly founded company in the Congo and that Belgians were responsible for management and operation.

But the United States, with its economic and political strength far superior to that of the other imperialist countries, cannot condone such resistance. It is eager to wrest the Congo from the old colonialists.

A customary tactic employed by the United States to extend new colonialism at a time when the rule of the old colonialists is faltering is to push them aside and take their place on the pretext of "filling a vacuum." In talking about his so-called "areas of trial," the late U.S. President Kennedy said: "There is no place so full of opportunity as the Africa north of the troubled Union of South Africa and south of the great Sahara Desert." The Japanese news agency, Kyodo, reported that Kennedy held that the United States would not hesitate to rub some NATO countries the wrong way in order to gain direct contact with African countries.

In January 1959, pressured by the struggle of the Congolese people against colonialism and for national emancipation, the Belgian colonialists were forced to agree in principle to the independence of the Congo. Making immediate use of what it called "a vacuum of authority," U.S. imperialism speeded up its activities in the Congo, sending many people there in search of agents and to examine the possibility of providing "technical assistance." Preparations for "taking over" the Congo were in full swing.

Bitter Conflicts in Katanga

The underhanded activities of these new colonialists to control the Congo aroused strong opposition from the British and Belgian old colonialists. However, because the Congo had become independent and it was difficult to contest the United States in all of the country, they were forced to safeguard their interests by holding on to the mining areas in the southeastern Congo, especially Katanga.

Known as "a geological scandal" and "a cow of the Congo," Katanga, with the country's largest concentration of natural resources, holds 80 per cent of the Congo's mineral deposits. This has attracted a large part of the British and Belgian Congo investment, and provides about half the total financial revenue of the Congolese Government.

Katanga is also an important part of "the mining kingdom" founded by the monopoly groups of Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, South Africa and other countries in Central and Southern Africa. Pivoting on the British South Africa Company, the "kingdom," by means of interlocking investments and directorates and other methods, incorporates the British and French Rothschild groups, the British Oppenheimer group in South Africa, the Societe Generale de Belgique and other international monopoly organizations. With a capital of U.S. \$5,000 million, it has the mining industry in the vast area of South Africa, Northern and Southern Rhodesias, Angola and the southeastern part of the Congo under its thumb. It monopolizes 75, 25 and 80 per cent of the capitalist world's production of gold, copper, and cobalt respectively, almost all of its production of industrial diamonds and at least 60 per cent of the uranium. Katanga and the southern part of Kasai produce 40, 80 and 80 per cent

of the "kingdom's" copper, cobalt and diamonds respectively and a major part of its uranium. Possession of Katanga, therefore, has a direct bearing on whether the economic position of the old colonialists in all of Central and Southern Africa will be maintained. The loss of Katanga would mean the virtual doom of this old colonialists' "mining kingdom."

Katanga is also a bone of contention for the U.S. imperialists. As admitted by the *New York Times*, "Katanga is a rich prize for anyone who can control its riches." The United States is now becoming more and more dependent on this region for many of its vitally needed raw materials. The total value of raw materials it took out of the Congo jumped 34-fold from a paltry \$3 million in 1937 to \$103 million in 1957, and the latter figure does not include its purchases of the Congo's raw materials from Britain and Belgium.

This is not all the story. The aim of the United States in seizing Katanga is to make competition impossible for its opponents by gaining control over their sources of raw materials. In the eyes of the U.S. monopoly capitalists, British and Belgian possession of mineral wealth in Katanga is most disadvantageous. Copper production in Katanga, for instance, poses a direct menace to the interests of the U.S. copper trust. The copper deposits in Katanga and the adjacent British-controlled Northern Rhodesia rank first among the main centres of copper production in the capitalist world, and contain a copper content two to five times higher than that of U.S. copper ore. Most of the mines here can be open cut and miners' wages are low. Favoured by these conditions, Katanga and Northern Rhodesia have become the main competitors of the United States in the world copper market. In 1937, they produced about 18 per cent of the total output of copper in the capitalist world. From 1956 when the crisis of copper overproduction started in the capitalist world until 1959, U.S.-controlled copper production declined from 63 to 56 per cent of the capitalist world's total; the proportion for copper production in Katanga and Northern Rhodesia rose from 21.4 to 26.5 per cent. U.S. monopoly capitalists cannot be expected to tolerate such a situation.

In addition to its economic importance, Katanga also holds an important strategic position in Africa. Situated at the southern end of the Congo, it is the gateway to Central, East and Southern Africa and has long been a stronghold of the colonialists for aggression. For years Britain has attempted to merge Katanga with British colonies and dependencies in Central, East and Southern Africa into a kind of "alliance" in order to strengthen its "last base" of colonial rule in Africa. Likewise, the U.S. new colonialists have tried by hook or by crook to grab Katanga as a springboard for aggression against Central, East and Southern Africa.

Thus, the scramble over the Congo between the new and old colonialists becomes more intensified than ever. The former are determined to swallow up the rich prize at all costs while the latter are prepared to fight a last-ditch battle. Giving blow for blow, both sides refuse to yield an inch.

Three Armed Clashes

In analysing relations among the imperialists, Lenin said: "They plunder the world; they fight among them-

selves and arm against each other. It is impossible to conceal this for long." (Lenin, "Successes and Difficulties of the Soviet Power," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., State Publishing House for Political Literature, Moscow, 1950, Vol. 29, p.46.) He added: "Private property is robbery, and a state based on private property is a state of beasts of prey, who go to war for the division of spoils." (Lenin, "Speech to a Conference of Chairmen of the District, Volst and Village Executive Committees of Moscow Province," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., State Publishing House for Political Literature, Moscow, 1950, Vol. 31, p.300.) The imperialists always resort to armed force when they fail to achieve their aims by "peaceful" means. Fresh proof is found in the three armed clashes in the last few years over the Congo between the U.S. new colonialists and the British and Belgian old colonialists.

In July 1960 while the United States was rigging the dispatch of "U.N. troops" to the Congo, the British, Belgian and other old colonialists were plotting to sever Katanga from the country. At their instigation, their puppet, the Tshombe clique, hastened to declare Katanga "independence" as a move to "legalize" its continued occupation by the old colonialists. But under the signboard of the United Nations, U.S. imperialism pressed ahead with its plan to dispatch "U.N. troops" to Katanga. Moreover, by U.S. string pulling, the U.N. Security Council passed a resolution which "urges that measures be taken for the immediate withdrawal and evacuation from the Congo of all Belgian and other foreign military and para-military personnel and political advisers not under the United Nations command, and mercenaries." The resolution also authorized the "U.N. troops" to use force if necessary. Under U.S. pressure, the Belgian colonialists were compelled to withdraw their troops from Katanga. However, they turned over to the Tshombe clique large quantities of military materiel, including planes. With their help, this group expanded its troops, organized armed units of feudal tribes and recruited mercenaries in West Europe, the Central African Federation, South Africa and other places. With its strength augmented, the clique was determined to put up stubborn resistance.

In August 1961, U.S. imperialism placed the Congo's political power in its own hands by instigating its agents to form the "central government." Meanwhile, it rushed reinforcements to "U.N. troops" in Katanga. In mid-September the first armed clash between the old and new colonialists in the Congo broke out when the U.S.-directed "U.N. troops" launched an armed attack in Katanga. Confronted by the resistance of the Tshombe clique, these troops were forced to accept a temporary ceasefire without achieving their aims. But soon afterwards, in December of the same year, they brought on a second armed clash.

These U.S. actions greatly enraged the old colonialists. The British bourgeois press published successive editorials charging that "in that unhappy land [the Congo] UNO is pursuing a policy that is completely at variance with the interests and the desires of the British Government." And, "their motive was as simple as it was discreditable: to break up Tshombe's government and get hold of Katanga's money so that it might be squandered like the rest of the Congo's resources." The Belgian press

also expressed dissatisfaction with the U.S. new colonialists' attempted annexation of Katanga through the use of the United Nations.

The second armed clash gave some advantages to the new colonialists but failed to bring the Tshombe clique to its knees. Then, on December 20, 1961, the U.S. Ambassador in Leopoldville came into the open, arranging negotiations between the Adoula and Tshombe cliques. At the same time there was continuous behind-the-scenes manoeuvring by the new and old colonialists. Since their conflict of interests was irreconcilable, no substantial agreement was reached after almost a year of hard bargaining.

In order to counter-attack British encouragement of the countries of Central and East Africa to replace the United Nations in the Congo, U.S. imperialism for the third time ordered "U.N. troops" to attack the Tshombe clique on December 27, 1962. What U.S. ruling circles called the "unification" of the Congo was realized when the Tshombe clique was forced to announce the end of the secession of Katanga and recognized the jurisdiction of the Adoula government over the province.

After more than three years of open and secret rivalry, the U.S. imperialist position in the Congo was strengthened, while the old colonialists' influence was weakened. Through the U.S.-fostered regime of Adoula, U.S. imperialism has grasped the finances and foreign trade of the Congo while its so-called economic aid has made the country more and more dependent on the United States. From the day the Congo announced its independence to the end of June 1963, the United States provided the Congolese Government with economic "aid" totalling more than \$123 million through "the United Nations Fund for the Congo," a "Special Trust Fund" and other channels. A road has thus been opened up for the United States to dump its "surplus" commodities in the Congo. In 1962 U.S. exports to that country soared to \$68 million, three times the figure for 1961, and the United States secured the lion's share of the Congolese market. The agreement concluded in November 1962 between the U.S. Government and the Adoula regime to safeguard the investment of individual Americans and companies in the Congo has further opened the door to large-scale infiltration by U.S. capital. More and more it can be seen that U.S. imperialism is taking the place of the old colonialists in the Congo as the most ferocious enemy of the people.

New Troubles Are Brewing

The nominal "unification" of the Congo does not mean the solution of the contradictions and rivalries among the imperialists there. The old colonialists whose economic strength in the Congo far surpasses that of the United States will never be reconciled to their defeat. For their own interests, they are using various tactics in different fields to oppose U.S. new colonialism. They are trying hard to maintain and even expand their influence. As *U.S. News & World Report*, a mouthpiece of U.S. monopoly capital, admitted, "It is the U.S., more than any other country, that is to find its troubles in the Congo just beginning, despite the military victories of United Nation troops in that troubled country."

Since the "unification" of the Congo, the British, Belgian and other old colonialists, besides continuing to

uphold their economic interests and control major enterprises there, have made additional investments and stepped up their efforts to woo the Adoula government. Not long ago, in an attempt to re-establish and extend its influence in the puppet regime of the Congo, the Belgian Government concluded with Adoula an agreement for technical co-operation, promising "fuller technical assistance." As disclosed by the U.S. press, there are about 2,000 Belgians sent by the Belgian Government to the Congo. These include advisers and experts to help the Adoula regime reorganize its finances, industrial and mining enterprises and foreign trade, as well as Belgian teachers and administrative, cultural and technical personnel. Moreover, the Belgian Government has grappled with the United States for control of the Congolese government army. As revealed by the British press, when Adoula visited Britain last July, the British Government expressed to him its intention to give the Congo "economic assistance" and to help his government train troops. Recently, at Adoula's request, it agreed to offer his government "aid" of U.S.\$2 million. The de Gaulle government of France, which is actively strengthening and expanding its spheres of influences in Africa, has tried to drag the Congo into the "Afro-Malagasy Union." To this end, it has proposed to Adoula a series of "aid," including a promise of U.S.\$200 million yearly. Last April, a French delegation in the Congo declared that French "aid" would be given directly to that country and "not through the United Nations."

Although his regime backed by the British, Belgian and other old colonialists has been dissolved, Tshombe has more than once made clear that he refused to recognize anyone's right to deprive Katanga of its "right to self-government." He has declared that "any solution of the Congo's problems imposed by force cannot be a definite solution." Last June, he stated that he would never give up his responsibility and that he was ready to "take over" the central government. In fact, the Tshombe clique still controls Lualaba Province in western Katanga and maintains great influences in the province of East

Katanga. And its armed forces remain basically intact and are operating at every available opportunity. Last September a dispatch sent by the French *La Tribune de Nations* from Elizabethville said: "Order is far from being re-established in Katanga. Outside the main towns, where the UNO forces have more or less managed to guarantee a minimum of security, the former Katanga government forces are carrying out a reign of terror. From their hideouts in the bush Mr. Tshombe's gendarmes continue their destructive activities in defiance of the troops sent after them by the Leopoldville authorities. These gendarmes show no inclination to hand over their arms and submit to the authority of the central government . . . the rebels are waiting for the day, which they believe to be close, when Mr. Tshombe will be back in power in Elizabethville."

The Way Out for the Congolese People

The scramble between the old and new colonialists over the Congo has brought untold sufferings to the Congolese people. With wolves still lingering at the front gate, a tiger has entered their house by the back door. Greatly angered by the over-running of their country, the plundering of their national wealth and the slaughtering of their people, they cannot but rise in resistance. Fighting for national liberation, they once gained political independence but, strangled by the old and new colonialists, their liberation cause has suffered a serious setback. This, however, can only be transient. The reactionary nature of their enemy is being more clearly seen by the people who realize that the only way to get rid of slavery and suffering is to wage a united and unremitting struggle against the old and new colonialists—primarily against U.S. new colonialism and its stooges. They know that they must clear their land of all these sanguinary robbers.

The burning flame of the Congolese people's revolutionary struggle for independence and against aggression and oppression will never be extinguished. Although they may have to travel a tortuous path, with the support of the world's people, final victory will be theirs.

Guerrilla Warfare: A Means

by ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA

Following is the translation of an article published in the September 1963 issue of "Cuba Socialista." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

ON innumerable occasions guerrilla warfare has been employed in different historical circumstances to achieve different aims. It was employed in people's liberation wars in recent years—the people's vanguards in their wars of liberation followed the road of using irregular armed struggle to oppose a militarily superior enemy. Asia, Africa and America have always been the stage for guerrilla wars where people strive to seize state power in their struggle against the exploitation by feudalism and old and new colonialism. In Europe, guerrilla warfare is treated as a supplementary means by national regular armies and those of their allies.

In America, guerrilla warfare has been waged in different circumstances. A recent, indirect example was Cesar Augusto Sandino who fought the U.S. expeditionary army in Segovia in Nicaragua. The most recent example was Cuba's revolutionary war. Ever since, guerrilla warfare has become a question for theoretical discussion within progressive political parties on this continent. Whether it is possible and advantageous to employ guerrilla warfare has become a subject of heated argument.

In this article I shall try to present our views on guerrilla warfare and to explain how to employ this tactic correctly.

A Means for Seizing State Power

It must be made clear in the first place that this form of struggle is a means—a means employed to

achieve an objective—seizure of state power. It is a necessary and inevitable objective for all revolutionaries. Therefore, in analysing the concrete circumstances of various countries in America, we ought to limit ourselves to the narrow sense of the term "guerrilla warfare," that is, as a means by which to win state power.

The question would probably be raised immediately: Is guerrilla warfare the only form for seizing state power in America, is it the main form, or is it just one form of struggle? Finally some would ask: Can the example set by Cuba be applied to the realities in other parts of this continent? In the course of argument, some criticism is often levelled at those who stand for guerrilla warfare, charging them with having forgotten the mass struggle, as if mass struggle and guerrilla warfare are two opposing forms. We oppose the insinuations of this assertion. Guerrilla warfare is a kind of people's war, a kind of mass struggle. To attempt to carry out this form of war without the support of the local population means certain defeat. The guerrillas are the people's armed, fighting vanguards operating in a certain area of a certain place. They aim to carry out a series of combat activities for the sole, possible strategic goal—seizure of state power. They have the support of the worker and peasant masses of the area in which they operate, or even of the whole territory. No guerrilla warfare can be conducted without these prerequisites.

Three Contributions of the Cuban Revolution

"We hold that in the current situation in America the Cuban revolution has made three basic contributions to the revolutionary movement there. They are: firstly, that it is possible for the people's force to win victory over reactionary troops. Secondly, that we ought not wait for all the revolutionary conditions to become ripe, and that the centre of the uprising can create such revolutionary conditions. Thirdly, that in the underdeveloped parts of America, the battlefield for armed struggle should generally be in the villages." [*Guerrilla Warfare*, by Guevara.]

Such are the Cuban revolution's contributions to the development of the revolutionary struggle in America, attainable by any country on the continent where it is possible to wage guerrilla war.

The Second Declaration of Havana pointed out: "In our countries two circumstances are joined: underdeveloped industry, and an agrarian regime of a feudal character. That is why no matter how hard the living conditions of the urban workers are, the rural population lives under even more horrible conditions of oppression and exploitation. But, with few exceptions, it also constitutes the absolute majority, sometimes more than 70 per cent of Latin American populations.

"Not counting the landlords who often live in the cities, the rest of this great mass earns its livelihood by working as peons on the plantations for the most miserable wages, or they work the soil under conditions of exploitation indistinguishable from those of the Middle Ages.

"These are the circumstances which determine that the poor population of the countryside constitutes a tremendous potential revolutionary force.

"The armies are set up and equipped for conventional warfare. They are the force whereby the power of the

exploiting classes is maintained. When they are confronted with irregular warfare of peasants based on their own homegrounds, they become absolutely powerless; they lose 10 men for every revolutionary fighter who falls. Demoralization among them mounts rapidly when they are beset by an invisible and invincible army which provides them no chance to display their military academy tactics and their fanfare of war, or which they boast so much to repress the city workers and students.

"The initial struggle of small fighting units is constantly nurtured by new forces; the mass movement begins to grow bold, the old order bit by bit breaks up into a thousand pieces and that is when the working class and the urban masses decide the battle.

"What is it that from the very beginning of the fight makes those units invincible, regardless of the number, strength and resources of their enemies? It is the people's support, and they can count on an ever increasing mass support.

"But the peasantry is a class which, because of the ignorance in which it has been kept and the isolation in which it lives, requires the revolutionary and political leadership of the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals. Without that it cannot alone launch the struggle and achieve victory.

"In the present historical conditions of Latin America the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. Experience demonstrates that in our nations this class—even when its interests clash with those of Yankee imperialism—has been incapable of confronting imperialism, paralysed by fear of social revolution and frightened by the clamour of the exploited masses." (Second Declaration of Havana.)

These theses represent the essence of this revolutionary declaration of America. Supplements are found in some other paragraphs of the declaration: "The subjective conditions in each country, the factors of consciousness, of organization, of leadership, can accelerate or delay revolution, depending on the state of their development. Sooner or later, in each historic epoch, as objective conditions ripen, consciousness is acquired, organization is achieved, leadership arises, and revolution is produced.

"Whether this takes place peacefully or comes to the world after painful labour, does not depend on the revolutionaries; it depends on the reactionary forces of the old society; it depends on their resistance against allowing the new society to be born, a society produced by the contradictions of the old society. Revolution, in history, is as the doctor who assists at the birth of a new life: it does not use forces unless it is necessary, but it will unhesitatingly use them every time labour requires them. A labour that brings the hope of a better life to the enslaved and exploited masses.

"Revolution is inevitable in many countries of Latin America. Nobody's will determines this fact. It is determined by the frightful conditions of exploitation which afflict mankind in America. It is determined by the development of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, by the world crisis of imperialism and by the universal movement of struggle of the world's subjugated peoples." (Second Declaration of Havana.)

We shall analyse the question of guerrilla warfare in America from this viewpoint.

We hold that guerrilla warfare is a form of struggle to achieve a definite aim. The first question involved is to analyse the aim and to find out whether it is possible to seize state power on our American continent through means other than armed struggle.

Objective Conditions for Armed Struggle in America

Peaceful struggles can be waged through mass movements, and in special circumstances when there is a crisis, can force a government to make concessions. They enable the forces of the people to seize state power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. All this, theoretically speaking, is correct. But when we come to analyse this question in the light of the situation in America the inevitable conclusion is that there exist everywhere in this continent the objective conditions which compel the masses to oppose the governments of the bourgeoisie and the landlords by violent acts, and that many other countries face a government crisis and there the subjective conditions are present, too. Of course, it is criminal not to take action to seize state power in those countries where all these conditions obtain. Naturally, in those countries where the above-mentioned conditions do not exist, different choices may be made and decisions suited to each country should be reached on the basis of theoretical analysis. The only thing history does not permit is that the analysts and executors of proletarian policies make mistakes of judgment. To qualify for the role of a vanguard political party is not like qualifying for a university diploma. Such a party must lead the working class in the struggle for state power and know how to guide it to seize power, leading the struggle to the quickest victory. This is the mission of all our revolutionary political parties. To avoid mistakes, the analysis should be profound and all-embracing.

Conditions in America today are such that the oligarchies and the popular pressures are engaged in a struggle for getting the upper hand, and remain in an unstable state of equilibrium. By the word "oligarchies" we mean the reactionary alliance formed between the bourgeoisie and the landlord class in every country with the feudal structure in a more or less dominant position. These dictatorial regimes succeed each other within a given framework of legality which they themselves have drawn up for the benefit of work during the unlimited period of their class rule. However, we are going through a stage of strong pressure by the people who are battering at the door of bourgeois legality. To prevent the mass onslaught, the lawmakers themselves will undermine their own legality. But both the shameless wrecking of all established legislation and the enacting of laws to confirm the fait accompli would only further enrage the popular forces. The oligarchic dictatorship, therefore, will try to use the old laws to change the constitutional system and to strangle the proletariat while avoiding a head-on clash. This, however, gives rise to contradictions. The people cannot tolerate any longer the various old and new coercive measures adopted by the dictatorial regimes and they endeavour to smash them. We should never forget the class nature, the coerciveness and limitations of the bourgeois state. Discussing the state, Lenin said: "The state is the product and the manifestation of the irrecon-

cilability of class antagonisms. The state arises, when, where, and to the extent that the class antagonisms cannot be objectively reconciled. And, conversely, the existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable." (*State and Revolution*.)

In other words, we should never tolerate the use of the word "democracy" to whitewash the dictatorship of the exploiting classes, whereby democracy, deprived of its real profound meaning, means only the granting of certain freedoms to citizens. To strive merely for the restoration of certain bourgeois legality without raising the question of revolutionary state power is tantamount to striving for the restoration of the dictatorial order imposed by the ruling social classes. In short, it is nothing more than trying to fit prisoners undergoing penal servitude with lighter shackles.

Violence Is Not a Hereditary Right of the Exploiters

In these conditions of conflict, although they invariably resort to the devices of the superstructure erected for the purpose of suppression, the oligarchic classes will tear their agreements to shreds, discard their mask of "democracy" and attack the people. At such a moment, the question should be raised once again: What to do? Our answer is that violence is not a hereditary right of the exploiters and that the exploited can and ought to use violence at the opportune moment. Marti said: "While provokers of an avoidable war in a country are criminals, those who refuse to wage an unavoidable war are criminals, too."

At the same time, Lenin made this clear: "Social-democracy has never regarded and does not regard war from a sentimental point of view. Unswervingly denouncing wars as a brutal method of deciding the disputes of mankind, social-democracy knows that wars are inevitable as long as society is divided into classes, as long as the exploitation of man by man exists. And in eliminating this exploitation we will not manage to do without wars which the exploiting, dominating and oppressing classes always and everywhere begin themselves." Lenin said this in 1905. Later, he made a penetrating analysis of the characteristics of class struggle when he wrote in his article *The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution*: "Whoever recognizes the class struggle cannot fail to recognize civil wars, which in every class society are the natural, and under certain conditions, inevitable continuation, development and intensification of the class struggle. All the great revolutions prove this. To repudiate civil war, or to forget about it would mean sinking into extreme opportunism and renouncing the socialist revolution."

That is to say, we should not be afraid of violence, the midwife of a new society; what must be observed is that it should be used only when the people's leaders decide that the situation is most favourable.

What is the most favourable situation? Subjectively, it depends on two interacting factors which become increasingly ripe in the course of the struggle: consciousness of the necessity of revolutionary change and the real possibility of such a change. When to these two factors are added the objective conditions which are most favourable to the development of the struggle on practicably the whole of America, and the firm determination to win

the struggle and the new balance of world forces, then the conditions for action obtain.

Although the socialist countries are far away, their favourable influence is constantly being felt among the fighting people of all lands and theirs is an example of educational value that will certainly inspire the people of all lands all the more. On July 26 this year [1963] Fidel Castro said: "It is for all revolutionaries, particularly at the present moment, to recognize and to have a good grip on the change that has already taken place in the world balance of forces, and to realize that such a change is to the advantage of the struggle of the people in various countries. Instead of waiting for the miracle of a social revolution in Latin America to arise from this change in the balance of forces, the task of all revolutionaries, and the revolutionaries in Latin America in particular, is to make full use of all factors favourable to the revolutionary movement in this balance of forces and to make revolution!"

There are people who would say: "We admit that, under certain specific conditions, revolutionary war is a proper way to seize power; but where can we find those great commanders, the Fidel Castros who will lead us to victory?" Like all others, Fidel Castro is a product of history. The military and political leaders who lead the struggle of uprisings in America, if it is possible for them to be merged into one man, will learn the art of war in the exercise of war itself. There is not a single craft or trade that can be mastered by textbooks alone. That being the case, struggle is the great teacher.

Naturally, it is no simple task and some serious menace will have to be faced in the entire course.

A Self-Defence Movement of the People

There may be two extremely critical moments for the revolutionary future in the development of the armed struggle. The first one occurs in the preparatory stage; the manner in which this is solved will show how great is the determination of the people's forces to fight and whether its goal is well defined. When the bourgeois state attacks the people's position, self-defence is bound to take place because the enemy launches the attack at a moment favourable to him. If the minimum subjective and objective conditions are all there, the people's forces must go into armed self-defence but they must not allow themselves to be driven into a position of being hit passively; nor should armed self-defence be regarded simply as a desperate remedy for the persecuted when cornered. Guerrilla warfare is a self-defence movement of the people in a given period; it has the capacity to attack the enemy and great efforts must be made to develop this capacity. This capacity, as time goes on, will determine its special character of mobilizing the people's forces. That is to say, guerrilla warfare is not passive self-defence, but offensive defence, and from the moment when things are viewed in this way, guerrilla warfare will finally end up with the seizure of political power.

This moment is important. In the course of social progress, the difference between violence and non-violence cannot be measured by the number of shots exchanged; it all depends on the concrete and fluctuating situation. In order to avoid an adverse situation from developing

one must be good at seizing the right opportunity and know when to use the people's forces (to know their relative weakness and at the same time their strategic strength) to compel the enemy to take the necessary steps. Thus, one must upset the equilibrium between the oligarchies and the pressure of the people. A dictatorial regime always tries to maintain its rule under conditions where it may not need to use violence on a large scale; one must force it to appear undisguised, that is to say, to force it to appear for what it is: a violent dictatorship of the reactionary class. This will help its unmasking and intensify the struggle to a point of no return. How the people's forces, whose job it is to compel the dictatorial regime to make up its mind, fulfil their task—to retreat or to start the struggle—will determine whether or not the armed operations, which have a far-reaching influence, can have a good start.

Constant Intensification of the Revolutionary Process

Whether or not the other critical moment can be avoided depends on the daily growth of the people's forces. Marx consistently maintained that once the revolutionary process begins, the proletariat must ceaselessly attack and attack again. Without being continuously intensified, a revolution may move backward. Once the combatants get tired, they will begin to lose confidence and the plots which the bourgeoisie often works out against us may possibly succeed. These plots are probably the holding of elections to hand over state power to some other hypocritical gentlemen more capable of using honeyed words than the old dictator, or the staging of a coup by reactionaries who are headed, generally speaking, by the military, and which has the support, direct or indirect, of progressive forces. There are other plots as well but an analysis of their tactics is not our subject matter here.

Our main concern here is to call the public's attention to the schemes of military coups mentioned above. How can militarists make any contribution at all to genuine democracy? Since they are merely tools by which the reactionary classes and imperialist monopoly maintain their rule, since, as a social stratum they know nothing but guns in their hands and since they are only anxious about keeping their prerogatives, how can they be expected to show loyalty to the country?

Sometimes, when the oppressors are in a difficult position, the military men engineer a plot and topple the dictator who in reality has been utterly discredited. They do so, it must be realized, because the outgoing dictator is powerless to preserve the class prerogatives without employing violence to the extreme; at present, this is, generally speaking, not in the interests of the oligarchies.

This statement, however, certainly does not mean rejecting the utilization of, in individual cases, military men who have broken with, and actually betrayed their own class. But they can be utilized only when they have shifted their allegiance to the revolutionary leadership, in the capacity of fighters, and not of representatives of a social stratum.

Long ago, Engels, in his preface to the third edition of *The Civil War in France*, observed that the workers emerged with arms from every revolution; "therefore,"

he said, "the disarming of the workers was the first commandment for the bourgeois, who were at the helm of the state. Hence, after every revolution won by the workers, a new struggle, ending with the defeat of the workers. . . ." (Quoted from Lenin: *The State and Revolution*.)

This kind of ebbing and flowing struggle for decades has repeated itself in the capitalist world and in it some kind of formal reforms are at times obtained; there are also strategic retreats. The proletariat in this aspect is constantly being deceived by the same frauds which have appeared again and again in the past century.

It would be also very dangerous if the leaders of a progressive party are over-zealous in utilizing some aspects of bourgeois legality, in the hope of maintaining the most favourable conditions for revolutionary action in a given period, thus confusing the line of demarcation (as is often seen in the course of action) and forgetting that their final strategic objective is to seize state power.

As long as the leading Marxist-Leninist party knows thoroughly the danger in a given period, and is capable of mobilizing the masses to the greatest extent possible, and leading them to the correct path of solving the fundamental contradictions, these two difficult moments in a revolution, which we have briefly analysed, can be avoided.

Why Guerrilla Warfare Is the Correct Road

In elaborating the theses we have presumed that it is possible for people eventually to accept the idea of armed struggle and the proposition that guerrilla warfare is a method of fighting. Why do we think that guerrilla warfare is the correct road in the conditions obtaining in America today? Why must the guerrilla movement be the principal means of struggle in America? As we see it, the basic reasons are as follows:

First, since it is acknowledged that the enemy will fight to maintain his political power, it is necessary to take into consideration the elimination of the repressive army. But, to eliminate this army, there must be a people's army to oppose it. This people's army does not come into existence by itself; it must be armed by the weapons presented by the enemy. This determines the ruthless and protracted character of the struggle in which, without adequate facilities for defence and mobility, the people's army and its leaders will be constantly subjected to attacks by a stronger force of the enemy.

On the other hand, the guerrilla nucleus stationed in areas favourable for struggle will ensure the security and continuity of the revolutionary command. The urban detachments commanded by the general staff of the people's army can perform actions of extreme importance. Even if these small units are incidentally destroyed, the nerve centre of the revolution (the revolutionary command) will not be wiped out, and the leadership of the revolution will continue to arouse the revolutionary spirit of the masses from the rural bases and organize new forces for the next battle.

Moreover, in this area, the future state apparatus will begin to take shape. It will be responsible for the effective exercise of class dictatorship in the entire transition period. The longer the struggle drags on, the

greater and more complicated the problem of administrative affairs will become. To solve this problem, a group of cadres must be trained to deal with the difficult task of consolidating state power and developing economy at a later stage.

Secondly, account should be taken of the general condition of the Latin American peasantry and the increasingly explosive character of its struggle against the feudal structures under a social situation where the local exploiters work in collusion with foreign exploiters.

Let us come back to the Second Declaration of Havana: "At the outset of the past century, the peoples of America freed themselves from Spanish colonialism, but they did not free themselves from exploitation. The feudal landlords assumed the authority of the governing Spaniards, the Indians continued in their painful serfdom, the Latin American man remained a slave one way or another, and the minimum hopes of the peoples died under the power of the oligarchies and the tyranny of foreign capital. This is the truth of America, to one or another degree of variation. Latin America today is under a more ferocious imperialism, more powerful and ruthless than the Spanish colonial empire.

"What is Yankee imperialism's attitude confronting the objective and historically inexorable reality of the Latin American revolution? To prepare to fight a colonial war against the peoples of Latin America; to create an apparatus of force, to establish the political pretexts and the pseudo-legal instruments underwritten by the representatives of the reactionary oligarchies, in order to curb, by blood and by iron, the struggle of the Latin American peoples."

This objective situation has revealed to us that our peasants have dormant, untapped sources of strength and that it is necessary to use this strength for the liberation of America.

Thirdly, the continental character of the struggle should be taken into consideration.

Can this new stage of the liberation of America be considered as a rivalry for state power between two local forces in certain areas? Hardly so. This struggle will be a life-and-death battle between all the people's forces and all the forces of suppression. The passages quoted above also foretell this point.

The Yankees will intervene in order to consolidate their interests, since they regard the struggle in America as a decisive one. As a matter of fact, they have already taken part in fostering repressive forces and formed an organization for continental struggle. From now on they will do so with all their might and will try to suppress the people's forces with all the destructive weapons available. They will not allow any revolutionary regime to be consolidated and should a revolutionary regime be consolidated in a country, they will attack it, refuse to recognize it, try their best to split the revolutionary forces, send in all kinds of saboteurs, create border troubles, line up some other reactionary countries to oppose it, and try to strangle the newborn country economically, in short to destroy this newborn country.

In view of this situation in America, it is very difficult for a single country to achieve victory and con-

solidate it. The alliance of the repressive forces must be countered by the alliance of the people's forces. In all those countries where suppression has reached an unbearable point, the banner of uprising must be raised, and this banner, because of historical necessity, will bear a continental character. As Fidel said of the Andes Mountains inevitably becoming a Sierra Maestra, the whole extensive territory of this continent will become an arena of life-and-death struggle against imperialist power.

The Continental Character of the Struggle

We cannot say for certain when this struggle will take on a continental character and how long it will last, but we can predict that it will definitely come and triumph, because it will be the inevitable outcome of the historical, economic and political conditions and there is no way of changing its course. The task of the revolutionary forces of various countries is to go ahead with the struggle as soon as the conditions in their own country are ripe, regardless of the situation in other countries. The development of the struggle will by degrees determine the general strategy. The prediction that the struggle will take on a continental character is the result of an analysis of the different fighting forces; it by no means excludes independent outbreaks of struggle. Just as the struggle breaking out in one place in a country is bound to spread all over the country, the launching of a revolutionary war will promote the development of new conditions in the neighbouring countries.

The normal development of revolution is marked by the alternation of high and low tides; a high tide for revolution means a low tide for counter-revolution, and conversely when the revolution is on the decline, counter-revolution is on the ascendant. At such a moment the people's forces will be in a difficult position, and they should make every effort to adopt defensive measures so that they would suffer minimal losses. Since the enemies are extremely powerful and assume a continental character, we should not limit ourselves to analysing the relative weaknesses of the bourgeoisie in a local area and formulating decisions for a limited sphere. Much less should we think that one day the oligarchies will form an alliance with the armed people. The Cuban revolution has sounded an alarm. There is a complete polarization of the various forces, with the exploiters on one extreme and the exploited on the other; the mass of the petty bourgeoisie will lean to either of these sides according to their own interests and the ability of either side to win them over politically; to be neutral will be an exceptional case. Such is revolutionary war.

How to Open Up a Guerrilla Centre

Let us consider how a centre for guerrilla activities can be opened up.

Small units with few people in them chose some places favourable for guerrilla activities, from where they can advance for counter-attack and to where they can retreat for refuge, and they begin to take actions in these places. But one point must be made perfectly clear: at the initial stage, when the guerrillas are still rather weak, they should only concentrate on getting a firm footing, familiarizing themselves with the surroundings, establish-

ing contact with the inhabitants, and consolidating places which can be turned into bases.

If the guerrilla units are to survive in the struggle under such conditions, they must possess three qualities: constant movement, constant vigilance and constant precaution. Misapplication of these elements of military tactics will make it difficult for the guerrillas to survive. It must be remembered that at such a moment the heroic deeds of the guerrillas lie in enlarging the predetermined objective and making a series of great sacrifices for the fulfilment of the objective.

These sacrifices do not mean everyday battle or a face-to-face struggle with the enemy; they are more bitter and more difficult for the guerrillas to endure physically and mentally.

They may sustain severe blows from the enemy forces and sometimes may be routed or killed when captured. They may be hunted down like wild game in the areas they have selected for operations and kept constantly in a state of alarm for fear that the enemy might be on their track. They must guard against credulity in everything, because the intimidated peasants, sometimes at a loss to find a pretext and out of a desire to clear up themselves, may hand them over to the repressive army. Either victory or death; there is no other alternative. At these moments death is a stark reality while victory is a myth which only a revolutionary can contemplate.

Such is the heroism of the guerrillas. It therefore follows that to move along is also a form of fighting, and at a particular moment, to avoid fighting is a form of fighting. Our way of putting it is, confronted with the general superiority of the enemy, to employ a form of tactics which will help to gain a relative superiority at a chosen point, either by concentrating a more numerous force than the enemy or by occupying favourable terrain, so that the balance of forces is changed. The winning of tactical victories can be ensured under such conditions; it is best not to go into action when the relative superiority is not so manifest. As long as a choice can be made as to "how to fight" and "when to fight," a battle should not be fought when victory is not certain.

Building Guerrilla Bases

The guerrillas will continue to grow and consolidate in a tremendous politico-military movement, and bases will be formed gradually, constituting the basic factor for the continuous growth of the guerrillas. They will become strongholds which the enemy cannot break into without paying a heavy price in casualties. They are the fortresses of revolution and the havens for the guerrillas who become bolder and bolder in launching attacks towards far-away regions.

A day will come when they overcome the tactical and political difficulties at the same time. The guerrillas should at no time forget that they are the vanguards of the people, nor should they forget the task resting on their shoulders. They should therefore create the political prerequisites for the establishment of a revolutionary regime wholly supported by the masses. The important demands of the peasants should be satisfied according to circumstances, so that the entire population may become united as a solid body.

If the military situation is difficult at the initial stage, politically it is no less delicate. If a single military error may lead to the destruction of the guerrillas, a political error may arrest the growth of the guerrillas for quite a long time.

The struggle is both military and political and therefore must be developed and understood as such.

As a guerrilla unit grows steadily, there will come a time when it will have an excessive number of men and an over-concentration of forces in the area which its capacity for action can cover. Then there will begin the beehive pattern effect in which one of the guerrilla leaders, an outstanding guerrilla fighter, leading his men, leaps to another area and repeats the chain development of guerrilla warfare, of course, under the central command.

To sum up, it must be pointed out that victory cannot be achieved without building up a people's army. The guerrillas may be numerically expanded to a certain magnitude and the people's forces may inflict damages on the enemy in some cities and enemy-occupied areas, but the military strength of the reactionaries may still remain intact. It should always be borne in mind that the ultimate outcome must be the elimination of the enemy. So all the newly opened areas, all areas deep in the enemy's rear and all forces operating in the major cities, must be subordinate to the command. It is not a strict system of level-by-level subordination as in the regular army, but a relation of subordination in strategy. A guerrilla unit is allowed some latitude of action, but it must carry out all the strategic orders of the general command, which is located in a most reliable and most powerful area in order to prepare conditions to use the forces in a concentrated form at a certain stage.

Three Stages of Guerrilla Warfare

A guerrilla war or a liberation war generally covers three stages. It begins with the stage of strategic defence, when the fast-moving and quickly disappearing small units will now and then take a bite at the enemy, but do not retire in a small area for passive defence. Their defence means launching every small-scale attack that can be made. This is then followed by the stage of stalemate when there will be activities by both the enemy and the guerrillas. Later on it will come to the final stage of the collapse of the repressive army. The guerrillas will now capture the big cities, fight large-scale decisive battles and wipe out the enemy thoroughly and completely.

Having reached the stage of stalemate between the armies of both sides, guerrilla warfare will take on new characters in its further development. The concept of manoeuvre will begin to take shape; large units capable of attacking well-fortified strongholds will come into existence; mobile warfare which calls for a movement of considerable number of troops and deployment of offensive weapons will begin to be fought. But since the enemy still retains the power to resist and counter-attack, mobile warfare cannot yet wholly replace guerrilla warfare. It is only a form of operation in the development of guerrilla warfare and the largest concentration of guerrilla forces until several armies of the people's forces are eventually

formed. Yet, even by that time, the guerrillas, in co-ordination with the operations of the main forces, will continue to use the method of "pure" guerrilla fighting to undermine the transport and communications facilities and disrupt the whole defensive machine of the enemy.

We have predicted that the war will be continental in character. That also means it will be protracted; there will be a great number of battle-fronts, and it will cost much blood and countless lives over a long period. Moreover, the phenomenon of polarization of forces which is appearing in America and the clear division between the exploiters and the exploited in the future revolutionary wars indicate that once the armed vanguard of the people rises to seize state power, the country or countries where state power has been seized will eliminate the oppressors, both imperialists and domestic exploiters at the same time. The first stage of the socialist revolution will be realized; the people will set out to heal the wounds and embark on socialist construction.

Is there a possibility which is less cruel?

The world has long since been carved up and the United States has seized the lion's share on our continent. Today the imperialists of the Old World are staging a comeback; the powerful might of the European Common Market is threatening even the United States. All this may lead some people to think that there may be a possibility to form an alliance with the more powerful national bourgeoisie, to watch with folded arms the struggle between the imperialists and to seek for a chance to make some headway. It must be understood that a passive policy in class struggle will never bring good results, for however revolutionary the bourgeoisie may appear to be at one time, the alliance with it can only be a temporary one. Skipping over these two points, people should take another road if the time factor is taken into consideration. The basic contradictions in America are sharpening so rapidly that they have come to interfere with the "normal" development of the contradictions between the imperialist camps scrambling for markets.

The majority of the national bourgeoisie are in league with U.S. imperialism and want to throw in their lot with it in every country. Even if compromise and agreement are reached in the contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and other imperialists on the one hand and U.S. imperialists on the other, it still comes within the main orbit of the struggle which, in the course of its development, will inevitably involve all the exploiters and the exploited. The polarization of the hostile class forces is far more rapid than the development of the contradictions among the exploiters in the division of spoils. The camps are divided; the choice is clear for every individual and stratum.

The Alliance for Progress is trying to restrain what cannot be restrained.

However, in case the advance of the European Common Market or other imperialist blocs on the American markets outstrips the development of the basic contradiction, the people's forces will then only have to wedge in through the opening, carry on all struggles and make use of the new intruders while bearing in mind their own ultimate objective.

Not a single position, not a single weapon and not a single secret should be given up to the class enemy, or everything will be lost.

As a matter of fact, the struggle in America is already here. Will there not be whirlpools of struggle taking shape in Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador. . . ? Is it true that the present fighting is only a demonstration of rash impulse which will be fruitless? The outcome of today's struggle is immaterial. The movement may be temporarily disrupted, but this will be of

little effect on the final outcome. What is important is the daily maturing determination to struggle, the realization of the necessity for revolutionary change and the firm conviction of this possibility.

This is a prediction. We are firmly convinced that history will show that we are right. An analysis of the subjective and objective factors in America and the imperialist world has made it clear to us that the assertions made on the basis of the Second Havana Declaration are correct.

A Great Event in Modern Biology And Medical Sciences

by CHANG HSI-CHUN

The discovery of a new system (Kyungrak System) in animals—in addition to the nervous and circulatory systems—by a team of scientists in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been hailed as a world medical break-through. First published in the "Rodong Shinmoon" on December 1, 1963, this discovery is bound to play an important part in the development of biology and medical sciences.

The author of this article is a professor of physiology of the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences and the Medical University of China.—Ed.

I WOULD like to extend my heartiest congratulations to the Kyungrak Research Institute of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on their findings in the Kyungrak system. Guided by Marxist-Leninist thinking, theirs has been a scientific triumph of world significance and an expression of the talent and wisdom of Korean scientists under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party led by Comrade Kim Il Sung. As a physiologist I am proud of the contribution made by Professor Kim Bong Han and his research team, for it is the common achievement of the socialist camp.

The paper "On the Kyungrak System" published in the *Rodong Shinmoon* on December 1 shows that the Korean scientists have contributed immensely to the morphological, experimental-physiological, biochemical and histo-chemical aspects of the Kyungrak system, thereby greatly enriching the thesis on "The Material Basis of Kyungrak" published in 1961. The Korean scientific circles have named the findings after Professor Kim Bong Han: the structures discovered in the Kyunghyul positions are named "Bonghan corpuscles"; the tubular structures linking them "Bonghan ducts" and the liquid flowing through the tubular structures "Bonghan liquid."

The recent thesis clearly details the distribution of the "Bonghan corpuscles." They are located not only in the reticular layer of the skin, but also deeper in the subcutaneous tissues, around blood and lymphatic vessels and around internal organs. There are two forms of corpuscles, the superficial and the deep. Intense study has

been made in the histological structure of these corpuscles resulting in discovery of specific structures on which careful histological analysis has been made. Both superficial and deep corpuscles are linked by "Bonghan ducts." The superficial and deep "Bonghan ducts" fall into two kinds: The first is called extra-vascular ducts running outside and keeping a definite connection with the blood vessels. The second is called intra-vascular ducts which are newly discovered running freely within the blood and lymphatic vessels. These exist not only in veins and arteries, but also in the heart, thoracic duct and lymphatic vessels. Each intra-vascular duct is linked with a number of "Bonghan corpuscles" within the vessels. These discoveries have raised a number of problems in the field of histo-anatomical sciences.

The circulation of "Bonghan liquid" is determined by the aid of radioactive tracers using isotope phosphorous 32 and by radio-autography. It has been proved that a large amount of radioactive phosphorous injected into the superficial corpuscles runs along the superficial ducts, while phosphorous injected into the deep corpuscles is also indicative of the circulation of "Bonghan liquid." The direction of circulation is one-sided.

The Kyungrak system has definite bio-electrical features. Bio-electricity induced from the isolated "Bonghan corpuscles," in terms of its wave group, frequency and amplitude, has three kinds of potential changes. Electric waves appear periodically, or appear separately or continuously at long intervals. The same potential changes can also appear in the "Bonghan corpuscles" of a living body; they can be observed for about 30 minutes after death, but gradually grow weaker. The corpuscle shows different bio-electrical reactions to various stimuli. Relying on such bio-electrical indices, the interrelations between the "Bonghan corpuscles" and definite internal organs can be observed and the characteristic features of conduction in the Kyungrak system elucidated.

Different from conduction in the nerve, the effect of a stimulus given to a "Bonghan corpuscle" is conducted in both directions and is much slower than in the nerve. As a whole, the "Bonghan corpuscle" is a newly discovered,

peculiarly excitable tissue; the effect of its stimulation is carried to the nearest corpuscle in the same "Bonghan duct."

Significant results have been gained in the biochemical and histo-chemical study of the Kyungrak system. By quantitative analysis of phosphorous in various forms, it is found that there is a large quantity of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) and ribonucleic acid (RNA) in the inner substance attracted from the "Bonghan corpuscle" and the "Bonghan duct." "Bonghan liquid" has no cell, but histochemical analysis confirms that the basophilic substance which is found in large quantity in the liquid contains a great amount of DNA flowing in the "Bonghan duct." This is an important discovery. It has been universally accepted hitherto that DNA exists only in the nucleus,

while RNA is distributed in the cytoplasm. Now, a large quantity of DNA has been found in the fluid, devoid of any cell structure, flowing in the "Bonghan ducts." This has opened up prospects for the study of many basic problems in biology such as genetics, cell differentiation and the synthesis and metabolism of protein.

The above is only a brief account of a part of the successes mentioned in Professor Kim Bong Han's thesis, but it is sufficient to show the importance of his group's research. There is no doubt that this is an extremely important discovery in modern biology and medical sciences. Chinese medical workers greatly value the new achievement and discovery of their Korean fellow scientists and will work with them to advance and enrich modern medical sciences.

Pen Probes

The American Image

TYPICAL of the much advertised "American way of life," captains of crime in the United States are organized into combines, syndicates and monopolies and their power is spread far and wide. Thus, millionaire drug racketeer Vito Genovese, chairman of the board of a syndicate, referred to in underworld parlance as *Cosa Nostra* (in Italian, "Our Thing"), is able to continue his reign of terror while serving a 15-year sentence in a federal prison.

While Genovese's well-paid lawyer seeks "justice" under the law — the American law — for his client, the American press has had a field day with the death threat hanging over the head of Joseph Valachi, an old member of the gang. Suspected by boss Genovese of being a turncoat, Valachi has had his erstwhile chief's kiss of death bestowed upon himself. For weeks Valachi was shunted back and forth from his jail cell to sing, squeal and rat (criminal cant for informing) before a Congressional committee investigating crime U.S.A.

While the upper echelons of the criminal world were exchanging brickbats, it turns out that crime has become "a way of life" for numerous Americans. Federal Bureau of Investigation statistics for 1963 are still unavailable, but a total of 2,048,370 serious crimes — murder, rape, robbery, etc. — was reported for 1962. For example, bank robbery is being done in a big way by "professionals" and "amateurs" alike. In the latter category was a woman who, leaving her children at a bus stop, calmly walked into a nearby bank to "draw out" some pin money with a toy pistol and just as calmly picked up the kiddies with her handbag bulging with banknotes. In the spirit of the season were the two gunmen who came into the Alpine State Bank in Rockford, Ill., in Santa Claus costume, locked the employees in a vault and made off with \$36,000.

Recently, crooner millionaire Frank Sinatra, himself often said to have association with the underworld and reputed to have a piece of at least one big-time gambling house in Las Vegas, had a nightmarish white pre-Christmas in snowbound Sierra Nevadas when his son

was kidnapped. The younger Sinatra was released after his father footed a \$240,000 ransom bill. Like the cost of living, kidnapping has also been affected by inflation.

The *New York Times*, in an editorial fret on December 13, wrote: "But the resurgence of the shocking crime of kidnapping, hardly less horrifying than that of murder, will dismay millions of Americans and cause many of our best friends in the rest of the world to wonder what is wrong with our methods of law enforcement. Coming so soon after the dreadful events in Dallas and the degrading episodes of racial troubles in the South [the murder of Negro girls in an Alabama church and of Medgar Evers, a Negro leader in Mississippi, etc.] during the summer, it is another example of the streak of violence that stains the American image in the eyes of the world."

The open concern of the *New York Times* studiously avoided mention of ugly American crime and murder outside the United States. From the nation's capital in Washington a "crime syndicate" with an unfailing supply of funds and resources operates in foreign countries, indulging in political killings. It is no secret, to mention only a few well-known cases, who was responsible for the murder of Laotian Foreign Minister Quinim Pholsena on his doorstep last April and, earlier, Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, as well as the real culprit behind the seizing and jailing of Gizenga.

The murderous elimination of Washington's pair of stooges in south Viet Nam — Ngo Dinh Diem and Ngo Dinh Nhu — in November is an example of a successful operation by the U.S. Government's "crime syndicate," to say nothing of the hundreds of thousands wiped out in its overseas adventures. Washington's "Cosa Nostra" makes Genovese's look like small business.



Chip Off the Old Block
Cartoon by Jack Chen

ROUND THE WORLD

Demise of a Federation

Another Nail in the Coffin

Hardly had the independence festivities in Zanzibar and Kenya ended before exultant cries of victory began to echo through another British preserve on the African continent. The Central African Federation is dead. By waging a militant and sustained struggle, the Africans of Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias have compelled the British Government to dissolve it. Thus another nail has been driven into the coffin of British imperialism.

Concocted as a racial "partnership," the Central African Federation, comprising Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia, was tacked together by Britain in October 1953. It had its centre in Salisbury from where a minority regime of economically dominant white settlers ruled. It was a desperate effort to give colonialism a new lease of life.

From the very beginning the African people opposed this federation imposed from without. They demonstrated. They organized strikes. They burnt the pass-books they were ordered to carry. They gave battle to the military as well as to the police. Their demand was secession from the federation and complete independence. It was a clarion call for struggle against their white oppressors. The spirit of the Bandung Conference, which inspired the peoples of Africa to regain their nationhood, was very much in evidence. It brought the wind of change, now blowing at gale force through the continent. Britain was faced with being enmeshed in a struggle from which it could not hope to extricate itself.

In December 1962 Britain, bending before the storm, agreed "in principle" to Nyasaland's secession. In March last year it was forced to grant the same right to Northern Rhodesia. Today, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia have African-led governments, though the key departments are still in British hands. But the African nationalists have won the first round. Their goal now is complete independence in 1964.

As to the people of Southern Rhodesia, they are still oppressed by a white minority which practises a segregation hardly different from the

apartheid of South Africa. Their immediate task is to end racial domination and counter the manoeuvres of the white settlers' Rhodesian Front led by Prime Minister Winston Field which demands immediate independence with its own rule intact. The Zimbabwe African People's Union, banned by the government, is leading the African people in their struggle.

The break-up of the hated Central African Federation is a sign of the growing impotence of British colonialism. However, as the *Ghanaian Times* noted, "Imperialism dies hard and even as the federation goes to its grave, echoes of white supremacy linger around." But unity in struggle, fortified by sharp vigilance, will guide the African freedom fighters to their goal. The gales of change will sweep British colonialism away, lock, stock and barrel.

Ceylon Take-Over

Oil and Insurance

The Ceylonese Government on New Year's Day wrote finis to foreign monopoly in two vital sectors of the country's economy. It took over the properties of American Caltex and Esso and British Shell and 106 foreign insurance firms operating in Ceylon.

These nationalization measures were no small achievement. All sorts of pressure were brought to bear, Finance Minister Ilangarathe told a meeting of the government parliamentary group recently. They included offers of large sums of money to put off nationalization. There was direct interference such as the sudden stoppage of "U.S. aid" while negotiations were going on between the Ceylonese Government and the foreign oil monopolies and also the fantastic U.S. demand for compensation for the properties and the loss of "potential business and goodwill"! The Ceylonese press further reported that U.S. and British embassy officials were working hand in glove with local capitalists to undermine the take-over and that the oil firms had even tried to sabotage machinery and installations.

The Anglo-American paid press used the stock argument that the Ceylonese people could not possibly run such complicated concerns as petroleum and insurance companies. Yet what really worried the monopolies was the effect on their pockets. According to figures released by the oil companies themselves, they made a profit of about 40 million rupees for the period 1956 to 1960 — and this was from a capital investment of 31 million rupees! They were overcharging Ceylon 20 million rupees annually, reported Colombo papers.

But the myth of "native inability" has now been exploded. The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation, formed in April 1962 to handle 50 per cent of oil imports and their distribution, reported after its first year of operation a net profit of 8 million rupees in spite of retail price reductions. It was also able to save foreign exchange to the tune of 3.8 million rupees. No wonder Ceylonese Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike declared, "Our political freedom has no meaning unless the stranglehold of foreign monopoly interests over our economy has been broken."

Nehru's Non-Alignment

Indian Press Embarrassed

Nehru put the cat among the pigeons when he announced the dispatch to China of an extraordinary memorandum on the subject of imperialism. It was such a ham-handed effort to vilify China's stand against imperialism, while drawing a heavy veil over his own enchantment with the United States, that the Indian press scoffed at this year-end propaganda stunt as "ridiculously unintelligent." For it has already been embarrassed enough by Nehru's recent gaucheries in trying to make a case for the presence of the U.S. 7th Fleet in the Indian Ocean. The *Times of India*, mildly rebuking Nehru on December 28, said that this latest propaganda piece from the Department of External Affairs "will impress neither China nor Afro-Asian opinion."

The Indian memorandum, made public on December 28, alleges that "China's opposition to 'imperialism' or 'colonialism' is strictly determined by her own private interests." It also charges that China "has deliberately opposed on specious pretexts the

emergence into independence of the former colonial territories of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore when they federated with Malaya forming the new federation of Malaysia." Here is Nehru coming to the defence of Malaysia, the product of British and U.S. neo-colonialism, and fighting Washington's battles in Asia!

What really lies behind the Nehru government's attacks on China is a determined effort on Nehru's part to live down the scorn which greeted his declaration at the Belgrade Conference of the Heads of Non-Aligned Countries in 1961 that "the era of classical colonialism is gone and dead" and that "imperialism, colonialism, racialism and other problems" had become secondary. But the image of Nehru's India in Asia, or for that matter in Africa, as a country which finds colonialism quite dead, and therefore no longer to be fought, has been firmly fixed in the minds of the militant masses in the two continents. It is futile for Nehru to try to change that, to drag the red herring of Chinese "aggression" all the way from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean, or to revamp the image of a non-aligned India.

The Indian Congress government is already so closely lined up with the American Administration that even some Indian papers question Nehru's "non-alignment." The *Free Press Journal*, for one, asked in an editorial on December 21, "Does it mean that Indian defence policy is now so inextricably interwoven with American global strategy and dependent on American support that New Delhi is not in a position to make even a protest against moves that make a mockery of non-alignment?"

Atlantic Merry-Go-Round

Johnson Courts Erhard

Taking place at a time when the members of the "Western Alliance" are fast slipping away from U.S. control, the Johnson-Erhard year-end talks marked a new high in Washington's diplomatic offensive to break up the Paris-Bonn partnership and isolate France.

Ever since de Gaulle rejected a U.S. monopoly of nuclear weapons and vetoed Britain's entry into the Common Market, Washington has been trying to undermine France by

exploiting the conflicts within the Common Market, especially those between Paris and Bonn. Time and again it has attempted to set them at loggerheads by playing on their separate ambitions for leadership in Western Europe and their differences on the questions of farm products, on the coming tariff negotiations and over nuclear arms. As soon as Erhard took over from Adenauer, Rusk and other U.S. high officials rushed to Bonn to win over the new Chancellor. In the latest talks, Johnson himself promised to consult Bonn before negotiating with the Soviet Union on East-West relations.

Naturally Erhard is only too happy to be courted by Washington. Refusing to take sides in the U.S.-French struggle, he balances coolly between his Gallic and transatlantic suitors. Right after his return from Texas, Erhard told newsmen that the relations between West Germany and the United States had entered "a new phase" but he was also careful to remind them "our good relations with France and our friendship with the United States are not competitive." Earlier, he said that West Germany wants to "sit on a bench" and not "to fall between two stools."

However, though the U.S. attempt to make Bonn its special junior partner made little headway, it has Britain worried. "We need not begrudge Germany her 'special relationship' with America," wrote the *London Daily Telegraph* on December 31, "but we should recognize that each new special relationship between America and someone else must make our own relationship

rather less special." And General de Gaulle, in his New Year television speech, once again stressed that the "union of Europe" was one of France's great tasks in 1964. It is this tangled situation which made Walter Lippmann wonder aloud in his regular column (*New York Herald-Tribune*, January 1) whether Washington's courtship of Bonn could succeed. "There is in circulation," he wrote, "an argument that Britain is weak, that France is intransigent and that therefore we must promote the West Germans to fill the vacant role of our very special ally. This fantastic notion . . . appears to have been explained to Mr. Erhard. Happily, he has put it aside." This leaves the Johnson Administration just where it started—in a jam and still without any reliable ally to help it retrieve its fast deteriorating position in Western Europe.

In the Caribbean

While Johnson Talks Peace

While President Johnson piously talked of peace in his Christmas message and Cuba prepared to celebrate the fifth anniversary of its revolution, the United States struck again. A Cuban torpedo boat lying in the Bay of Siguena on the Island of Pines was blown up by a mine. A second naval mine was found near by. The evidence proves that this was another job done by the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Dirty Tricks created by the U.S. Government to get rid of "bad guys" and do other filthy jobs.

It was a criminal and cowardly attack, a Christmas gift from the United

THE PASSING SHOW

Give Him the Door!

India's Finance Minister Krishnamachari said in Bombay last month that, in her early stages of development, India had to be careful not to become mortgaged to private foreign capital. Now there was less fear of such domination and so the "stage has come when we will be justified in opening doors even wider to private foreign investment."

Krishnamachari of course knows that the United States already owns 15,000 million rupees (U.S.\$3,100 million)—the income from sales of surplus U.S. goods and repayments and interest on loans—which is half the money in circulation in India today.

How much wider can those doors be opened unless you take them off the hinges?



States to the Cuban people—the blood of Cuban youth, said Premier Fidel Castro on January 2. In a stirring speech to the Cuban people in Revolution Square he warned that Cuba would return blow for blow.

In the five years of the people's rule in Cuba the United States has not for one moment abated its efforts to destroy the island republic. In recent weeks it has redoubled its attempts to strangle Cuba economically. "President Johnson," said the *New York Times* on December 22, "has ordered a broad review of the steps already taken against the Castro regime and adopted new measures to tighten controls on Western trade with the island." These measures are contained in the State Department's new rules seeking to prevent Western ships trading with Cuba altogether.

According to these new rules, all ship-owners who have been trading with Cuba must give the United States "assurances" that they will cease the Cuban trade after their present contracts, otherwise they will remain on the American blacklist. To back this up, the U.S. Federal Maritime Commission has threatened to use what the *Times* of London (December 19) describes as a "maritime sledgehammer," entering foreign shipping offices and searching their files. This has aroused strong opposition. The British *Guardian* called the U.S. action a crude violation of the freedom of international shipping.

Nor is President Johnson limiting use of the American "sledgehammer" to maritime affairs. His appointment of Thomas C. Mann as his top Latin-American aide, a man who, the *New York Times* said, "was reliably known to have favoured an air strike against Cuba during the missile crisis," can only mean that the present Administration is contemplating something more than intensified economic measures.

But despite all American attempts to destroy it, socialist Cuba stands firm, celebrating the fifth year of its triumph over the American stooge Batista. The victory of the Cuban revolution, said Fidel Castro, is a victory over U.S. imperialism. The past five years, he added, had been years of resistance to U.S. imperialism and the Cuban revolution would also celebrate its 50th and 100th anniversaries.



Operation Sledgehammer

Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

Latin America

The Sparks

Latin America is like a tinder-dry prairie where the guerrillas are the sparks. Now, at the beginning of the new year, further encouraging news is coming from various parts of the continent.

Guatemala: In this Central American state where the "green devil" United Fruit Company rules supreme, the guerrillas recently defeated another government attempt to bottle them up in mountainous Izabel Province. The growing people's forces are making progress despite repeated attacks by U.S.-trained troops of the military regime which came to power through a putsch last March.

Yong Sosa, leader of the "Alejandro de Leon November 13th" Guerrilla Front which together with two other guerrilla organizations forms the Insurgent Movement, told the Mexican weekly *Siempre*: "Our constant contacts with the most oppressed sections of the population, particularly the peasants, have helped us to understand their problems which are the sum total and epitome of the great problems facing the nation. Bit by bit we have come to see that what we have to do is not simply to make a change in the government but to carry out a most profound social transformation." Declaring that the guerrillas have the support of wide sections of the people, the peasantry above all, Yong Sosa stressed: "We don't know how long it will take—six months, one year, three years—

for the people to win power. But we will not lay down our arms even if it requires 20 years."

Honduras: Members of the Insurgent Liberation Movement recently took over a radio station in Tegucigalpa the capital city and broadcast an appeal to the country's youth to fight against the military junta, which seized the reins of government following a coup last October. A curfew has been declared throughout the country.

Nicaragua: Guerrilla warfare is going on against the pro-U.S. regime of the Somoza family.

Carlos Fonseca, one of the leaders of the National Liberation Front, told *Siempre* that "for the first time guerrilla units supported by an organized underground movement have been set up in the mountainous regions of Nicaragua. . . . Close contacts exist between the guerrillas and the local population. . . . We can't be defeated because we have gained experience and established strong underground movements in the cities."

Dominican Republic: Anti-government guerrilla forces are operating in the Baoruco Mountains and the northern and central parts of the country. Recently, the military putschists launched several punitive campaigns against the guerrillas, throwing in planes and troops especially trained by U.S. officers in the Panama Canal Zone. But they achieved nothing. Peasants are joining the guerrillas and recently a government army captain crossed over with 40 of his men.

CULTURE

Artists, Writers Go to Rural Areas

The cultural and artistic talent of New China's cities is going out in an increasingly generous stream to the villages, to where the great mass of the nation's population lives and works. In Peking, Central Government ministries and people's organizations have organized volunteer rural cultural work-teams of artists, writers, poets, composers, musicians, theatre and cinema workers, editors and publishers to go to the villages. Similar teams have been organized by other municipalities and cities. And these activities are in addition to the normal cultural services the cities give to the villages such as the frequent country-wide tours made by the urban theatrical troupes and the thousands of teachers and other cultural workers trained in the cities for the villages.

The purpose of this domestic cultural interflow is twofold: to help promote socialist art and culture and socialist education in the villages, and to help artists and cultural workers in general temper themselves and draw fresh inspiration for their creative art through living, creative contact with the peasants.

Capital's Artists in the Van

In the past few weeks, 170 of the capital's leading cultural figures left in seven groups for China's rural areas. They went to Hopei and Shensi Provinces in the north and northwest, to Honan in central, and Liaoning, Shantung and Anhwei in northeast and east China respectively and

to multi-national Yunnan Province in the southwest. This was the second contingent of rural cultural work-teams organized by Central Government ministries and people's organizations. The first contingent of over 100 cultural workers in six teams went to the rural counties of Hopei, Honan, Anhwei, Shantung, Shansi and Liaoning in March and returned in August.

During that four-month visit, they lived with the production brigades of many people's communes and performed, taught, and gave cinema and lantern-slide shows to crowded audiences of peasants. With 20-odd members the team that went to Shantung alone performed or gave shows to over 380,000 people. They also helped many communes set up recreational centres, clubs, libraries and choirs. Wherever they went they helped to spread the Chinese Communist Party's policies on art and literature, and particularly that on art and literature serving the peasants. In the county towns they visited, they gave lectures and held training classes and joint discussions with the members of the county cultural centres and bookshops, local mobile cinema teams, theatrical troupes and other cultural workers.

The gain from these activities was far from being on the side of the peasants alone. At a three-day conference following their return to Peking, the work-teams gave a first-hand account of their work to the rest of the capital's artistic and literary circles and performed and exhibited a rich crop

of new works. It was unanimously agreed that such working visits are most fruitful.

It was fortified by this experience that the second contingent of art and literary workers went from the capital. They include the well-known composer Li Huan-chih, the woodcut artists Ku Yuan and Huang Yung-yu, the singers Wang Kun and Liu Shufang, actors Chen Chiang and Mei Hsi, and the playwright Li Chih-hua. Some of them are veterans in this style of work. They were among the listeners when Chairman Mao Tse-tung gave his famous talks on literature and art at the Yen-an Forum in 1942, calling on artists to go out among the people, into the thick of life, and put their art at the service of the people. They had gone out then as part of the revolutionary army of artists who played so big a role in spreading the revolutionary message and assisting the revolution to victory.

Carrying On the Yen-an Tradition

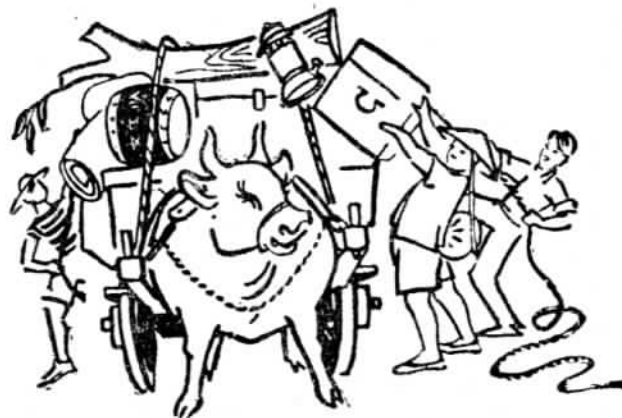
Before their departure, Chou Yang, Vice-Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, received



Setting Up the Stage



Threshing Ground Theatre



Loading Up

Sketches by Li Pin-sheng

them and talked with them. He stressed that the fundamental policy in literary and art work remains to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and that it was only by joining the masses in their labours and struggles that writers and artists could be considered to have carried out this policy in practice.

Chou Yang recalled the Yanan Forum days and had high praise for the way the country's artists and writers had since then built up the tradition of living and working in the rural areas and in the factories and army units. That fine tradition and style of work, he said, should be maintained and developed; this would maintain the revolutionary vigour of the nation's art and culture, and its artists and writers, so steered, would be better armed against revisionist ideas and bourgeois ideology. Revolutionary artists, he said, do not shut themselves up in "salons" but go out to the fronts of production and class struggle.

The peasants urgently demand a new, socialist culture, more scientific knowledge and new literature and art, and Chou Yang called on writers and artists to get a more profound knowledge of the needs of the peasants and try to find more effective channels for satisfying those needs.

ZOOLOGY

Giant Panda Born in Peking Zoo

The world's first giant panda to be born in captivity is four months old on the 9th of this month. It is thriving in the Peking Zoo, weighing 7,015 grammes and measuring 73.4 cm. high on New Year's Day. It is being nursed by its mother Li Li, but is already able to move around on its own. A male, zoo keepers have christened it "Ming Ming."

The giant panda, also known as the bamboo bear, is one of the world's rare animals. The Peking Zoo has had in its possession not more than a score in the 14 years since liberation;

zoos in Europe and the United States have kept about ten more, but this is the first successful attempt anywhere to breed them in captivity.

Zoological research has traced the existence of the giant panda back to 600,000 to a million years ago, roughly coinciding with the period in which the ape-man lived in China. They then roamed over a relatively wide area—in what is now the eastern and central parts of China and the northern part of Burma. Subsequent changes in natural conditions and degeneration of their powers of getting food gradually drove them to near extinction. Today, the only known place where they can still be found is in the dense bamboo forests 2,000 to 4,000 metres above sea level in western Szechuan Province in southwest China. First made known to modern science in 1869, it was only in 1937 that a living specimen was trapped. It immediately caught the world's fancy.

The peculiar marking of the giant panda's rich fur is one of the things that have made it a prime favourite and attraction at the zoo. It is white on its head, chest and stomach, with black rings around the eyes, black ears and limbs. It is exclusively vegetarian, preferring young bamboo leaves, but the zoo keepers have also been able to tempt it to a mixture of gruel twice daily. Like its looks, its habits are quiet, gentle and solitary; it dislikes both cold and heat, and likes to loll about on a slab of ice in summer.

The mother of the baby panda was brought to the Peking Zoo in 1957, and is now more than six years old. Peking zoo keepers drew up a plan for breeding the panda in early 1963, and set up a special laboratory to study the



Ming Ming at three months

problems of breeding and the giant pandas' natural habitat. Li Li was chosen for the experiment and gave birth to her cub on September 9. She loves to sit on a mat, propped against the wall, holding her cub to her chest and gently stroking and patting it—a picture of placid enjoyment.

SPORTS

Friends From Far and Near

In December 1963, China was host to over half a dozen sports delegations from Albania, Argentina, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, Somalia, Uruguay and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Most of them were here simply for a friendly visit, or were passing through on their way home from the First Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF) held in Indonesia. All were warmly welcomed and the fans crowded out every sporting event arranged with the visitors.

Football enthusiasts were glad to see among the visiting delegations football teams from Albania, Somalia, Argentina and Uruguay. The latter two were the first football elevens ever to visit China from Latin America and there was keen interest here to see the brand of football played in that part of the world. The Argentine team was the football team of the students of Buenos Aires. They played a total of three matches in Peking, Shanghai and Canton against the Peking Youth, Shanghai, and Kwangtung teams respectively, losing two and drawing one.

The university students' football team of Uruguay, which took third place in the GANEF competitions, also visited Peking and Shanghai. They lost their first match to the Peking Youth team and drew their second match with the Shanghai team.

The Albanian army football team arrived in China after taking part in the 1963 football championship of the fraternal armies of the socialist countries held recently in Hanoi, Viet Nam. They played the first match of their visit in Canton on December 29 against the Kwangtung team and are continuing their tour of China this month.

CORRECTION: The second sentence in the third paragraph from bottom, left column, page 20, of *Peking Review*, No. 52, 1963, should read: "The people's communes . . . now have 50 per cent as many animals again as in 1958. . . ."

Wu Chia Pi

& Mei Kuei Lu

Two beverages that need no introduction to connoisseurs,
but for those who still anticipate the pleasure of
making their acquaintance —

WU CHIA PI is a mellow, medicated spirit distilled from
selected north China kaoliang; 54-55 per cent alcohol.
Flavoured with a tonic herb, it has a unique taste.
In bottles or earthenware jars.

MEI KUEI LU is a fine, colourless, sweet, after-dinner
liqueur; 54-55 per cent alcohol. Also known as *Rose
Liqueur* because it is made by steeping fresh cut roses
in a liquor distilled from the kaoliang plant.
Rose Liqueur provides the perfect end to a banquet.



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